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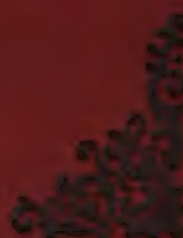
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OFFICIAL PROCEEDINGS

# Republican National Conventions

1868 - 1872 - 1876 - 1880





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## OFFICIAL PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

# National Republican Conventions

OF

1868, 1872, 1876 and 1880.

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*Reprinted by authority of the resolution of the Republican National Convention  
of 1900, at Philadelphia as follows:*

"Resolved, That the Secretary of this Convention be requested to republish the Official Proceedings of preceding Republican National Conventions now out of print, under the direction of the National Committee."

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CHARLES W. JOHNSON, PUBLISHER,  
MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

1903.

U. 1380. 6.5




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PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION, 1868.

PROCEEDINGS  
OF THE  
NATIONAL UNION  
REPUBLICAN CONVENTION,

HELD AT

CHICAGO, MAY 20TH AND 21ST, 1868.

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REPORTED BY ELY, BURNHAM & BARTLETT, CHICAGO,  
Official Reporters of the Convention.

CHICAGO:  
EVENING JOURNAL PRINT, NO. 46 DEARBORN STREET.

## OFFICIAL APPOINTMENT.

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HEADQUARTERS OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE,  
CHICAGO, May 19, 1868.

At a session of the National Executive Committee, this day held, it was  
"Resolved, That Messrs. Ely, Burnham and Bartlett, Official Reporters  
"of the Courts of Chicago, be hereby appointed the Official Reporters of the  
"proceedings of the National Union Republican Convention, to be held at  
"the City of Chicago on Wednesday, the 20th day of May, at 12 M., for the  
"purpose of nominating candidates for the offices of President and Vice-  
"President of the United States."

MARCUS L. WARD, OF NEW JERSEY,  
*Chairman.*

JNO. D. DEFREES, OF INDIANA,  
*Secretary.*

## NATIONAL UNION REPUBLICAN CONVENTION.

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WEDNESDAY, May 20, 1868.

The National Union Republican Convention, to nominate candidates for the offices of President and Vice President of the United States, assembled in Crosby's Opera House, Chicago, Illinois, at 12 M., in response to the following call:

### NATIONAL UNION REPUBLICAN CONVENTION.

The undersigned, constituting the National Committee designated by the Convention held at Baltimore on the 7th of June, 1864, do appoint that a Convention of the Union Republican party be held at the City of Chicago, on Wednesday, the 20th day of May next, at 12 o'clock M., for the purpose of nominating candidates for the offices of President and Vice President of the United States.

Each State in the United States is authorized to be represented in said Convention by a number of delegates equal to twice the number of Senators and Representatives to which each State is entitled in the National Congress.

We invite the co-operation of all citizens who rejoice that our great civil war has happily terminated in the discomfiture of rebellion; who would hold fast the unity and integrity of the Republic, and maintain its paramount right to defend to the utmost its existence, whether imperiled by a secret conspiracy or armed force; of an economical administration of the public expenditures; of the complete extirpation of the principles and policy of slavery, and of the speedy re-organization of those States whose governments were destroyed by the rebellion, and the permanent restoration to their proper practical relations with the United States, in accordance with the true principles of a republican government.

MARCUS L. WARD, of New Jersey,

JNO. D. DEFREES, of Indiana, Secretary. Chairman.

J. B. CLARK, New Hampshire.	S. F. HERSEY, Maine.
A. B. GARDNER, Vermont.	WM. CLAFLIN, Massachusetts.
S. A. PURVIANCE, Pennsylvania.	J. S. FOWLER, Tennessee.
B. C. COOK, Illinois.	MARSH GIDDINGS, Michigan.
D. B. STUBBS, Iowa.	A. W. CAMPBELL, West Virginia.
H. C. HOFFMAN, Maryland.	N. B. SMITHERS, Delaware.
W. J. COWING, Virginia.	W. A. PILE, Missouri.
C. L. ROBINSON, Florida.	S. JUDD, Wisconsin.
HORACE GREELEY, New York.	H. H. STARKWEATHER, Connecticut.
B. R. COWEN, Ohio.	WM. WINDOM, Minnesota.
N. EDMUNDS, Dakota.	D. R. GOODLOE, North Carolina.
THOS. G. TURNER, Rhode Island.	SAMUEL CRAWFORD, Kansas.
S. J. BOWEN, District of Columbia.	J. P. CHAFFEE, Colorado.



## OFFICIAL PROCEEDINGS OF THE

## CONVENTION CALLED TO ORDER.

Gov. MARCUS L. WARD, of New Jersey, Chairman of the National Executive Committee, called the Convention to order at the prescribed hour, and spoke as follows:

DELEGATES TO THE NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE UNION REPUBLICAN PARTY—You have assembled at the call of the National Convention to nominate its standard-bearer for the ensuing campaign; to declare your unswerving attachment to union and liberty; and to pledge that you will take no step backward in the work of reconstructing the rebel States and re-establishing the Union. [Applause.]

You are here to bear witness that the war, so gallantly and so gloriously waged for the life of the nation, was not a failure. You are here to point to a Republic boundless in extent and resources, guarded and protected by one common flag, and upheld by a patriotic and loyal people. [Applause.]

An emancipated race has been lifted from the debasement of slavery, and, to-day, with the Union men of the South, re-organizes, in the name of liberty, the Governments and institutions of the rebellious States. The history of the Republican party is a record of the true progress of the nation. It has successively met and conquered all those hostile parties represented by the effete ideas and perishing institutions of the past, and it must now determine to vindicate anew its measures and its policy, by the wisdom and courage which plan, and the determination and labor which organize, victory. In this spirit you are here assembled to perform the responsible duties assigned you, and I doubt not your action will meet the approval of the vast constituency you represent. The nation understands that neither armed treason nor political treachery can arrest the triumph of our cause and the success of our candidates. [Great applause, and display of national flags.]

If, as indicated by the unanimity of feeling which prevails, you shall designate as our leader the great captain of the age [great applause], whose brilliant achievements in the field have been equaled by his wisdom in the Cabinet [applause], the nation will greet it as the precursor of victory to our cause and of peace to the Republic. [Loud applause.]

Bishop Simpson will offer prayer.

## PRAYER.

MATTHEW SIMPSON, D. D., then offered the following prayer:

Oh, Lord, our Lord, how excellent is Thy name in all the earth! Thou art the King of Kings and Lord of Lords. Thou hast laid the foundation of the earth, and Thy hands have formed the heavens. We praise Thee for all Thy mercies Thou hast conferred upon us as individuals, as communities, and as a nation. While we deplore our manifold sins, we bless Thee for life and for reason, for a glorious revelation, the gift of Thy Son, our Saviour, and for the hope of a blissful immortality. As a nation, we praise Thee for the goodly heritage which Thou hast given us—so vast in extent, so immense in its resources. We praise Thee for the deeds to which Thou didst inspire our fathers, and the precious memories which they have left to us. We thank Thee for the institutions with which our land has been blessed—for our civil and religious liberties. We thank Thee for the right to meet and deliberate; we bless Thee for the freedom which breathes through all classes of society, and especially we praise Thee, Oh, our Father and our God, that in the midst of all our trials Thou hast ever

been with our nation. Though we have been chastised because of our sins, and we would humble us in Thy presence because of our sins, yet we bless Thee that, whilst Thou hast chastised, Thou hast also poured blessings upon us.

While we remember that multiplied thousands have recently fallen in the fierce struggles which have been in our land, we bless Thee that the storm-cloud has passed away; that the voice of battle has been hushed; that peace has been restored to our borders again; and, notwithstanding all our trials, we bless Thy holy name, that Thou hast made us, as we believe, stronger, and firmer than ever before. As the tree is strengthened by the storms of winter, and prepared for the verdure of coming spring and summer, so we trust Thou hast prepared our nation, by the trials through which we have passed, for the glorious future into which we are about to enter.

We ask Thee that Thy blessing still be with us, as a nation. Bless, we pray Thee, all our rulers. May Thy benediction rest upon the President of the United States, and upon all associated with him in authority, upon the Senate and House of Representatives, upon the officers of our army and navy, and upon the Governors and Legislators of our various Commonwealths, and upon all those who are in authority in all the departments of our Government.

Be in them a spirit of wisdom. Be in them a spirit of grace—May they rule with a view to the prosperity of the nation and an eye to Thy glory. And as it is in Thy hand alone to raise up and to perpetuate kingdoms, we pray that this, our nation, may be ever precious in Thy sight.

Our Father and our God, we acknowledge that we are ever in Thy hand; that all plans without Thee are futile, and all arrangements without Thee are vain. And now, upon this Assembly, convened from all parts of the Union, may Thy special blessing rest. Have them in Thy holy keeping. May the spirit of harmony and wisdom prevail in their councils, and may such results be reached as Thou shalt approve, and as shall lead to the prosperity and the perpetuity and the glory of our beloved land. Almighty God, we beseech Thee so to direct all events that may happen, that the greatest possible good may be worked out. We do thank Thee that Thou rulest in all nations and in all agencies, and in all perils, and though there may be night for a season the light cometh in the morning; though there may be the storms of winter, there shall succeed the sweetness of the breath of spring; though there may sometimes be clouds which in our view seem dark, and lowering, and gloomy, it is in Thy hand to cause all to pass away as the mists of the morning and the clear light again to shine.

God of our fathers, be with us, their sons, as Thou wast with them. May Thy benediction be upon all parts of the country here represented; and when these citizens shall return to their homes, may they find every interest in peace and in prosperity. We thank Thee that here all parts of our nation are represented. We thank Thee that the North meets with the South, and the East meets with the West. We thank Thee that citizens

of all classes and pursuits are here convened. We bless Thee that freedom has diffused its healthful influences over the land, and that the States so lately in rebellion are being successfully reconstructed in peace and prosperity. Hasten the work so gloriously commenced; may there be nothing that shall mar its progress. And, Oh, hasten the moment when all parts of our land shall be firmly and intimately, and fraternally, and perpetually bound together in one common bond of union, and this dear land of ours shall be, as we believe Thou hast designed it to be, a light to all the nations of the earth that shall throw its rays across the Atlantic to Europe, and across the Pacific to Asia, until the dark places of Africa shall have been made glad and the islands of the sea take up the song of praise, and a human brotherhood shall be formed vast as the globe on which we dwell, and sentiments of love, and duty, and adoration shall inspire our common humanity, and prepare it for the glorious assemblage that shall one day convene before the throne of God.

Hear us while we would unite in praying, as Thou hast taught us, saying:

Our Father which art in Heaven, hallowed be Thy name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done in earth, as it is in Heaven. Give us this day our daily bread, and forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us. Lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil; for Thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory forever and ever. Amen.

#### ELECTION OF TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN.

CHAIRMAN OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE [MR. WARD, of New Jersey,]—By direction of the National Committee, I nominate Carl Schurz, of Missouri, as temporary chairman of this Convention. [Repeated cheers.] As many of you as favor the adoption of this nomination will say "aye."

The nomination unanimously prevailed.

CHAIRMAN OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE—I will designate Mr. Tremain, of New York, and Mr. Thompson, of Indiana, to wait upon General Schurz and conduct that gentleman to the chair.

On being conducted to the chair, Mr. Schurz was received with great enthusiasm, and was presented to the Convention by the Chairman of the National Committee.

#### ADDRESS BY GEN. SCHURZ.

MR. SCHURZ, of Missouri—Gentlemen of the Convention—It is difficult for me to express how highly I appreciate the honor you have conferred upon me by this nomination. You will permit me to offer you my sincerest thanks.

This is the fourth National Convention of the Republican party. The short career of this party has been marked by events to which coming generations will point with pride, admiration and gratitude. The Republican party was born a giant. [Applause.] In its very infancy it grappled with the prejudice of race, which, until then, seemed to be omnipotent with the masses of the American people. Our second onset broke through it, and

carried the immortal Abraham Lincoln into the Executive Chair of the Republic—[great applause]—as the great champion of the anti-slavery cause. [Prolonged applause.]

Then came the slaveholders' rebellion, and, under Republican leadership, the loyal people of this country displayed a noble heroism and self-sacrificing devotion and perseverance, under obstacles and defeat, which may well serve as a glorious example to all nations of the earth. [Applause.]

The result of the struggle corresponds with the great effort. The life of the nation has been saved; the dark blot of slavery has been wiped from our national escutcheon [applause]: four millions of bondsmen have been raised from the dust and from their ancient degradation; the outraged dignity of human nature has been gloriously vindicated; and this day, those States, the peculiar condition of which was but recently a disgrace to the American name, return to us under the national banner, which, now, at last, is to them what it ought ever to have been—the great emblem of impartial justice, of universal liberty, and of equal rights.

All these things have been accomplished under Republican auspices, and without indulging in vain self-glorification, it may be truly said that the history of the Republican party is closely identified with the noblest achievements of this century. [Applause.]

But there are new problems equally great before us; we have to secure the results of the great struggle against the dangers of reaction; we have to adapt the laws and institutions of this country to the new order of things.

The solution of that problem will require no less enthusiasm, no less devotion, no less perseverance, than the struggles which lie behind us.

It will require more. It will require that calm statesmanship which consists in a clear appreciation of the objects to be attained, and a thorough knowledge of the means by which they can be accomplished.

When the Republican party was about to enter upon the creative part of its mission, it was, by one of the most atrocious crimes ever recorded in history, deprived of the man whose highest virtue as a ruler consisted in his always acting upon the noblest impulses of the popular heart. Abraham Lincoln was struck down in the fulness of his glory, and we are left now to measure the greatness of our loss by what he left behind him in his place. [Laughter.]

Then began, for us, the time of disappointments and of unexpected trials. Our policy was thwarted by the very man, who, in an unfortunate hour, we had put upon the road to power. The legislative and executive departments of the Government were pitted against one another in a fierce struggle. New dangers were looming up where there ought to have been a quiet and peaceable development.

We have had our hours of painful experience, but what of that? Are we the men to be disturbed by the mere appearance of danger? Are not the principles which we advocate just as great as they ever were? Is not the necessity of their realization just as apparent as ever? Is not justice still justice, right still right, and truth still truth? Are we not defenders of justice, right and truth, to-day, as we were yesterday? What, then, is there to frighten the most pusillanimous?

Victory will be true to the Republican party as long as the Republican party is true to itself. [Cheers.]

What we have to do is clear. Let us fix our eyes firmly upon the noble ends to be attained, and not permit our equanimity to be disturbed by an untoward accident. [Applause.] Let not the passions inflamed by the stinging disappointment of this hour, however keen our sense of wrong may be, carry us beyond the bounds of wisdom and self-respect. [Applause.] The things we have to accomplish are so great that, whatever the provocation may be, we can certainly not afford to let personal resentments seduce us into compromising the high dignity of our cause. [Cheers.]

Whoever may be our friends, whoever may become our enemies, let us march on with the unflinching determination to perform all the duties incumbent upon us, to secure justice to the soldiers who fought our battles [applause]; justice to the Southern Union man, who, for the national cause, imperiled his life and fortune [cheers]; justice to the colored race, to whom we have promised true liberty forever [great applause]; justice to the national creditor, who staked his credit upon the good faith of the American people. [Applause.]

Let us faithfully strive to restore the honor of the Government, to crush corruption wherever we find it, inside of the party, just as well as outside of it [loud applause], and to place the public service of the country in the hands of honest, true and capable men. [Cheers.] Let us, with unshaken purpose, work out the manifest logic of the results already gained for liberty and equal rights; let us fearlessly acknowledge that the career of the Republican party will not be ended till the great trusts proclaimed in the Declaration of Independence, in the fullest meaning of the term, have become a living reality on every inch of American soil. [Loud applause.]

Yet, let us be true to our history, true to ourselves, and fear nothing. No step backward. Onward is the charm-word of victory. [Cheers.] Let us see again the banner of progress, of liberty of equal rights, of national faith, nailed to the very top of the mast. [Cheers.] And I spurn the idea that the American people could ever so far forget themselves as to throw their destiny into the hands of men who, but yesterday, strove to destroy the Republic, and who, to-day, stand ready to dishonor it. [Cheers.]

#### TEMPORARY SECRETARIES.

MR. SMITHERS, of Delaware—Mr. Chairman, to effect the preliminary organization, I move that the following gentlemen be appointed temporary Secretaries: B. R. Cowen, of Ohio; Luther Caldwell, of New York, and F. S. Richards, of Tennessee.

The motion prevailed.

THE CHAIRMAN—What is the further pleasure of the Convention? I think it has been customary that each delegation should present one of their number as a member of a Committee on Credentials.

#### COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS.

MR. SMITHERS, of Delaware—Mr. Chairman, I move you, sir that a Committee on Credentials be appointed, consisting of one from each delegation in the Convention.

THE CHAIRMAN—Gentlemen, you have heard the motion.

MR. ———, of ———.—I suggest, Mr. Chairman, that the Secretary call the list of States, and that each respective delegation shall name a gentleman who will constitute a committee on their part.

MR. SMITHERS, of Delaware—I made that motion as suggested by gentlemen around me, and which I thought to be proper. I will modify the motion in accordance with the rule which has been heretofore adopted. As I understand, there are two States—Maryland and California—in which the delegations are contested. I therefore modify my motion so that these States be omitted, and that their claims be decided by the Committee on Credentials.

The Secretary called the State of California, and the delegation named Mr. P. E. Conner.

The Secretary called the State of Connecticut, and the delegation named Mr. Wm. G. Coe.

MR. SMITHERS, of Delaware—Mr. Chairman, there seems to be some misunderstanding. I understood that the States in which the delegates were contested were to be omitted. Is it so?

THE CHAIRMAN—I will state to the Convention that, as the name of each State is called, one member of the delegation from that State will rise and indicate the choice of the delegation from that State as a member of the Committee on Credentials.

MR. SMITHERS, of Delaware—Then I was right at first, Mr. Chairman, and my suggestion comes in properly, that California and Maryland shall be omitted from that committee.

MR. SEARS, of California—Mr. Chairman, as the gentleman has mentioned the State which I in part represent, I wish to deny that there is any contest whatever in regard to the State of California. It is true, sir, that there is a man here who has been before the Executive Committee claiming to contest our seats; but, sir, there is one man only—

MR. VAN ZANDT, of Rhode Island—Mr. Chairman, I rise to a point of order. The matter should be referred to the Committee on Credentials.

MR. SEARS, of California—Mr. Chairman, I ask but two minutes to make an explanation. [Cries—"Go on," "go on," "hear him!"] We do not desire to bring this contest up here, but the gentleman has forced it upon us.

Now, sir, the man who here contests our seats, or tries to contest our seats, voted the Copperhead ticket at the last election in California. ["Hear, hear." "Put him out!" "Out with him!"] He and one or two others met in a back room and selected delegates to attend this Convention. They have no party; they have had no primary election; they had no Convention; they had nothing, sir; and I believe, in my humble judgment, that he comes here, and that his passage is paid by Democratic money, to keep up this division in our State. ["That's so." Hisses and applause.]

Now, sir, we are here representing the Union Republican party of California. We polled forty thousand loyal votes in that State at the last election [applause], and the sneaking, crawling squad, which this man represents, only polled two thousand, and out of that two thousand, in our last Convention, they could not find in all the State of California ten men who would accept of this position which he occupies. [Laughter.] They selected men who had formerly lived in California. Two of them are in your city, and came into our rooms last night and repudiated the entire proceeding, and said they were for us. Therefore, sir, this man stands alone in attempting to contest our seats, and we ask this Convention to give us our seats, as they of right belong to us, and not to cast a stain upon us by raising this man to the dignity of a contest. [Laughter and loud applause.]

We have traveled seven thousand miles to get here. [Applause.] I cannot understand it—though I wish to cast no reflection upon the Executive Committee—but we were detained two days by an accident on the cars, and consequently did not arrive here, and this man has been here two or three days, and has bored this Committee with his credentials—but I cannot understand why the Committee has recognized him in the slightest degree in this contest, unless he, a crawling Copperhead, like the serpent that beguiled Eve, has deceived them with his oily tongue. [Laughter and applause.]

Now, sir, there is no contest in California. One word, and I am done. I simply ask this Convention not to dignify him, or the little squad to which he belongs, and cast a stain upon us by compelling us to go before this Committee on Credentials with a contest, when there is none.

MR. SPENCER, of New York—Mr. Chairman—

MR. NICKERSON, of California—Mr. Chairman—

THE CHAIRMAN—I would suggest to gentlemen, that, when they rise in their seats, they give their names.

MR. NICKERSON, of California—My name is Benjamin R. Nickerson. I wish to ask whether this Convention is prepared to hear, in open Convention, the question which we are prepared to submit where we suppose it belongs—namely, to the Committee on Credentials.

MR. VAN ZANDT, of Rhode Island—Mr. Chairman, I again insist on my point of order. Mr. Chairman, I was right in the first place, and this Convention must be aware that (though that entire statement of the gentleman from California may be correct—and, if it be so, my sympathies are intensely and strongly with him, and no man could be more thoroughly so—yet, sir, you will permit me to say—and the gentleman will cherish no feeling of unkindness toward me for saying it, for I believe Rhode Island is as sound to the heart and core on this question as any State in the Union) these are not proper subjects to bring before this Convention. They should go to the Committee on Credentials, because, after one gentleman has told his story, another may rise and claim the attention of the Convention, and tell a story entirely antagonistic to the statement of the first; and how, in the name of parliamentary law, are we to judge between these conflicting claims; or how are we to know which tells the truth? If the statement of the gentleman is correct, my heart is with him entirely; but let the Committee decide the question. I hope my point of order will be sustained by the Convention, for the sake of harmony and unanimity in the Convention, and to enable us to return to our homes in less than a week.

MR. ———, of California—Mr. Chairman, I rise to a point of order. The State of California has been called, and has named its choice for a member of the Committee on Credentials, and the point of order of the gentleman is too late.

THE CHAIRMAN—The gentleman is out of order. It is moved and seconded that this matter be referred to the Committee on Credentials.

The motion prevailed.

MR. SPENCER, of New York—I move, Mr. Chairman, that the States be called in alphabetical order, that we may ascertain in what States the delegations are contested and in what uncontested, and that a committee of one from each uncontested delegation be named.

THE CHAIRMAN—That is just what we are doing.

The Secretary proceeded to call the States.

MR. ADDAMS, of Illinois—I rise to a point of order. Mr. Chairman, I believe it is the understanding they are to be called in alphabetical order.

THE CHAIRMAN—That is just what we are doing.

MR. ADDAMS, of Illinois—Arkansas, and Alabama and Georgia have not been called; why are they not called in alphabetical order, harmonizing with the wish of the Convention?

MR. WARD, of New Jersey—Mr. Chairman, I would state that, by the call of the Committee, the unreconstructed States were not invited to be represented here; it being intended that the Convention, when assembled should decide upon their standing.

MR. ADDAMS, of Illinois—That does not answer my point of order. Mr. Chairman, the point of order I make is that the order of the Convention to call the States in their alphabetical order is not complied with. We would like to know why the names of Arkansas, Alabama, and Georgia have not thus far been called.

MR. SPENCER, of New York—I move that they be called, and we take a vote on each State as it is named.

The motion prevailed.

The Secretary proceeded:

Alabama—J. P. Stow.

California—P. Conner.

Arkansas—S. F. Cooper.

MR. EVANS, of Colorado—Mr. Chairman, as Colorado is only out by the veto of Andrew Johnson, and as he will undoubtedly be out after the Presidential election, I move Colorado be called. [Laughter.]

MR. HALL, of West Virginia—Mr. Chairman, I rise for the purpose of saying a few words to the gentlemen of this Convention preliminary to taking hold of this question, because it involves a point upon which I shall subsequently ask to take the sense of this Convention upon a motion to reconsider. Ever since the close of the war, the Congress of the United States has practically controlled the Southern States as Territories. Upon that basis the whole theory of reconstruction rests. If it is not correct, then they have been wronged from the first, and Andrew Johnson and the men who have adhered to him have been right in their position. Now, in the case of the State of Colorado, she has not as yet occupied a position, properly, as a State.

MR. SMITHERS, of Delaware—Mr. Chairman, I rise to a question of order. There is no question before the house to which the gentleman is speaking.

THE CHAIRMAN—The motion before the Convention is, that the State of Colorado be called.



MR. HALL, of West Virginia—Mr. Chairman, the question is as to Colorado not being on the roll of States. I hold that she is where she properly belongs as a Territory, until, by Congressional action, full and complete, over the President's veto, her status has been changed. I have no doubt, in the course of time, it will be, but, until that time, she holds, under the Constitution and laws, but one position, and that is as a Territory. There is no half-way place in the making of States. They are admitted or they are not admitted; and, in the case of the Southern States, I voted "aye" with the majority, because I wanted to move to reconsider the vote. I saw it was taken without reflection. The Southern States occupy in the Federal Union to-day, so far as Congressional action is concerned, precisely the position which the State of Colorado occupies. Arkansas is asking admission, and I trust her delegates will be admitted upon this floor. Coming myself from a Border State, I know what the loyal men of the Border States have had to contend with during the last five years; and I shall be the last man, directly or indirectly, to throw the stain of a drop of water, even, upon the character of any man coming from the Border States; and I do not wish this Convention, by its action, seemingly to cast a reflection upon the character of its representatives in Congress during the last three years.

MR. ———, of West Virginia—Mr. Chairman, I wish simply to make the statement that the gentleman's views are his own views, and not the views of the delegation from West Virginia. [Applause.]

MR. SPAULDING, of Ohio—Mr. Chairman, if I vote for the admission of Colorado to vote in this Convention, I shall vote for the admission of the three Territories in the same way. They are entitled to seats, but are not voting members. All I ask is, that we treat the Territories all alike. If we vote to receive Colorado, let us vote to receive the others. I am, myself, for the largest liberty.

MR. MCCLURE, of Pennsylvania—Mr. Chairman, there is a difference between Colorado, in this Convention, and any Territory in the United States. Colorado has been authorized by Congress to form a constitution, preparatory to her admission into the Union. She has framed that constitution, and elected her Senators, and applied to Congress for admission. Congress has passed a bill for her admission, and she is only denied it by the force of the matchless traitor of the Union, Andrew Johnson. [Applause.] Colorado has still before the Congress of the United States a bill, which was reported, I believe, before the impeachment. It will doubtless be passed, and at the next election Colorado will be the only Territory that will be likely to vote for President. And, being the only Territory likely so to vote, certainly her case is different to that of any other Territory. I hope, therefore, she will not be put in the position of other Territories, but that she will be admitted into the rights, privileges and powers of this Convention. [Cheers.]

MR. SPALDING, of Ohio—Mr. Chairman, I rise to say, as to the position of Ohio in relation to the admission of delegates from the reconstructed

States, that the delegates from Ohio had a consultation upon this subject, and were nearly unanimous in favor of receiving them into the Convention.

MR. SHARP, of New York—Mr. Chairman, it is the opinion of New York that this Convention is competent to decide upon every case as it comes up, for itself, and we are in favor of the admission of Colorado over the President's veto. [Applause.]

THE CHAIRMAN—The question is upon the motion of Mr. Evans, of Colorado, to call the Territory of Colorado in the roll of States.

The motion prevailed.

MR. EVANS, of Colorado—Mr. Chairman, I move that every State and Territory having delegations present be called, and that the delegates therefrom nominate a member to serve on the Committee on Credentials.

MR. VAN ZANDT, of Rhode Island—I move that every State and Territory having delegates here representing them, be called, and that it be represented by a member in the Committee on Credentials.

MR. ———, of ——— —Except Utah. [Laughter. Cries of "No," no."]

MR. VAN ZANDT, of Rhode Island—Very well, I withdraw the motion.

MR. MCCLURE, of Pennsylvania—Surely, it is not the purpose of the gentleman to do that. Mr. Chairman, I will make a motion that I think will solve the whole problem: That the other Territories of the United States, except Colorado, be admitted to the floor of this Convention, without the right to vote. That was the action of the Convention at Baltimore, in 1864, and I move that the District of Columbia be also excepted.

MR. SANDERS, of Montana—Mr. Chairman, I do think that a journey of three thousand miles through hostile Indians, is considerable to pay for the privilege of sitting here three days in Crosby's Opera House, and doing nothing. Nobody has a profounder interest in the success of Republican principles than those men that have taken their lives and their convictions in their hands, and have gone to the new empires that are growing in the West. For one, I have come to represent the wishes of, and to give voice to, the thousands of the Republicans of Montana—a people as patriotic, feeling as profound an interest in your action, as any people between the Atlantic and the Pacific. I think the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. McClure) was mistaken in his statement of the action of the Baltimore Convention. I believe it has been uniformly the custom to give those new communities at least one vote in the Convention; and I appeal to the generosity and liberality, if not to the justice, of this Convention, to give us that privilege, and I move to amend the gentleman's resolution by such a proposition as that.

MR. MCCLURE, of Pennsylvania—I desire simply to repeat, Mr. Chairman, what I can remember most distinctly—that, in 1864, the Territories and a portion of the Southern States were admitted to the floor of the Convention, but not permitted to vote.

MR. GROUT, of Vermont—Let me say, Mr. Chairman, that I am not in the habit of attending Conventions. I don't know what the practice may be. It is announced by the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. McClure),

that the practice has never been to give a vote to delegations from Territories. Now, upon principle, I should suppose that would be so—that *would* be so. If it be true—

A VOICE—Mr. Chairman—

THE CHAIRMAN—The gentleman from Vermont (Mr. Grout) has the floor.

MR. GROUT, of Vermont—If it be true, then, Mr. Chairman, we have, in the first place, practice and precedent by which to be guided. We can go back of that, however, if the precedent is wrong, and settle the matter on principle. What is the proposition? The proposition is, to call these Territories—all of them. A gentleman in the rear, somewhere, makes the motion that all the Territories be called that send delegates here. It is impossible for the gentleman calling the roll to know the Territories that have sent delegations. The only way is to call all, and that would include Alaska. [Laughter.] One gentleman proposes to except Utah. Another gentleman might propose to call the roll on the new Territories about to be formed, and the Territory of Wyoming might ask that a delegate be called from that expected Territory. Now it seems to me, though I am but a young man, that this is mere boy's play, the whole of it. ["Louder, 'louder.'] Mere boy's play, I say. Now, if we call the Territories, and appoint a Committee on Credentials, they have a right to say what representatives shall be admitted from the States. It opens the door, Mr. Chairman, at least, to the right to representation in the nomination of a President and a Vice President. Now, if these Territories have no vote in voting for a President or Vice President, why should they have a vote in nominating them? It seems to me it is opening a wide door, and will only make confusion, and that the only way will be to shut the door against all. The vote, has already been taken to admit Colorado into the Convention with the expectation that she shall be admitted as a State. If it is not admitted to cast its vote finally as a State; if it only comes in here and helps to nominate a President and Vice President, but is not admitted to vote at the Presidential election, the Territory of Colorado may have nominated the President of the United States, and not cast even a solitary vote for him. That is wrong. Upon principle, it is wrong. And, if the Convention will attentively consider it, I think they will see it. I say this as but a young man; and I therefore, want to have some older man, who is used to conventions and their practice, rise and tell us the true way to proceed in this matter. Let them counsel us, and let us proceed deliberately and cautiously in the matter, and in such a manner that, when we go out from this Convention, we shall not regret our course. [Cries of "Mr. Chairman."]

THE CHAIRMAN—The gentleman from Ohio has the floor.

MR. BINGHAM of Ohio—Mr. Chairman, the Convention has agreed to admit the delegates from those States that we expect will participate in the election of President and Vice President. The Southern States, we expect, will be in the Union, so that their votes will be received and counted. We

expect that, notwithstanding Johnson's vetoes, Colorado will be in the Union, so that she can vote. The proposition now is, that the Territories, including the District of Columbia, shall be called, which is a different proposition from the one before. It is not a question whether those Territories will participate in the election. I am not prepared to say how the question will be determined, but it is obvious that we shall save time and proceed in a more orderly manner by leaving the question to the Committee on Credentials, and, therefore, I make that motion.

MR. VAN ZANDT, of Rhode Island—Mr. Chairman, if I am in order, I trust the gentleman will withdraw the motion just made, or modify it. It appears to me that, if this question is referred to the Committee on Credentials, it is an embarrassment which, sir, if the gentleman will withdraw the motion for the admission of this class, will be obviated—by letting the whole question go to the Committee on Credentials. That committee can then report the entire matter to the Convention, with all the facts, and then discussion may understandingly be had upon it at that time.

MR. BINGHAM, of Ohio—That is my motion, exactly.

MR. VAN ZANDT of Rhode Island—If that is it, and it is so understood by the Convention, I cheerfully second it, and will vote for it.

THE CHAIRMAN—It is moved that the whole matter be referred to the Committee on Credentials.

The motion prevailed.

The Secretary then called the roll, with the following result:

Colorado—John Evans	Indiana—J. C. Albert.
Connecticut—W. G. Coe.	Iowa—E. T. Smith.
Delaware—N. B. Smithers.	Kansas—N. A. Adams.
Florida—H. H. Moody.	Kentucky—A. G. Hodges.
Georgia—L. P. Gudger.	Louisiana—A. L. Lee.
Illinois—J. H. Addams.	Maine—H. M. Plaisted.

Maryland being called—

MR. ———, of Maryland—Mr. Chairman, we have been notified of a contest in half our delegation, and, therefore, we decline to name a delegate upon this committee.

Massachusetts—George B. Loring.	Ohio—James Scott.
Michigan—John W. Longyear.	Oregon—L. S. Thompson.
Minnesota—John C. Rudolph.	Pennsylvania—John Cessna.
Mississippi—Thaddeus B. Sears.	Rhode Island—J. D. W. Perry.
Missouri—David P. Dyer.	South Carolina—Henry E. Hayne.
Nebraska—L. Girard.	Tennessee—W. Bosson.
Nevada—Louis Hyntman.	Texas—R. K. Smith.
New Hampshire—J. E. Bickford.	Vermont—Luther Baker.
New Jersey—John W. Hazelton.	Virginia—John M. Thacher.
New York—T. G. Younglove.	West Virginia—F. P. Pierpont.
North Carolina—Hiram Potter, Jr.	Wisconsin—E. L. Browne.

## OFFICIAL PROCEEDINGS OF THE

## RULES FOR TEMPORARY GOVERNMENT.

MR. COCHRANE, of New York—Mr. Chairman, I move that until the adoption of the permanent rules for the government of this Convention, the rules of the House of Representatives of the United States be the rules for its temporary government, as far as applicable.

The motion prevailed.

## COMMITTEE ON PERMANENT ORGANIZATION.

MR. —, of Pennsylvania—I move, Mr. Chairman, that a committee of one from each State be appointed upon the permanent organization of this Convention.

The motion prevailed.

MR. HALL, of West Virginia—I now move to reconsider the motion by which it was determined to call the roll of the States which are now in process of reconstruction. I would state that the purpose of the motion is, to refer that matter as you have already referred the matter of the Territories—where I think it properly belongs—to the Committee on Credentials. I make the motion with that view, and I trust gentlemen from the Southern States, for whom no man in this house entertains more consideration than I, will not misconstrue this motion.

MR. SPALDING, of Ohio—I rise to a point of order. We have just taken a vote to appoint a Committee on Organization. We should proceed to—

THE CHAIRMAN—I understand the motion of the gentleman from West Virginia to be that the names of the Southern States should not be called. Is not that the motion?

MR. HALL, of West Virginia—The Chairman is somewhat in error. It is to refer the matter to the Committee on Organization.

MR. —, of Missouri—Mr. Chairman, I rise to a point of order.

MR. —, of — —I move to lay the motion to reconsider on the table, Mr. Chairman.

MR. HALL, of West Virginia—I rise to a question of order, Mr. Chairman. That motion was made while I had the floor.

THE CHAIRMAN—I understand that the gentleman from West Virginia had no longer the floor.

MR. HALL, of West Virginia—I was asked a question by the Chairman, and had not concluded, when a gentleman from some State rose and made a motion to lay on the table. As I understand it, I had yet the floor.

THE CHAIRMAN—The motion to lay on the table must not be debated.

MR. HALL, of West Virginia—As I understand it, the Chairman addressed a question to me and I answered, but I did not give up the floor.

THE CHAIRMAN—The Chairman decided the gentleman had not the floor.

The motion to lay the motion to reconsider on the table prevailed.

THE CHAIRMAN—The Secretary will call the roll of States, for the names of the Committee on Permanent Organization.

The Secretary proceeded with the call:

Alabama—J. J. Martin.	Illinois—Amos C. Babcock.
Arkansas—R. W. McChesney.	Indiana—Geo. H. Buskirk.
California—W. E. Lovett.	Iowa—Seth Craig.
Colorado—John Evans.	Kansas—John A. Martin.
Connecticut—A. H. Byington.	Kentucky—Oscar H. Burbridge.
Delaware—Wilson L. Cannon.	Louisiana—George C. Benham.
Florida—V. B. Chamberlain.	Maine—Wales Hubbard.
Georgia—W. H. Watson.	Maryland—

Mr. ———, of Maryland—Mr. Chairman, we have two delegations here, and Maryland has no right to be represented on this committee until her delegation is settled by your Committee on Credentials.

Mr. ———, ——— —I move that the name of Maryland be omitted, in the further call of committees, until the report of the Committee on Credentials shall have come in.

The motion prevailed.

The Secretary proceeded with the call:

Massachusetts—Alfred R. Field. Michigan—Hampton Rich.

THE CHAIRMAN—I would announce to the Convention that there is a room provided for the Committee on Credentials in the rear of the building, and any member of the Committee of Arrangements will conduct the members of the Committee on Credentials there, now, so that they can go on with the organization.

The Secretary proceeded with the call:

Minnesota—C. C. Andrews.	Nebraska—P. B. Stevenson.
Mississippi—R. M. Tindall.	Nevada—H. H. Beck.
Missouri—Geo. A. Moser.	

Mr. ———, of ——— —I move that we adjourn for one hour, to wait for the Committee on Credentials.

The motion did not prevail.

Mr. ———, of Pennsylvania—Mr. Chairman, it would facilitate business in this Convention if each delegate should hand in the name, and save the calling of the entire delegation from each State; and I move, therefore, that all of these delegations send the name of one delegate for each of these different Committees.

Mr. ———, of Michigan—I move as a substitute for that, that, as the names of the several States are called, the Chairman of the delegation announce the name selected by the delegation for the several committees that are to be appointed, so that the roll-call need be gone through with but once.

THE CHAIRMAN—The officers of the Convention are now executing an order of the Convention.

The Secretary proceeded with the call:

New Hampshire—John H. Bailey.	New York—Hamilton Harris.
New Jersey—Jarvis H. Bartlett.	North Carolina—W. R. Myers.

Oregon—R. Mallory.	Texas—A. H. Longley.
Ohio—William Stoms.	Vermont—Wm. W. Grout.
Pennsylvania—James H. Orne.	Virginia—John Hauxhurst.
Rhode Island—Lysander Flagg.	West Virginia—E. R. Hall.
South Carolina—B. F. Whittemore.	Wisconsin—A. Scott Sloan.
Tennessee—L. C. Houk.	

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE VIRGINIA DELEGATION—Mr. Chairman—For Virginia, I wish to change, and insert the name of F. M. Kimball.

#### COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS.

MR. OSBORNE, of Ohio—I offer the following resolution for adoption: In calling the residue of the roll—to save time—I ask, Mr. Chairman, for information whether the present calling is through.

THE CHAIRMAN—Yes, sir.

MR. OSBORNE, of Ohio—Then my motion will come in.

The Secretary read the following resolution, offered by Mr. Osborne, of Ohio:

*Resolved*, That the several States be called in their order, and that, when so called, the Chairman of the respective delegations declare the names of the Vice President and committeemen as agreed upon by their delegation, and that said names be sent up to the Secretary in writing.

MR. McCLURE, of Pennsylvania—I move, Mr. Chairman, as a substitute, or as an amendment—there are but two more committees to appoint—I move, as a substitute for the resolution of the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Osborne], that this convention do now proceed to appoint the two committees, as the others have been appointed, but at the same time—one upon resolutions and one upon rules. When the delegations are called, let them give in both at the same time, and then we are through. The committeemen, upon organization, will, of course, know who their States want for Vice President, and will present them in committee. We don't want them presented here. I make that as an amendment or substitute—that we now proceed to appoint the two additional Committees, one upon platform or resolutions and one upon rules, and that the roll be called, and that they both be handed in at the same time—and then we are through.

MR. OSBORNE, of Ohio—I have to say to the gentleman of Pennsylvania (Mr. McClure), that it is a mere matter of form. So far as Ohio is concerned, we have selected the man who is to be our Vice President.

MR. McCLURE, of Pennsylvania—So have we.

MR. OSBORNE, of Ohio—The delegation have agreed upon all these, including the office of President.

MR. McCLURE, of Pennsylvania—So have we.

MR. OSBORNE, of Ohio—There is no objection, as I see, to sending up the names.

MR. LEE, of Ohio—Mr. Chairman, I do trust and hope we shall have no more motions and resolutions, but, that this Convention will be quiet, and allow the work to proceed rapidly. [Applause.] I hope this motion and

resolution will be voted down, and the calling of the roll will proceed at once. I move to lay the resolution upon the table, although it comes from a colleague.

The motion to lay the resolution on the table prevailed.

The Secretary proceeded to call the roll, and the following Committee on Resolutions was named:

Alabama—Daniel C. Humphreys.	Missouri—R. T. Van Horne.
Arkansas—H. B. Morse.	Nebraska—R. W. Furnas.
Colorado—Geo. M. Chilcott.	Nevada—C. E. DeLong.
Connecticut—J. M. Woodward.	New Hampshire—James F. Briggs.
Delaware—C. S. Layton.	New Jersey—John Davidson.
Florida—R. T. Rombeaur.	New York—Charles Andrews.
Georgia—H. K. McCoy.	North Carolina—L. G. Estes.
Illinois—Herman Raster.	Ohio—John C. Lee.
Indiana—R. W. Thompson.	Oregon—H. R. Kincaid.
Iowa—George M. Dodge.	Pennsylvania—S. E. Dimmick.
Kansas—B. F. Simpson.	Rhode Island—Rowland G. Hazard.
Kentucky—Charles Eginton.	South Carolina—B. O. Duncan.
Louisiana—W. R. Fish.	Tennessee—William Y. Elliott.
Maine—Eugene Hale.	Texas—Geo. W. Paschal.
Massachusetts—F. W. Bird.	Vermont—William H. Johnson.
Maryland—John L. Thomas, Jr.	Virginia—Lysander Hill.
Michigan—Robert R. Beecher.	West Virginia—Robert S. Brown.
Minnesota—R. M. McLaren.	Wisconsin—Horace Rublee.
Mississippi—A. R. Howe.	

#### DISPOSITION OF RESOLUTIONS.

MR. EGINTON, of Kentucky—Mr. Chairman, I offer the following resolution:

*Resolved*, That all resolutions offered be referred, without debate, to the Committee on Resolutions.

The motion prevailed.

#### COMMITTEE ON RULES.

MR. McCURE, of Pennsylvania—I ask, now, for the call of the roll, for a Committee on Rules and Order of Business.

THE CHAIRMAN—That will be done unless objections be made.

The Secretary proceeded to call the roll, and the following committee was named:

Alabama—Robert M. Reynolds.	Indiana—G. K. Steele.
Arkansas—L. H. Roots.	Iowa—L. M. Holt.
Colorado—J. B. Chaffee.	Kansas—C. W. Babcock.
Connecticut—S. L. Sayles.	Kentucky—Thomas J. Pickett.
Delaware—Isaac J. Jenkins.	Louisiana—A. J. Sypher.
Florida—V. B. Chamberlain.	Maine—W. P. Harriman.
Georgia—David G. Cotting.	Maryland—G. W. Z. Black.
Illinois—Emory A. Storrs.	Massachusetts—E. Howe.



Michigan—William B. Williams.	Oregon—Maxwell Ramsey.
Minnesota—A. A. Butler.	Pennsylvania—T. E. Cochrane.
Mississippi—D. McA. Williams.	Rhode Island—W. H. Reynolds.
Missouri—A. W. Mullins.	South Carolina—J. P. McEpping.
Nebraska—S. A. Strickland.	Tennessee—W. J. Smith.
Nevada—O. R. Leonard.	Texas—C. N. Riottet.
New Hampshire—E. Vaughan.	Vermont—G. C. Shepard.
New Jersey—C. A. Skillman.	Virginia—G. S. Smith.
New York—George Barker.	West Virginia—Henry C. McWhorter.
North Carolina—F. F. French.	Wisconsin—A. J. Turner.
Ohio—T. L. Young.	

THE CHAIRMAN—Your Committee on Permanent Organization having been appointed, what is the further pleasure of the Convention? I would announce to the members of the Committee on Resolutions and on Order of Business, that there are members of the Committee of Arrangements waiting in the hall, to conduct them to their rooms.

MR. SICKLES, of New York—I believe, Mr. Chairman, that all the business which can be accomplished by the temporary organization is disposed of, and I think it is time now we should take a recess, to enable the committees to make their reports. I, therefore, move that we take a recess until 5 o'clock. [Calls for 4 o'clock.] I would gladly accede to the suggestions made, but, in my judgment, the committees will not be able to report before 5 o'clock, especially the Committee on Credentials. I think I have named the earliest hour.

MR. ———, of ——— —I hope it will be 5 o'clock.

MR. SICKLES, of New York—It will be difficult for the committees to get through before 5 o'clock.

MR. ——— of ——— — I would move that the hour be 7 o'clock, in order to enable the several committees to do their work well.

THE CHAIRMAN—It is moved and seconded that the Convention adjourn until 5 o'clock. To this motion an amendment is offered, that the adjournment be until 7 o'clock.

VOICES—There is no second to the amendment.

THE CHAIRMAN—The motion to adjourn is, that the Convention adjourn until 5 o'clock.

The motion prevailed and the Convention adjourned.

#### ————— EVENING SESSION.

The Convention re-assembled, pursuant to adjournment, at 5 o'clock, and was called to order by the Chairman.

#### CALLS FOR REPORTS.

THE CHAIRMAN—The first business will be the report of the committees, and, unless objection is made, I shall call, first, for the report of the Committee on Permanent Organization. Is the Committee ready to report?

MR. MYERS, of North Carolina—Mr. Chairman, the delegation from North Carolina have been unable to find the Committee, and I desire to hand in the name of Alfred Dochery for Vice-President.

THE CHAIRMAN—The Committee on Permanent Organization will be ready to report in a little while. I have received a series of resolutions passed by the Union League of America, and, unless objected to, I shall refer them to the Committee on Resolutions.

No objection being made, the resolutions were referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

THE CHAIRMAN—The Chairman of the Committee on Permanent Organization is now ready to report.

MR. DAYS, of California—Mr. Chairman, I rise to a point of order. My point of order is, that until the Committee on Credentials report, we do not know who are the members of the Convention, and, hence, we can have no permanent organization.

SEVERAL DELEGATES—"Go on." "Let us hear the report."

MR. CLAFLIN, of Massachusetts—I would suggest that the Committee on Credentials can report all but the contested seats at once, and then we can proceed, and they can report when they get ready. I make that motion, requesting them to report all but the contested seats.

The motion prevailed.

MR. MOORHEAD, of Pennsylvania—Mr. Chairman, while we are waiting for the Committee on Credentials to report, I hope the Committee on Permanent Organization will be permitted to proceed and make their report. I do not think it necessary that the time of the Convention should be delayed. I saw a member of the Committee on Credentials a few minutes ago, a Pennsylvania member, who was going to their committee room. He said they were listening to a long argument from one of the gentlemen from California. I hope the business of the Convention will not be delayed. I move, therefore, that the Committee on Permanent Organization now make their report.

The motion prevailed.

THE CHAIRMAN—The Committee on Permanent Organization will now make their report.

#### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON PERMANENT ORGANIZATION.

MR. HAMILTON HARRIS, of New York, Chairman of the Committee on Permanent Organization—Mr. Chairman, I am instructed by the Committee on Permanent Organization to report the name of General Joseph R. Hawley for permanent President of the Convention. [Applause.]

The report was adopted.

THE CHAIRMAN—I would designate Ex-Governor Salomon, of Wisconsin, and Ex-Governor Brown, of Georgia, a committee to conduct Ex-Governor Hawley, of Connecticut, to the chair.

The gentlemen named, then conducted Mr. Hawley to the chair.

Three cheers for Governor Hawley were given.

Three cheers were given for Governor Brown.

Three cheers more were given for the retiring Chairman, General Schuz.

THE CHAIRMAN—Gentlemen, permit me to introduce to you the permanent President of this Convention, Ex-Governor Hawley, of Connecticut.

ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT, EX-GOV. HAWLEY, OF CONNECTICUT.

Upon taking the chair, the President said:

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION: I tender you my most grateful thanks for the high honor you have conferred upon me. Deeply impressed by a sense of the responsibilities of the position, I earnestly solicit your indulgence and your aid. We come together, charged with the momentous duty of selecting the chief rulers of the great nation which leads the world in the promotion of freedom and equal rights. [Applause.] The indications of your purpose and spirit already given, assure us that you will maintain the noble character of the Republican party.

We unavoidably recall the Convention of 1860, with its profound anxieties, its fresh, pure and glowing devotion to liberty, and its enthusiastic acceptance of the wager of battle tendered by slavery and secession. [Applause.] It now seems clear to us that God ruled our councils. [Great Applause.] He made our declaration of principles manly and sincere. He gave us Abraham Lincoln for President. [Tremendous cheering.] May he send us like wisdom and success to-day. [Applause.]

He tested us in a manner, and to an extent, which the liveliest imagination could not have anticipated. Posterity, we hope, will decide that we met that test with the spirit worthy of a free people. Countless treasure, and three hundred thousand lives freely offered, are the evidences that we were solemnly in earnest. We offered our lives and our property; but it was not enough. We laid our prejudices of race and class upon the altar, and the consciousness that we at last deserved success redoubled our strength. The same high resolves rule to-day, and the Union men of this country are ready for equal and even greater sacrifices, if they be indispensable to the dedication of this Continent to liberty and equal rights. [Applause.]

We learned the first lesson when we found that we must make all men free, and call all men to the battle-field. We learned the second lesson when we found that we must still move on and give impartially to all men a share in the Government we were endeavoring to restore. [Great applause.]

With a clear and fearless expression of the essential and important questions at issue—which the people will understand, and no ingenious device, no words can obscure or avoid—passing by all personal and temporary controversies, working in perfect confidence that the American people mean to do right, and will do it in the end, we may feel sure of triumph. The power of a nation of forty millions must be behind the just claim of the poorest workingman, of whatever race, to recover even and just wages. Its majesty must be felt wherever the humblest loyal man appeals against personal violence and oppression. [Cheers.] For every dollar of the national debt, the blood of a soldier is pledged. [Great cheering.] Every bond, in letter and in spirit, must be as sacred as a soldier's grave. [Cheers.] We must win, gentlemen, and we *shall* win. It is the old fight of liberty, equality and fraternity, against oppression, caste and aristocracy. It is the old fight to make the world better, with "malice toward none, and charity for all." [Loud applause.]

We may halt for a moment, or change direction, but the good cause always goes steadily forward. It is related—and, whether it be true or not, the incident is well invented—that, on the evening of that awful battle of the Wilderness, when the legions of the Union army had fought all day, rather by faith than by sight, in the wild woods and tangled brush, that someone asked General Grant to step backward a little, and re-organize, and that he replied, "We have done very well, gentlemen! At half past three in the morning we move *forward!*" [Long and continued cheering.] We accept his spirit and his words.

Perhaps I am not anticipating in saying that we shall accept him in person again as our leader. [Loud cheering.]

Thanking you, again, gentlemen, very heartily for the honor conferred, I await the pleasure of the Convention. [Applause.]

FURTHER REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON PERMANENT ORGANIZATION.

MR. HAMILTON HARRIS, of New York, Chairman of the Committee on Permanent Organization, then further reported, as follows:

FOR PRESIDENT.

GENERAL JOSEPH R. HAWLEY, OF CONNECTICUT.

FOR VICE-PRESIDENTS.

Alabama—Willard Warner.	Missouri—A. J. Harlan.
Arkansas—A. McDonald.	Montana—W. F. Sanders.
California—James Coey.	Nebraska—A. Saunders.
Colorado—J. B. Chaffee.	Nevada—J. M. Walker.
Connecticut—W. H. Pierson.	New Hampshire—E. Gould.
Delaware—Lewis Thompson.	New Jersey—Jno. S. Irick.
Florida—H. H. Moody.	New York—Chauncey M. Depew.
Georgia—Foster Blodgett.	North Carolina—Alfred Dockery.
Illinois—Jesse K. Dubois.	Ohio—N. C. McFarland.
Indiana—W. Q. Gresham.	Oregon—J. R. Failing.
Iowa—J. M. Hedrick.	Pennsylvania—J. K. Moorhead.
Kansas—S. S. Prouty.	Rhode Island—W. Green.
Kentucky—J. F. Speed.	South Carolina—Carlos T. Stolbrand
Louisiana—W. P. Kellogg.	Tennessee—T. A. Hamilton.
Maine—T. A. D. Fessenden.	Texas—S. D. Wood.
Maryland—Henry Stockbridge.	Vermont—G. J. Stannard.
Massachusetts—D. W. Gooch.	Virginia—J. Burke.
Michigan—Henry Waldron.	West Virginia—S. D. Karns.
Minnesota—Horatio P. Van Cleve.	Wisconsin—Edward Salomon.
Mississippi—Thos. L. White.	

SECRETARIES.

Thomas D. Fister,	Joshua T. Heald,
V. Dell,	J. Rhombeaur,
C. B. Higby,	Geo. G. Wilber,
F. B. Salomon,	James P. Root,
E. Bent,	Chas. R. Holgate,

J. H. Easton,  
 Lewis Weil,  
 Charles Seymour,  
 Wm. C. Goodloe,  
 C. W. Lowell,  
 Stephen D. Lindsey,  
 E. F. Waters,  
 Geo. G. Briggs,  
 W. W. Scott,  
 A. Worley Patterson,  
 J. C. S. Colby,  
 Samuel Maxwell,  
 G. N. Collins,  
 Francis B. Ayer,

Robt. C. Bellville,  
 Luther Caldwell,  
 J. W. Holden,  
 Coates Kenney,  
 Max Ramsey,  
 A. C. Harmer,  
 — Pehiter,  
 Wm. E. Rose,  
 T. McKinley,  
 Wm. P. Home,  
 S. D. Ringree,  
 Edgar Allen,  
 Joseph T. Hoke.

MR. —, of New York—Before we vote on the adoption of the report, I ask the members from the State of Maine the name of their Vice President.

MR. SHEPLEY, of Maine—T. A. D. Fessenden.

Upon motion, the report of the Committee on Permanent Organization was adopted.

MR. —, of Illinois—I have a suggestion to make: That when a member rises to address the Chair, he immediately announce the State from which he comes. This would save a great deal of confusion, and enable the Chair to recognize the person.

THE PRESIDENT—I will suggest that they add their own name in case of any extended remarks—at least, give their names and their State.

#### MOTION TO NOMINATE.

MR. SWIFT, of Indiana—Mr. President, as the first and most fitting act of this Convention, after the permanent organization, I move, now, that General Ulysses S. Grant be declared its nominee for President by acclamation. [Cries of "No," "no." "Too early."]

#### DELEGATION FROM THE SOLDIERS' AND SAILORS' CONVENTION.

MR. COCHRANE, of New York—Mr. President, I am informed that there is a committee in waiting from the Soldiers' and Sailors' Convention, which convened and finished their proceedings on yesterday, charged with the duties of presenting those proceedings to this Convention. I move you, sir, a committee of five be appointed to escort them into the presence of this Convention, so that they may hereupon and now discharge their duties.

The motion prevailed.

MR. COWLES, of North Carolina—I move now, sir, that the Vice Presidents take their seats upon the stand, in order to put the platform in shape for the reception of the delegation.

THE PRESIDENT—Gentlemen, you have heard the suggestion. So far as it is possible, it will be well that the Vice Presidents and Secretaries should take their seats upon the stage. [Laughter.]

MR. BARTHOLOMEW, of Pennsylvania—Mr. President, as the business of the Convention will necessarily be delayed a few moments, preparatory to the reception of this committee, and the report of committees now appointed and in action, I move you, sir, that General Daniel E. Sickles be invited to address this Convention on the topics of the day. [Cheers. "Good," "good."]

MR. SICKLES, of New York—Mr. President, I beg the gentleman to withdraw that request. I should be very happy, on some proper occasion, to address this body, but at this time I should be very reluctant to interrupt the process of business with any remarks. Besides, I am one of the delegation to this body from the Soldiers' and Sailors' Convention, and my duties will require me, in a very few minutes, to join that deputation to present the proceedings of the Soldiers' and Sailors' Convention to this body.

MR. BARTHOLOMEW, of Pennsylvania—Under the explanation, I withdraw my motion.

THE PRESIDENT—The Chair announces as the Committee to receive the delegation from the Soldiers' and Sailors' Convention: Gen. Cochrane, of New York; Gen. Schurz, of Missouri; Gen. Dodge, of Iowa; Gen. Sweet, of Illinois.

MR. ———, of ——— —Mr. Dodge, of Iowa, is on the Committee on Resolutions, and is absent from the building. I would suggest the name of Col. Craig in place of Gen. Dodge.

THE PRESIDENT—The name of Col. Craig will be taken in place of Gen. Dodge, if there is no objection.

The delegation of the Soldiers' and Sailors' Convention was conducted to the front of the platform.

MR. COCHRANE of New York—Mr. President, I have the honor, in behalf of the committee recently appointed by yourself, to announce that they have discharged the duty to which they were appointed. I introduce to the Convention, through yourself, Gen. Fairchild, of Wisconsin, Chairman of the Committee from the Soldiers' and Sailors' Convention. [Prolonged applause.]

GEN. FAIRCHILD, of Wisconsin—Mr. President and gentlemen of the Convention—As instructed by the members of the Soldiers' and Sailors' Convention, I appear before you in their behalf, to present to you a resolution, passed unanimously by them yesterday afternoon, as follows:

"*Resolved*, That we, the soldiers and sailors, steadfast now, as ever, to the Union and the flag, fully recognize the claims of General Ulysses S. Grant to the confidence of the American people, and believing that the victories won under his guidance in war will be illustrated by him in peace, by such measures as will secure the fruits of our exertions, and restore the Union upon the loyal basis, we declare it as our deliberate conviction that he is the choice of the soldiers and sailors of the Union for the office of President of the United States of America. [Loud applause.]

MR. PRESIDENT and gentlemen—The soldiers of the United States ask the nomination of General Grant for President of the United States, because we love him; and we love him, sir, because he is loyal to the Union, loyal to

justice, loyal to freedom, and loyal to right; and if you will give us our comrade as leader in the campaign of 1868, we will bear down upon the enemy's works as we did upon the enemy's works in the field in 1864. [Applause.]

THE PRESIDENT—It is hardly necessary that I should say that such a communication is received with the warmest interest from Republican Soldiers and Sailors by a Republican Convention. The communication is before you.

MR. SPALDING, of Ohio—I propose three cheers for the soldiers and sailors.

Three hearty cheers were given.

#### MOTION TO NOMINATE—AGAIN.

MR. LANE, of Indiana—Mr. President, I move you that the nomination of General Ulysses S. Grant be now declared by acclamation by this Convention. [Cries—"Wait awhile." "The Committee on Credentials hasn't reported." "Question."]

THE PRESIDENT—The motion is made and seconded.

MR. TREMAIN, of New York—Mr. President, I presume there is no member of this Convention who is not prepared at the proper time to indorse the recommendation made by the soldiers and sailors. I presume there is not one loyal heart that does not beat in unison with the sentiment that calls upon us to select that great chieftain, Ulysses S. Grant, as our standard-bearer in this campaign. [Applause.] Sir, I want the proceedings of this Convention to go forth with such dignity, and as the result of such deliberation as not only will command our approval, but the approval of those who sent us here. [Applause.]

Now, I happened to be present at the Convention in Baltimore, in 1864, when the same unanimity prevailed that called upon the representatives of the people to select Abraham Lincoln as their standard-bearer. [Applause.] But, sir, a motion to nominate him by acclamation was superseded by a motion that the States should be called in their order, and that, as each State was called, from its response we should have the moral force arising from the unanimous expression of each one of the delegates from that State. [Applause.] Sir, when that is done, the Convention will be at liberty, by acclamation, to second the nomination, as the people will—not only in their preliminary meetings, but at the polls. [Applause.]

I hope, therefore, my friend from Indiana [Mr. Lane] will withdraw the motion until the States can be called in their order.

MR. LANE, of Indiana—Mr. President, I certainly have no desire to consume the time of the Convention. I only wish to get at the object. The nomination is already made, sanctioned by the people, and by the whole people. But, if it is thought better to call the States—call the States! [Laughter.] Call the States! [Laughter and applause.]

MR. BEACH, of Ohio—I would remark, in this connection, that we are not organized. The Committee on Credentials have not yet reported the dele-

gates who are entitled to seats here, and to do anything of this kind in an unorganized condition is not appropriate.

MR. LOGAN, of Illinois—[Applause and cheers]—Mr. President, I desire merely to remark, that I think it would be a more appropriate mode of proceeding to accept the report of the committee from the Soldiers' and Sailors' Convention; that, then, when this Convention will be fully organized, and when the States are represented by their delegates who shall have been accepted by the Convention, after the report of the Committee on Credentials, then the order of business would be nomination of candidates for President. [Applause.]

I know, sir, that General Grant, of whom we are all proud, from one end of this broad land to the other, is, to-day, the nominee of the loyal citizens, the loyal soldiers and the loyal sailors of this grand and glorious country. And I simply desire, to make this suggestion that the Convention may consider it. As far as the making of the nomination by a delegate from any particular State is concerned, we, Illinoisans, have no pride whatever. We had as lief the nomination would come from one State as another, and I merely make these remarks with reference to the mode and order of proceeding. [Applause.]

MR. COCHRANE, of New York—Mr. President, I move you, sir, as an amendment to the resolution which has been offered, and, if that resolution is withdrawn, then as an independent resolution, that the resolutions from the Soldiers' and Sailors' Convention, as reported, be accepted by the Convention, entered upon its record, and made a part of its proceedings.

MR. LANE, of Indiana—I will withdraw for that purpose.

The motion prevailed.

#### CALL FOR THE COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS.

MR. PIERCE, of Virginia—Mr. President, I would now call, sir, for the report of the Committee on Credentials, that we may know who there are here—whether we have a convention or a mass-meeting—I would move you, sir, that the Committee on Credentials be called upon now to make a report regarding all the states where there is no contest.

THE PRESIDENT—I am informed that a motion to that effect has already been adopted. It was postponed for a time, waiting for the report of the Committee on Permanent Organization. Is there any member of the Committee on Credentials who can inform us whether that committee is ready, or even partly so?

MR. ———, of ——— —I desire to inform the Convention that it is not yet ready to report. It has a contested case before it, which is not yet determined, and probably will not be for an hour.

THE PRESIDENT—It seems to be the desire of the Convention to hear a report from the committee, as far as possible. If there be but one State remaining, the Convention wishes, as far as I can judge its sentiments, to hear from the rest. [Cries of "Logan," "Logan."]



MR. LOGAN, of Illinois—I beg, gentlemen, that you will excuse me. I do not wish to take up the time of the Convention now. At an appropriate time I have, certainly, no objection to respond, but at present I would rather not delay the Convention. [Cries of "Committee," "Committee."]

THE PRESIDENT—The Chairman would inform the Convention that it has twice sent word to the committee in question, and that it is expected every moment. [Cries of "Committee."] The Chairman sends word that they have finished all the contested cases, and will be here in five minutes, or as soon as they can prepare their report. [Laughter.]

MR. CONWAY, of Louisiana—Mr. President, I suppose that it is a part of the settled policy of the Republican party, to-day, to have the South come into this Convention Union end foremost. [Applause and laughter.] But we have another marked event, of special moment—that there is with us to-day, in full heart and in full fellowship, one of the former Governors, in the days of the rebellion, of one of the rebellious States, who has since become reconstructed [applause], has proved himself, in the fire, as true as steel, a genuine convert, and in fellowship with the Republican party.

I move, sir, that during the interim, until we have the report of the Committee on Credentials, Ex-Governor Joseph E. Brown, of Georgia, be invited to address the Convention. [Applause. Cries of "Brown," "Brown."]

THE PRESIDENT—It is hardly necessary to put a motion which has such a reception. Will Governor Brown address the Convention?

MR. BROWN, of Georgia—Mr. President, as it has been announced that the committee will be ready to report in a few minutes, I think it might be improper that I should attempt to enter into any discussion of the questions involved at this time. And I could not do justice to myself or my section if I attempted to speak without time to review, to some extent, the questions involved.

I do not wish, sir, to intrude upon the proceedings of this Convention. I came here, as has been well remarked, a reconstructed rebel. [Laughter and applause.] I was an original secessionist. [Laughter. Cries of "That's frank." "An open confession is good for the soul." Cries of "Platform," amid which Mr. Brown advanced to the stage.]

THE PRESIDENT—Gov. Brown, of Georgia, gentlemen. [Tremendous applause.]

MR. BROWN, of Georgia—Mr. President and gentlemen of the Convention.

A VOICE—"Tell us your experience." [Laughter and applause.]

MR. BROWN, of Georgia—As I remarked before I left my seat, I was an original secessionist. I was born in the State of South Carolina, in Mr. Calhoun's district. [Laughter.] Charmed with the fascination of his manner and the splendor of his intellect, I early imbibed his State Rights doctrines, and I suppose that I religiously believed that they were correct, as you believed that your doctrines were correct. I believe that I had seen for ten years, before the unfortunate struggle we have just passed through, that the issues which divided the North and South must ultimately be settled by the sword. There was no common tribunal whose judgment we would respect. If the Supreme Court decided a question bearing upon the great issues, the party against whom the decision was made refused to abide by it, because it

was regarded as political. And, while I deprecated the necessity, I believed one day it must come. While Mr. Clay lived—that great man—that great pacificator—[cheers and great applause]—we were able to avert this issue. But Mr. Clay was called from his field of usefulness, and Mr. Webster died, and Mr. Calhoun slept with his fathers; and when the storm again rose there was no one who could pour oil upon the troubled waters and stop the deluge. Secession was the result! I went into it cordially, as a States' Rights man, and I stood by it—[cheers]—as long as there was any chance to sustain it. When the President of the Confederate States abandoned the great States' Rights doctrine that we commenced the revolution upon, I differed from him. When he adopted his conscript measures, which gave the entire control of the whole army of the Confederate States to the President, with the appointment of every officer, down to the lowest lieutenant—an error, sir, that your Government did not make—I took issue with him. But we went through the struggle. I will not attempt now to review its history, but we of the South fell, and you of the great North were the conquerors; and I think I had sense enough at the end of the struggle to know when I was whipped. [Cheers.]

The president of the United States, after the surrender of General Johnston ordered my arrest and imprisonment. After my release your courts were open and I was left free to act. I felt then that the time had come when I should make my choice between this land and this Government, and some other land and some other Government. I still love my own native land the best. [Cheers, and cries of "Good," "good."] And, with your construction of the Constitution, established by the sword, I still preferred the Government of the United States to any other recognized Government. [Cheers.]

The natural inquiry then was: What is my interest, and what is my duty? I believed it was my interest, and my choice, to remain in this Government. If I remained here, I must seek the amnesty of the Government for the past, and I must seek its protection for the future. If it yielded me that, I was in honor bound to return to my allegiance and make a good citizen, if I could. [Cries of "Good," "good," and cheers.] Hence, I have advocated every measure from that time until this, for reconstruction. [Applause.] When the President of the United States proposed his plan, I advised our people to accept it; because we had fallen, and we had no other power to negotiate with but him. He did not call Congress together.

When Congress, which had the legitimate control of this question—[cheers and prolonged applause] proposed the Constitutional Amendment to the Southern States, I advised such friends as sought my opinion upon the question, that it was better to accept it. But the feeling was so overwhelming against it that no voice could stay it. Unwisely, the Southern States promptly rejected those terms. I did not then suppose it would ever get better terms. I was satisfied we must submit to worse ones. What was that Constitutional Amendment?

There was but one living issue in it, and that was the suffrage question—and that Congress left with the States to settle for themselves. If we voted the black race, we must count them in our representation; if we refused to vote them we could not count them. That was right! [Cheers and great applause. Cries of "Right! right!"]

With reference to the Federal debt, there was no question there.

There was but one other important measure connected with it; that was the provision that disqualified me, and others in my condition, from holding office. That was no living issue. I and others like me will soon pass from the stage, and if we are never relieved by Congress there are other and better men to take our places. Therefore, in my judgment, we acted unwisely.

What next followed? The Supplemental Bill and the Sherman Act. I advised, immediately on the passage of that act, that we promptly accept the terms. At that time it would have been easy for me. True, without vanity,

I may say I had some popularity in my State, and had four times been elected the Executive of my State. I might have retained and courted popularity. But duty and my judgment dictated to me a different course. I did it; and I have received the hearty denunciation of my people—or a large proportion of them—for having done so.

I have been denounced as a traitor to my race, and a traitor to the "*Lost Cause*" which I had so much at heart. I do not think so. I think my course more honorable than the course of that man who was a rebel and sought the same amnesty that I sought, and received the same protection from the Government that I received, and then stays in its bosom its enemy, prepared to sting it when opportunity offers. ["Good," "good" and Applause.] When I fought you, I fought you openly and boldly. When I surrendered, I surrendered in good faith. [Cheers.] And when I took the amnesty oath, I took it with a purpose religiously to observe it. By my theory (and I had been taught that it is the true one), my primary allegiance was to the State. When I had formally taken an oath to support the Constitution of the United States, I understood it to bind me only while my State remained in the Union; but if she withdrew (which I believed she had the right to do, for just cause, by the very necessity of the case), I thought she must be the judge. I did not feel that I had violated that oath when I went with my State. But, since that time, when the President of the United States offered me his pardon, he required me to take a very different oath. I was sworn to support not only the Constitution of the United States, but the Union of the States. [Applause.] When I did that I abandoned the doctrine of secession, for I cannot support the union of the States and encourage secession from the Union. [Cheers.] The Virginia and Kentucky resolutions that included that doctrine, as I understood them, had always been the very platform upon which the Democracy had stood. But when the platform was knocked from under my party, I had nothing left to take hold on. As I understood the doctrines of the Democratic party, they were sovereignty and the right of secession. The sword has established a different doctrine, and hence it is that I am no longer bound by party allegiance to stand by the Democratic party. Where do I naturally fall, then? The Hamiltonian and Websterian construction of the Constitution has been established by the sword. I have acquiesced in that, and, as I find the Republican party on that platform to-day, my oath has bound me to abandon the doctrine which the Democratic party stood upon, and that naturally leads me, as I think, into the Republican party. [Cheers.] I know this is a very unpopular doctrine in the South, but I believe it is the true doctrine. But let me tell you, Mr. President and gentlemen, that there are many white men in the South, there are large numbers of original Democrats in the South, there are large numbers of original secessionists in the South, who, to-day, stand as firmly by the Republican party, and will support the great Captain of the age, Gen. Grant—[great applause]—as well as you will.

Our Democratic friends have appealed to the whole country against negro suffrage, have showered anathemas upon it, and denounced it as an outrage upon humanity and upon society; and yet, in the late elections there, the negro who would vote the Democratic ticket was really a very respectable fellow!—[laughter]—while a white man who voted the Republican ticket was a scallawag and a traitor! [Cheers and laughter.] They tell us: then you establish negro supremacy in the South. Not so; not so. Although they denounce those of us who act with the Republican party as being no better than negroes, I still feel that I belong to the white race, and that I would advocate and sustain no policy that put any other race over my race in the South, or made them supreme there. While we grant to the colored people all their rights, civil and political, we do not expect them to be our masters. Much as you have seen in the papers on that subject, it is not so. In the State of Georgia, for instance, when those who are included in the constitutional amendment,

and who will be voters, although they have no right to hold offices under our new constitution, come to the ballot-box, there are twenty thousand majority of white men there. What little property is left, is all in the hands of the white men. We have the advantage of education. We have the advantage in experience, and we claim that we have superiority of race. Tell me not, then, that the black people of Georgia can rule Georgia, when they are twenty thousand in the minority, and we have all the advantages. This is said with a view of prejudicing the Republican party, North and South. Is it not so? In other States, even where the blacks are in the majority, if our white race act properly in this matter, there will be no difficulty of that sort.

I am aware I am taking up too much time. [Cries—"Go on."]

THE PRESIDENT—Is the Chairman of the Committee here?

MR. BROWN, of Georgia—I will thank you, at any moment, to interrupt me when the committee comes in. [A voice—"It is coming now."]

MR. BROWN, of Georgia—Just in conclusion, let me say, while we have a hard fight to make in Georgia, if you will give us the fruits of the victory we have lately won in a desperate fight, we will carry Georgia for General Grant. [Great applause.]

Allow me one word before I take my seat. I have said, if we do it, you must give us the fruits of our victory. We have elected our Governor; we have adopted our Constitution by a large majority, and we have elected a majority in both branches of the General Assembly. Yet our Governor is not inaugurated, our Legislature is not called together. We desire that Mr. Stevens' bill, that passed the House of Representatives the other day, be slightly amended in the Senate, and there passed. Then we are on our feet. And the amendment we desire is this: That the Senate of the United States amend that bill so as to allow the Governor-elect—Governor Bullock—to convene his Legislature on ten days' notice; let him be inaugurated, let them act, and they will adopt the constitutional amendment; and then let them elect Senators, and receive us into Congress, and give us control of the State Government and its patronage, which we fought for and won, and which we must have if we are to succeed in this contest. [Great applause.]

#### REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS.

MR. LEE, of Louisiana, Chairman of the Committee on Credentials—Mr. President, your committee report the names of the several delegates from the several States, and especially report in reference to the State of Pennsylvania, that there appeared fifty-nine delegates, whereas that State is entitled, under the call, to only fifty-two votes in this Convention; that your committee recommend that those fifty-nine delegates named in their report be admitted to seats upon the floor of the Convention, and that they be authorized to cast the fifty-two votes to which the State is entitled, such being the wish of the Pennsylvania delegation.

Your committee have further reported in favor of allowing to each of the delegations from the several Territories, and, also, the District of Columbia, the right to seats upon the floor, and the privilege of casting, each, two votes. And, further, Mr. President, we report to you the names of delegates from the States of Maryland and California, which, in our judgment, are entitled to seats upon the floor, and to a voice in the Convention.

MR. ———, of ——— —I move, now, that the delegates reported from California and Maryland be read by the Secretary.

MR. WARNER, of Alabama—I ask for information whether the delegates from the unreconstructed States are included in this report?

MR. LEE, of Louisiana—I would state that the delegates from the unreconstructed States are included in this report as entitled to seats and votes. [Applause.] I will state that the committee considered that the action of the Convention, this morning, effectually settled that question.

MR. ———, of Maryland—Before the names of the delegates from those two States are read, I desire to ask my friend, the Chairman of the Committee, to make this statement in regard to the delegation from Maryland: The committee resolved that the delegation headed by Mr. Cresswell should be admitted to seats on the floor with the right to cast votes, and that the delegation headed by Ex-Governor Thomas and Judge Bond, should be admitted to the floor with the right to have seats thereon, without being permitted to vote.

MR. LEE, of Louisiana—That is correct.

THE PRESIDENT—The report will be filed with the Secretary.

### LIST OF DELEGATES.

#### ALABAMA.

##### DELEGATES.

At Large—Robert M. Reynolds,  
David C. Humphreys,  
Dist. 1—Albert Griffin,  
Almon M. Granger.  
2—Willard Warner,  
John C. Keffer,  
3—John J. Martin,  
Robert T. Smith.

James P. Stow,  
Thomas D. Flster.  
4—Thomas L. Tullock,  
Benjamin S. Williams.  
5—William J. Haralson,  
Joseph W. Burke.  
6—G. M. Tabor,  
Jacob Y. Cantwell.

#### ARKANSAS.

##### DELEGATES.

At Large—Benjamin F. Rice,  
Alexander McDonald,  
Dist 1—W. S. McCollough,  
W. H. Rogers,

W. H. Gray.  
R. W. McChesney.  
2—H. B. Morse,  
L. H. Roots.  
3—Samuel F. Cooper,  
Valentine Dill.

#### CALIFORNIA.

##### DELEGATES.

At Large—James Coey.

Dist. 1—Wm. H. Sears.  
Wm. E. Lovett.

J. Stratman.

3—Thomas Spencer.  
J. S. Rogers.

P. E. Conner,

2—C. B. Higby,  
J. M. Days.

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## COLORADO.

### DELEGATES.

At Large—John Evans,  
Jerome B. Chaffee,  
Geo. M. Chilcote,

Harper M. Orohood,  
John C. Anderson,  
James Peck.

## CONNECTICUT.

### DELEGATES.

At Large—J. R. Hawley,  
O. H. Platt,  
Marshall Jewell,  
Thomas Clark.

Dist. 1—H. W. Carr,  
E. M. Smith.  
2—S. W. Kellogg,  
Bartlett Bent, Jr.  
3—Horace Smith,  
Sabin L. Sayles.  
4—Wm. G. Coe,  
A. Homer Byington.

### ALTERNATES.

W. S. Pierson.  
Patten Fitch.  
James M. Woodward.  
Thomas Clark.

Truman A. Warren.

## DAKOTA.

### DELEGATES.

G. C. Moody.  
C. B. Valentine.

### ALTERNATES.

J. L. Jolley.  
J. R. Hanson.

## DELAWARE.

### DELEGATES.

Joshua T. Heald,  
Nathaniel B. Smithers,  
Caleb S. Layton,  
Lewis Thompson,  
Thomas B. Coursey,  
Isaac J. Jenkins.

### ALTERNATES.

James B. Henry.  
Wilson L. Cannon.  
S. D. Strawbridge.  
John F. Williamson.  
Jas. R. Lofland.  
George Joseph.

## DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

### DELEGATES.

Sayles J. Bowen,  
Wm. L. Morse,

Samuel L. Brown.

G. W. Welis,  
Benjamin N. Meeds.

## FLORIDA.

### DELEGATES.

H. H. Moody.  
S. B. Connover.

R. T. Rombeaur.  
V. B. Chamberlin.

## GEORGIA.

### DELEGATES.

At Large—Foster Blodgett,  
Joseph E. Brown,

Dist. 1—T. P. Robb,  
Isaac Seeley.  
2—F. O. Welch,  
D. B. Harrell,  
3—I. G. Maull,  
W. C. Smith.

J. R. Parrott,  
H. K. McCoy.  
4—G. G. Wilbur.  
J. B. Etze.  
5—D. G. Cotting.  
Wm. Gibson.  
6—Madison Bell.  
E. Hulbert.

7—L. P. Gudger.  
W. H. Watson.

## IDAHO.

### DELEGATES.

J. H. Alvord.

Geo. I. Gilvert.

## DELEGATES.

- At Large—John A. Logan,  
A. C. Babcock,  
John H. Addams,  
B. J. Sweet,  
Jesse K. Dubois,  
Emory A. Storrs.
- Dist. 1—J. Russel Jones.  
Herman Raster.
- 2—M. L. Joslyn,  
Wm. Hulin.
- 3—James L. Camp.  
M. D. Swift.
- 4—Calvin Truesdale,  
Ira D. Chamberlain.
- 5—W. L. Wiley,  
Mark Bangs.
- 6—Henry Fish,  
Calhoun Grant.
- 7—J. W. Langley,  
James Steele.
- 8—Giles A. Smith,  
J. S. Whittinger.
- 9—G. W. Whitney,  
Hugh N. Furlerton.
- 10—John Logan,  
A. C. Vandeventer.
- 11—J. A. Powell,  
W. O. Robinson.
- 12—T. E. Hosmer,  
Phillip Eisenmyer.
- 13—B. G. Root,  
Thos. S. Ridgeway.

## DELEGATES.

- At Large—Robert W. Thompson,  
Henry S. Lane,  
William A. Peele,  
Walter Q. Gresham.
- Dist. 1—Cyrus M. Allen,  
Lemuel Q. DeBruler.
- 2—Andrew Caskin,  
John C. Albert.
- 3—John G. Berkshire,  
A. W. Prather.
- 4—Richard H. Swift,  
Benj. F. Claypool.
- 5—Chas. F. Holgate,  
Wm. M. French.
- 6—George K. Steele,  
Geo. H. Buskirk.
- 7—Joseph Odell,  
James H. Paris.
- 8—John Brownlee,  
J. D. Conner.
- 9—S. T. Powell,  
John H. Hough.
- 10—S. P. Williams,  
J. W. Purviance.
- 11—Aaron Gurney,  
C. G. Powell.

- At Large—Peter Melendy,  
G. M. Dodge.

- Dist. 1—Seth Craig,  
Joshua Tracy.
- 2—J. C. Polley,  
J. McKean.
- 3—A. J. Felt,  
J. H. Easton.

## ILLINOIS.

## ALTERNATES.

- J. D. Galloway.  
T. W. Harris.  
E. S. Condit.  
W. D. Henderson.  
C. H. Ray.  
D. G. Hays.
- Merrill Ladd.  
L. P. Otis.  
Chauncey Ellwood.  
Robert Swain.  
R. V. Aukney.  
C. B. Smith.  
K. K. Jones.  
H. W. Draper.  
P. M. Blair.  
J. S. Merrier.  
W. H. Palmerston.  
W. C. Goodhue.  
A. B. Reff.  
Thomas Apperson.  
John McWilliams.  
Henry S. Green.  
L. S. Allard.  
B. R. Hangton.  
George L. Zine.  
David Plerson.  
A. B. Barrett.  
W. H. Blakely.  
John McCutchins.  
W. H. Copp.  
J. C. Willis.  
W. A. Sweeney.

## INDIANA.

## ALTERNATES.

- D. C. Branham.  
Silas Colgrove.  
Daniel D. Pratt.  
John W. Foster.
- Dr. A. Lewis.  
D. C. Jacquess.  
John F. Carr.  
J. B. Merriwether.  
Smith Vawter.  
D. G. Rabb.  
Joseph Livingston.  
Nimrod H. Johnson.  
Ezra Olleman.  
G. H. Voss.  
John P. Baird.  
Harrison Woodsmall.  
W. J. Templeton.  
Robert Fisher.  
John Green.  
Daniel H. Bennett.  
H. H. Neff.  
Jacob M. Haines.  
D. D. Dickenson.  
O. H. Woodworth.  
Oliver H. P. Bailey.  
W. H. Butterworth.

## IOWA.

## DELEGATES.

- J. A. Williamson,  
J. M. Hedrick.

- 4—N. B. Vinyard,  
A. J. Pope.
- 5—E. H. Sears,  
E. T. Smith.
- 7—R. A. Smith,  
L. M. Holt.

**KANSAS.**

**DELEGATES.**

C. W. Babcock,  
Benjamin F. Simpson,  
John A. Martin,

S. S. Prouty,  
N. A. Adams,  
Louis Weil.

**KENTUCKY.**

**DELEGATES.**

At Large—Joshua F. Speed,  
Geo. T. Wood,  
Dist. 1—Samuel L. Casy,  
Thomas J. Pickett.  
2—O. P. Johnson,  
Walter Evans.  
3—Thomas Crutcher,  
T. W. Campbell.  
4—Marion C. Taylor,  
R. L. Wintersmith.

Charles Eginton,  
A. G. Hodges.  
5—John Gill,  
John R. English.  
6—Oscar H. Burbridge,  
William Boden.  
7—Noah S. Moore,  
W. Cassius Goodloe.  
8—J. K. McClary,  
Geo. H. Dobyns.

9—R. M. Thomas,  
C. J. True.

**LOUISIANA.**

**DELEGATES.**

Henry C. Warmouth,  
Thomas W. Conway,  
Wm. P. Kellogg,  
P. B. S. Pinchback,  
I. Hale Sypher,  
John R. Clay,  
W. R. Fish,

W. G. McConnell,  
Cyrus Bussey,  
Sam. H. Houston,  
A. L. Lee,  
A. J. Sypher,  
Geo. C. Benham,  
C. W. Lowell.

**MAINE.**

**DELEGATES.**

**ALTERNATES.**

At Large—Wm. McArthur,  
Thos. A. D. Fessenden,  
Harris M. Plalsted,  
Eugene Hale.

Dist. 1—Geo. F. Shepley,  
Mark F. Wentworth.  
2—Geo. F. Beal,  
Luther Curtiss.  
3—Stephen D. Lindsey,  
Wales Hubbard.  
4—Lewis Barker,  
C. H. B. Woodbury.  
5—W. P. Harriman,  
Ignatius Sargent.

Neal Dow,  
E. H. Banks.

Sullivan Lathrop,  
Edwin Flye,  
Samuel H. Blake,  
Ezra C. Brett,  
John D. Rust,  
Chas. B. Paine.

**MARYLAND.**

**DELEGATES.**

At Large—J. A. J. Cresswell,  
John L. Thomas, Jr.,  
Dist. 1—W. D. Burchinal,  
Samuel Graham.  
2—H. Richardson,  
J. H. Longnecker.

Charles C. Fulton,  
E. F. Anderson.  
3—A. W. Dennison,  
Henry Stockbridge,  
4—G. W. Z. Black,  
Caleb Douty.

5—Francis Miller,  
George W. Sands.

**MASSACHUSETTS.**

**DELEGATES.**

At Large—Wm. Claflin,  
F. W. Bird.  
Dist. 1—Charles P. Stickney,  
Elias Soule.  
2—Henry L. Pierce,  
Henry B. Wheelright.  
3—E. W. Kingsley,  
A. W. Beard.  
4—E. Howe,  
Thomas Russell.  
5—R. G. Usher,  
E. F. Stone.

Geo. B. Loring,  
Henry Alexander, Jr.  
6—Wm. A. Russell,  
D. W. Gooch.  
7—Geo. F. Richardson,  
E. F. Waters.  
8—W. W. Rice,  
Geo. W. Johnson.  
9—A. R. Field,  
D. H. Merriam.  
10—R. D. Briggs,  
W. M. Walker.



## OFFICIAL PROCEEDINGS OF THE

## MICHIGAN.

## DELEGATES.

At Large—Wm. A. Howard.  
Hampton Rich.  
Marsh Giddings.  
Randolph Strickland.

Dist. 1—R. R. Beecher.  
Henry Waldron.

2—W. B. Williams.  
E. J. Bonnie.

3—S. M. Cutcheon.  
J. W. Longyear.

4—Morgan Bates.  
Geo. G. Briggs.

5—I. H. Bingham.  
J. Divine.

6—John H. Richardson.  
Jos. W. Edwards.

## ALTERNATES.

Giles Hubbard.  
Elias Merrill.  
I. G. Walt.  
D. H. Jerome.

J. G. Hathaway.  
A. P. Sullivan.  
N. H. Bittely.  
C. W. Clisbee.  
S. S. Lacey.  
C. Hosford.  
S. Foote.  
C. W. Deane.  
W. H. Hartsuff.  
W. Jennings.  
Jno. N. Ingersoll.  
Luther Weston.

## MINNESOTA.

## DELEGATES.

At Large—J. B. Wakefield.  
C. C. Andrews.

Dist. 1—J. C. Rudolph.  
Jesse Ames.

A. H. Butler.  
H. P. Van Cleve.

2—W. W. Scott.  
R. N. McLaren.

## MISSISSIPPI.

## DELEGATES.

At Large—D. McA. Williams.  
A. C. Fiske.

Dist. 1—A. R. Howe.  
A. W. Patterson.

2—R. M. Tindale.  
J. R. Smith.

Jefferson L. Wofford.  
Thomas L. White.

3—Jared Richardson.  
Henry W. Warren.

4—Thomas W. Stringer.  
A. Warner.

5—Thaddeus P. Sears.  
Carlos Chapman.

## MISSOURI.

## DELEGATES.

At Large—Carl Schurz.  
Thos. C. Fletcher.  
A. J. Harlan.  
R. T. Van Horn.

Dist. 1—Thos. J. Dalley.  
Weston Flint.

2—F. W. Cronenboldt.  
J. W. Owens.

3—Geo. C. Thilenius.  
Geo. A. Moser.

4—Geo. L. Childress.  
J. H. Creighton.

5—S. S. Burdett.  
R. C. Leaming.

6—P. R. Dolman.  
J. H. Rickards.

7—David Bonham.  
J. F. Asper.

8—A. W. Mullins.  
Hiram M. Hiller.

9—D. P. Dyer.  
John C. Orrick.

## ALTERNATES.

J. J. Gravelly.  
Charlton H. Howe.  
J. H. Chase.  
Thos. Bruere.

Wm. M. Grosvenor.  
John McFall.  
John S. Cavender.  
Elijah Perry.  
Antone Hunt.  
S. S. Price.  
J. C. S. Colby.  
Geo. D. Orner.  
J. F. Hume.  
Joseph A. Eppstein.  
J. B. Waters.  
J. P. St. John.  
Ira C. Busick.  
J. H. Hammond.  
A. H. Linder.  
Joseph R. Winchell.  
G. Galloway.  
Dan M. Draper.

## MONTANA.

## DELEGATES.

Wilber F. Sanders.  
Wm. H. Claggett.  
Geo. M. Pinney.

## ALTERNATES.

James Gibson.  
Willson.  
Isaac D. Huntoon.

NEBRASKA.

DELEGATES.

Silas A. Strickland.  
Alvin Saunders.  
P. B. Stevenson.  
R. W. Purnas.  
L. Gerard.  
Sam'l. Maxwell.

ALTERNATES.

John Ritchie.  
Elam Clark.  
A. J. Harding.  
P. J. Majors.  
S. C. Smith.  
J. G. Miller.

NEVADA.

DELEGATES.

Chas. E. De Long.  
G. N. Collins.  
Lewis Hyntman.

H. H. Beck.  
J. M. Walker.  
O. R. Leonard.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

DELEGATES.

At Large—Wm. E. Chandler.  
E. M. Topliff.  
J. H. Bailey.  
C. S. Faulkner.  
Dist. 1—J. E. Bickford.  
Ezra Gould.  
2—James F. Briggs.  
Francis B. Ayer.  
3—Edward Vaughn.  
Thos. P. Cheney.

ALTERNATES.

D. H. Buffum.  
B. F. Whidden.  
Henry McFarland.  
Peter Kimball.  
A. C. Currier.  
Wm. N. Blair.  
Thos. B. Wattles.  
Geo. W. Estabrook.  
W. W. Russell, Jr.  
E. W. Farr.

NEW JERSEY.

DELEGATES.

At Large—John S. Irick.  
John I. Blair.  
Dist. 1—W. E. Potter.  
John W. Hazleton.  
2—Robt. C. Bellville.  
Jarvis H. Bartlett.

5—James Gopsill.  
Cornellus Walsh.

George T. Cobb.  
Cortlandt Parker.  
3—Chas. A. Skillman.  
John Davidson.  
4—Edward A. Walton.  
James Nightingale.

NEW YORK.

DELEGATES.

At Large—Daniel E. Sickles.  
Lyman Tremain.  
Charles Andrews.  
D. D. S. Brown.  
Dist 1.—Alfred Wagstaff, Jr.  
L. Bradford Prince.  
2—Charles W. Godard.  
Arch'd M. Bliss.  
3—Joshua M. Van Cott.  
J. Reeve.  
4—F. J. Fithian.  
Joshua G. Abbe.  
5—Moses H. Grinnell.  
E. D. Culver.  
6—Charles S. Spencer.  
John D. Lawson.  
7—John Cochrane.  
W. T. Ashman.  
8—W. R. Stewart.  
John D. Ottiwell.  
9—James W. Culver.  
Charles H. Cooper.  
10—H. D. Robertson.  
C. M. Depew.  
11—George Clark.  
H. R. Low.  
12—B. Platt Carpenter.  
Jacob W. Hoysradt.

ALTERNATES.

John E. Williams.  
Gilbert Robertson, Jr.  
William W. Campbell.  
John Allen, Jr.  
Albert O. Wilcox.  
Samuel Smith.  
James A. Van Brunt.  
William H. Burleigh.  
A. B. Hodges.  
Charles J. Lowrie.  
James Winterbottom.  
Nathan Kingsley, Sr.  
Joseph F. Ellery.  
Thomas Mulligan.  
Jacob L. Dodge.  
George F. Merkle.  
Stephen H. Knapp.  
Simon Hazleton.  
E. Harrison Reed.  
John Webber.  
Jotham Wilson, Sr.  
Wilson Berryman.  
J. F. Hall.  
Charles J. Gillis.  
Halsted Sweet.  
John Waller, Jr.  
H. G. Eastman.  
Ezra Waterbury.

## OFFICIAL PROCEEDINGS OF THE

NEW YORK—*Cont.*

## DELEGATES.

- 13—George H. Sharp.  
Rufus H. King.
- 14—Hamilton Harris.  
Borden H. Mills.
- 15—Robert M. Hasbrouck.  
Alex. Barclay.
- 16—William W. Rockwell.  
Eli W. Rogers.
- 17—Calvin T. Hulburd.  
William Gillis.
- 18—Truman G. Younglove.  
Seymour Sexton.
- 19—E. Blakely.  
Lewis Kingsley.
- 20—William Dewey.  
E. B. Livingston.
- 21—Ellis H. Roberts.  
George B. Anderson.
- 22—Benj. E. Bowen.  
Deloss W. Cameron.
- 23—Frank Hiscock.  
R. Holland Duell.
- 24—John S. Fowler.  
A. D. Baker.
- 25—Peter S. Bonesteel.  
Isaac L. Endrees.
- 26—J. W. Dwight.  
Thomas I. Chatfield.
- 27—Stephen T. Hoyt.  
Luther Caldwell.
- 28—E. L. Pitts.  
A. C. Wilder.
- 29—John Fisher.  
Andrew W. Brazee.
- 30—L. K. Bass.  
Fred H. James.
- 31—George Barker.  
Patrick H. Jones.

## ALTERNATES.

- Jacob Lefever.  
John B. Bronk.  
William G. Weed.  
Weldman Dominick.  
Joseph F. Battershall.  
Joseph Potter.  
Robert Waddell.  
Wm. E. Calkins.  
William C. Brown.  
Henry A. Paddock.  
Charles Stanford.  
Abram Hoffman.  
Matthew Griffin.  
Frederick Julland.  
James Feeter.  
Allen Campbell.  
Charles M. Scholefield.  
Patrick C. Costello.  
J. W. Merchant.  
John H. Mann.  
E. Hannon.  
David Hibbard.  
T. G. Yoemans.  
Simeon Holton.  
Geo. B. Dusenbury.  
W. H. Kelsey.  
Alonzo B. Cornell.  
William Smyth.  
Charles D. Robinson.  
John H. Butler.  
John Berry.  
Daniel Kingsley.  
James Low.  
Thomas Corlett.  
Isaac Holloway.  
Seth Fenner.  
C. L. Norton.  
H. Van Aernam.

## NORTH CAROLINA.

## DELEGATES.

- At Large—Alfred Dockery.  
Dist. 1—E. W. Jones.  
2—Hiram Potter, Jr.  
3—F. F. French.  
4—Jos. W. Holden.  
Jas. H. Harris.

L. G. Estes.

W. R. Myers.

- 5—C. H. Carpenter.  
6—J. B. Cook.  
C. J. Cowles.  
7—T. F. Lee.

## OHIO.

## DELEGATES.

- At Large—F. Hassaurek.  
John C. Lee.  
W. B. Castle.  
James Scott.  
Dist. 1—W. Stoms.  
J. W. Sands.  
2—Thos L. Young.  
Henry Kessler.  
3—O. C. Maxwell.  
N. C. McFarland.  
4—L. H. Long.  
Horace Coleman.  
5—O. T. Locke.  
L. T. Hunt.  
6—S. Hemphill.  
Geo. W. Hulick.  
7—Coates Kinney.  
James S. Goode.

## ALTERNATES.

- L. J. Critchfield.  
Jacob Brinkerhoff.  
V. B. Horton.  
George Crist.  
E. C. Williams.  
F. W. Moore.  
H. G. Kennett.  
Seth Haynes.  
Felix Marsh.  
Judge Carey.  
Samuel V. Taylor.  
Chas. M. Kurtz.  
I. D. Clark.  
T. F. Sniffin.  
W. R. Smith.  
J. D. Stine.  
J. M. Fuson.

OHIO—*Cont.*

DELEGATES.

- 8—Thos C. Jones.  
H. C. Godman.
- 9—Fred. Wickman.  
A. B. Nettleton.
- 10—Asher Cook.  
Horace Sessions.
- 11—John Campbell.  
John Ellison.
- 12—Geo. W. Gregg.  
T. W. Beach.
- 13—John A. Sinnett.  
Israel Green.
- 14—A. S. McClure.  
Jno. H. Boynton.
- 15—F. W. Wood.  
Cyrus Grant.
- 16—B. R. Cowen.  
E. Burnet.
- 17—J. C. Hostetter.  
J. F. Olivers.
- 18—S. S. Osborne.  
R. P. Spalding.
- 19—H. B. Perkins.  
J. N. Hathaway.

ALTERNATES.

- A. E. Lee.  
W. G. Beatty.
- J. G. Robertson.  
J. S. Yerk.
- O. Watters.  
A. B. Ainger.
- S. P. Drake.  
Simeon Nash.
- W. S. Jones.  
John L. Sheridan.
- T. W. Collier.  
C. D. Caldwell.
- W. C. Beer.  
N. H. Bostwick.
- A. W. McCormick.  
J. M. Dana.
- J. D. Taylor.  
A. Simmons.
- Josiah Thompson.  
J. Dunbar.
- W. Meyer.  
D. H. Brinkerhoff.
- J. N. Hathaway.  
Joseph Bruff.

OREGON.

DELEGATES.

- R. Mallory.  
H. W. Corbett.
- H. R. Kincaid.

- L. S. Thompson.  
J. R. Falling.
- Maxwell Ramsey.

PENNSYLVANIA.

DELEGATES.

- At Large—John W. Forney.  
James U. Orne.  
Thomas E. Cochrane.  
A. R. McClure.
- Dist. 1—Benj. L. Berry.  
Jas. T. Gillingham.
- 2—John U. Houseman.  
Daniel B. Beitler.
- 3—Alexr. M. Fox.  
Daniel P. Ray.
- 4—Wm. U. Remble.  
Benj. U. Brown.
- 5—Alfred Harmer.  
Mahlon Tardley.
- 6—Saml. McHose.  
Wm. R. Ritterhouse.
- 7—J. Smith Futtrey.  
Saml. B. Thomas.
- 8—George S. Erbert.  
William M. Baird.
- 9—J. W. Flsher.  
R. L. Houston.
- 10—T. T. Wortt.  
J. G. Frick.
- 11—Saml. E. Dimmick.  
Wm. H. Armstrong.
- 12—Henry M. Hoyt.  
Wm. H. Jessup.
- 13—E. O. Goodrich.  
A. F. Russell.

- E. Read Myer.  
J. W. Blanchard.  
Tim Bartholomew.  
Gen'l Wm. Tilley.
- 14—J. G. Bornherger.  
Franklin Bound.  
J. D. Cameron.
- A. R. Flsk.
- 15—Kirk Haines.  
Hugh W. McCall.
- 16—John Cessna.  
E. G. Fahnestock.
- 17—E. Roberts.  
T. F. McCoy.
- 18—Saml. Linn.  
Henry Williams.
- 19—Henry Souther.  
Harrison Allen.
- 20—Saml. Wilson.  
P. R. Gray.
- 21—Danl. S. Porter.  
J. R. McAfee.
- 22—J. R. Morehead.  
A. M. Brown.
- 23—John M. Thompson.  
John V. Painter.
- S. A. Purviance.
- 24—John C. Flenrichen.  
James R. Kelly.

RHODE ISLAND.

DELEGATES.

- At Large—James D. W. Perry.  
Lyman B. Frieze.
- Dist. 1—Charles C. Van Zandt.  
Lysander Flagx.

- Rowland G. Hazard.  
James W. Pendleton.
- 2—William H. Reynolds.  
William Green.

## OFFICIAL PROCEEDINGS OF THE

## SOUTH CAROLINA.

## DELEGATES.

B. F. Whittemore.  
H. E. Hayne.  
J. H. Jencks.  
J. P. McEpping.  
B. O. Duncan.  
Wm. E. Rose.  
Carlos T. Stolbrand.  
T. W. Lewis.  
M. R. Forry.  
E. Frask.  
Thomas Talbot.  
Cadwallader Carn.

## ALTERNATES.

Robert Small.  
Gilbert Pillsbury.  
T. H. Rainey.  
S. A. Swalls.  
T. T. Coghlan.  
T. K. Tilson.  
W. J. McKinlay.  
R. B. Elliott.  
J. H. Allen.  
Wm. B. Johnson.  
J. N. Newell.  
H. L. Shrewsbury.  
D. T. H. Nagle.

## TENNESSEE.

## DELEGATES.

At Large—Wm. B. Stokes.  
T. A. Hamilton.  
F. S. Richards.  
Thos. H. Pearne.  
Dist. 1—C. H. McKinney.  
S. A. Bovell.  
2—L. C. Houk.  
R. P. Eaton.  
3—A. G. Sharp.  
W. L. Woodcock.  
4—W. Y. Elliott.  
Wm. Bosson.  
5—T. McKinley.  
Abram Smith.  
6—S. M. Arnell.  
J. Jay Buck.  
7—Isaac R. Hawkins.  
O. F. Brown.  
8—Barbour Lewis.  
J. L. Winfield.

## ALTERNATES.

S. B. Brown.  
R. Hough.  
J. A. Maberry.  
Moses Hopkins.  
A. P. Curry.  
A. S. Chadbourne.  
N. E. Cobleigh.  
J. A. Hyden.  
A. S. Bradley.  
A. J. White.  
A. G. Sandford.  
Guy W. Wines.  
R. McP. Smith.  
H. H. Thomas.  
Geo. W. Simpson.  
Clay Newland.  
J. W. Purviance.  
J. J. Sears.  
H. E. Hudson.  
Harry S. Lee.

Dist. at Large—Wm. J. Smith.  
John B. Rogers.

## TEXAS.

## DELEGATES.

A. J. Hamilton.  
Geo. W. Paschal.  
C. N. Riottet.  
Oscar F. Hunsaker.  
W. E. Horne.

G. T. Ruby.  
Robt. K. Smith.  
A. H. Longley.  
S. D. Wood.  
Byron Porter.

## VERMONT.

## DELEGATES.

At Large—T. W. Park.  
G. J. Stannard.  
L. Baker.  
S. E. Pingree.  
Dist. 1—W. Y. W. Ripley.  
G. C. Shepard.  
2—Wm. H. Johnson.  
J. C. Stearns.  
3—D. R. Bailey.  
W. W. Grout.

## ALTERNATES.

Jas K. Hyde.  
Jed. P. Ladd.  
Geo. N. Dale.  
H. Carpenter.  
Chas. Field.  
Wm. H. Nash.  
F. Tyler.  
J. Atkinson.  
J. A. Shedd.  
— Powers.

## VIRGINIA.

## DELEGATES.

At Large—John Hauxhurst.  
Dist. 1—Henry A. Pierce.  
Stephen R. Harrington.  
2—John Burke.

Lysander Hill.

3— — — —

4—Fred. M. Kimball.  
Sanford Dodge.

VIRGINIA—*Cont.*

DELEGATES.

5—Edgar Allan.

6—

7—John M. Thatcher.  
Thomas L. Tullock.  
8—George S. Smith.  
Minor Goodell.

WEST VIRGINIA

DELEGATES.

At Large—John R. Hubbard.  
Ellery R. Hall.  
Daniel D. T. Farnsworth.  
Henry C. McWhorter.

Dist. 1—Samuel D. Karnes.  
Francis P. Pierpont.  
2—Joseph T. Hoke.  
Leonard B. Perry.  
3—Cyrus Newlin.  
Thomas Baggett.

ALTERNATES.

John A. Hutchinson.  
R. S. Northcott.  
W. M. Welch.  
R. W. Blue.  
G. Slack.  
R. S. Brown.

WISCONSIN.

DELEGATES.

At Large—Edward Salomon.  
Horace Rublee.  
E. H. Galloway.  
Henry Baetz.

Dist. 1—O. S. Head.  
N. M. Littlejohn.  
2—A. J. Turner.  
L. B. Caswell.  
3—O. B. Thomas.  
Jas. Bintliff.  
4—A. Scott Sloan.  
Geo. S. Graves.  
5—E. L. Browne.  
D. C. Ayres.  
6—Chas. Seymour.  
W. J. Kershaw.

ALTERNATES.

F. C. Winkler.  
R. B. Anderson.  
Orrin Hatch.  
Isaac Stephenson.  
A. Van Wyck.  
S. Pratt.  
A. Holley.  
S. J. Conklin.  
J. G. Clark.  
D. L. Downs.  
M. Burnham.  
Geo. F. Wheeler.  
A. Nash.  
G. H. Myers.  
T. C. Pound.  
S. H. Alban.

The question being on the adoption of the report, the motion prevailed.

MR. SANDS, of Maryland—I desire to say that, now that Maryland has been admitted to the Convention, she desires the names of those whom she has chosen as officers to go upon the roll.

THE PRESIDENT—Are they in the hands of the Secretary? If not, the chairman will please forward them. The Committee on the Order of Business is ready to report.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RULES AND ORDER OF BUSINESS.

MR. BARKER, of New York, Chairman of the Committee on Order of Business—Mr. President, the Committee on Order of Business is ready to report, and I would request that the Secretary read the report.

MR. ROOT, of Arkansas, Secretary of the Committee, read the report, as follows:

The Committee on Order of Business respectfully submits the following:

RULE 1. Upon all subjects before the Convention, the States shall be called in alphabetical order.

RULE 2. Four votes shall be cast by the delegates at large of each State, and each Congressional District shall be entitled to two votes. The votes of each delegation shall be reported by its chairman.

RULE 3. The report of the Committee on Credentials shall be disposed of before the report of the Committee on Platform and Resolutions is acted upon, and the report of the Committee on Platform and Resolutions shall be disposed of before the Convention proceed to the nomination of candidates for President and Vice President.

RULE 4. In making the nominations for President and Vice President, in no case shall the calling of the roll be dispensed with. When it shall appear that any candidate has received the majority of the votes cast, the President of the Convention shall announce the question to be, "Shall the nomination of the candidate be made unanimous." But if no candidate shall have received a majority of the votes, the Chair shall direct the vote to be again taken, which shall be repeated until some candidate shall have received a majority of the votes cast.

RULE 5. When a majority of the delegations from any two States shall demand that a vote be recorded, the same shall be taken by States, the Secretary calling the roll of States in the order heretofore stated.

RULE 6. In the record of the vote by States, the vote of each State shall be announced by the chairman, and, in case the votes of any State shall be divided, the chairman shall announce the number of votes cast for any candidate, or for or against any proposition.

RULE 7. When the previous question shall be demanded by a majority of the delegation of any State, and the demand seconded by two or more States, and the call sustained by a majority of the Convention, the question shall then be proceeded with and disposed of according to the rules of the House of Representatives in similar cases.

RULE 8. No member shall speak more than once upon the same question, nor longer than five minutes, without the unanimous consent of the Convention, except that delegates presenting the name of a candidate shall be allowed ten minutes to present the name of such candidate.

RULE 9. The rules of the House of Representatives shall continue to be the rules of this Convention so far as they are applicable and not inconsistent with the foregoing rules.

RULE 10. A National Union Executive Committee shall be appointed, to consist of one member from each State, Territory and District represented in this Convention. The roll shall be called, and the delegation from each State, Territory and District shall name, through their chairman, a person to act as a member of such committee.

Respectfully submitted,

GEO. BARKER, Chairman.

L. H. ROOT, Secretary.

MR. VAN ZANDT, of Rhode Island—Mr. President, I understand, from a member of the Committee on Resolutions, that it will be impossible for them to report before to-morrow afternoon, probably, and that will necessarily defer the nomination for President, and I am led to the opinion, from what I have seen here this afternoon, that the Convention is somewhat impatient to proceed to that nomination. I therefore hope, sir, that the Rules may be so far modified as to strike out that portion of them providing for the report of the Committee on Platform and Resolutions before the nomination of candidates for President and Vice President. And, if the Chair will have the kindness to allow the Secretary to refer to it, I will propose, with the consent of the Convention, that amendment.

THE PRESIDENT—The Secretary will read the Rule.

The Secretary read Rule 3, as follows:

"The report of the Committee on Credentials shall be disposed of before the report of the Committee on Platform and Resolutions is acted upon and the report of the Committee on Platform and Resolutions shall be disposed of before the Convention proceed to the nomination of candidates for President and Vice President."

MR. VAN ZANDT, of Rhode Island—I move you, Mr. President, that the section be stricken out. [Cries of "No, no."] If the Convention desire to amend my motion, of course that motion is in order. I will confine it, however, sir, to the Presidency.

MR. THOMPSON, of Indiana (Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions)—I fear, sir, that the Convention may be led to act under a misapprehension. I think I am authorized to say, sir, as Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions, that you may reasonably expect a report from us very early to-morrow morning. There is no reason why we should be engaged up till to-morrow afternoon. It is right, therefore, and proper, that you should understand how we stand before we vote on that proposition.

MR. BARTHOLOMEW, of Pennsylvania—Mr. President, I move to amend the motion of the gentleman from Rhode Island, by moving that this Convention do now proceed to the nomination of candidates for the offices of President and Vice President of the United States. [Cries of "No, no."]

MR. COLES, of North Carolina—I move to lay the motion and the amendment on the table.

THE PRESIDENT—The motion of the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Bartholomew] is out of order. The motion to lay on the table is in order.

MR. COCHRANE, of New York—I ask for information whether, if the motion to lay on the table prevail, it does not carry on the table with it that portion of the report to which the amendment of the gentleman refers.

THE PRESIDENT—The Chair understands that it lays the whole subject on the table.

MR. VAN ZANDT, of Rhode Island—If I understand, sir, that the committee will report early in the morning, I will withdraw my motion. But I understand from two gentlemen near me, members of that Committee, that it will be practically impossible for them to do so, and I therefore, shall insist upon it.

#### MOTION TO ADJOURN.

MR. ———, of ——— I move that the Convention now adjourns till 10 o'clock to-morrow morning.

MR. COCHRANE, of New York—I rise to a point of order.

The motion to adjourn did not prevail.

MR. COCHRANE, of New York—[not having resumed his seat]—I rise to a point of order. Well, it's lost, that's enough.

The question was put on the adoption of the amendment offered by the gentleman from Rhode Island (Mr. Van Zandt.) The motion did not prevail.

THE PRESIDENT—Gentlemen, the rules are before you in their entirety.



MR. VAN ZANDT, of Rhode Island—Another amendment; I desire, Mr. President, to move to strike out the words the "National Union" party, and substitute in their stead "National Republican" party. [Cries of "Good."] We fought, sir, under that flag for many years. Our brothers, and our sons and our fathers have died under it; we have achieved victory under it; we elected Abraham Lincoln under it, and we buried him under it; and I hope, sir, that we will not call this a National Union party. It means nothing at all. The Union is restored. The Union is entire, and our party is, to-day, the National Republican party, and I trust the Convention will allow me [applause], although I represent one of the smallest States in the Union, and one of a very limited number of electoral votes, to propose this, to me, very important and desirable amendment—one, sir, in which I believe all the New England States, by the side of the great ocean, will concur, heart and soul, and one in which I sincerely hope the great and almost boundless West and South will join. I move you that those rules be amended by striking out the word "Union" from the "National Union party," and substituting therefor the word "Republican," and I hope it will be done by acclamation, and that no one will dissent.

THE PRESIDENT—In the call for this Convention, it is called the "National Union Republican Convention."

MR. LOGAN, of Illinois—Mr. President, I move to amend the motion of the gentleman from Rhode Island (Mr. Van Zandt) so that, instead of striking out the word "Union," the word "Republican" be inserted before the word party, so as to stand the "National Union Republican" party.

MR. VAN ZANDT, of Rhode Island—I accept the amendment, Mr. President. I would accept any amendment that the gentleman offers, even if he wanted to change my name. [Applause and Laughter.] I want the word "Republican" in here.

THE CHAIRMAN—It is resolved to so amend. Is that your pleasure?

The motion prevailed.

THE PRESIDENT—The question recurs on the adoption of the report of the Committee on Rules and Order of Business.

The motion prevailed.

#### ADJOURNMENT.

MR. COCHRANE, of New York—Mr. President, I move that when this Convention do adjourn it adjourns to meet at this place at ten o'clock to-morrow morning.

[Cries of "Nine, nine, nine."]

MR. COCHRANE, of New York—At nine, then.

[Cries of "Ten, ten."]

MR. COCHRANE, of New York—I am of the opinion that ten is better, and I adhere to the original hour.

THE PRESIDENT—It is moved that when this Convention adjourns it meet at ten o'clock to-morrow forenoon. Have you any suggestions, or any other time to mention.

A DELEGATE—Nine o'clock.

SEVERAL DELEGATES—"No! no! ten o'clock." "Question! question!"

THE CHAIRMAN—Does the gentleman move to amend by making it nine?

THE DELEGATE—No, I withdraw it.

THE CHAIRMAN—All who are in favor of the motion signify their consent by saying "aye."

The motion prevailed.

MR. COCHRANE, of New York—I move, sir, that we now adjourn.

VOICES—"No! no!"

THE PRESIDENT—Gentlemen, I am requested to announce that the publishers here have prepared and furnished a campaign song, the copies of which are here, and the delegates may avail themselves of securing a copy.

A DELEGATE—I move you, sir, that the Convention do now adjourn.

A DELEGATE—I second the motion.

THE PRESIDENT—It is moved and seconded that the Convention do now adjourn.

SEVERAL DELEGATES—"No! no! Order! order!"

A DELEGATE—I move that some gentleman be invited to sing a song.

THE PRESIDENT—The motion to adjourn until ten o'clock to-morrow is pending.

SEVERAL DELEGATES—"A song, a song."

MR. COCHRANE, of New York—I will withdraw my motion in consideration of a song. [Laughter.]

THE PRESIDENT—General Cochrane—

SEVERAL DELEGATES—A song! a song! General Logan! Speech, speech! General Logan!

THE PRESIDENT—Gentlemen, those who propose to sing, desire me to say that they prefer not to sing until after the nomination of General Grant. The significance of the request will be seen when you come to look at the song.

SEVERAL DELEGATES—Logan! Logan! Palmer! Palmer!

THE PRESIDENT—There is no motion before the Convention.

A DELEGATE—I move that General Logan be invited to address the Convention.

A DELEGATE—I move that the Convention adjourn—and insist upon it.

THE PRESIDENT—Gentlemen, the mover insists upon the motion to adjourn being put. All in favor of it will signify their assent by saying "aye."

The motion prevailed.

THE PRESIDENT—The Convention stands adjourned until to-morrow at ten o'clock.

## SECOND DAY.

THURSDAY, May 21, 1868.

The Convention re-assembled, pursuant to adjournment, at 10 A. M.

THE PRESIDENT—The Convention will come to order. Gentlemen are requested to take seats. The Rev. Dr. John P. Gulliver, of Chicago, will invoke the Divine blessing.

## PRAYER.

JOHN P. GULLIVER, D. D., then offered the following prayer:

Let us pray!

Almighty and Eternal God, humbly and reverently we bow in Thy presence. At the opening of this day of deliberation and action we invoke Thine aid. Coming up as the representatives of this great people from the North and from the South, from the East and from the West, we would, like the great company about Thy throne, ascribe honor, and glory, and blessing, and power to our God.

Be thou in the midst of this great assembly. Give Thou wisdom to the deliberations that are now to be instituted. Direct all the measures that are now to be adopted.

Grant Thy special blessing upon that portion of our country which is here represented—this great political organization which, through Thy grace, and under Thy direction, has been able to accomplish so much for the land, so much for humanity, and so much, we trust, for Thee. May we remember, O God, where our great strength lieth. May we remember that as we have triumphed in the past by a regard for the claims of humanity and the great law of right, so we must triumph in the future by caring for the interests of man and regarding the glory of God.

And here, this morning, assembled in high council, we desire again to consecrate ourselves, and all the influence which is under our control, to the service of our God, to the good of our fellow-men and to the promotion of Thy law.

We recognize Thee, O God, as the King Eternal, immortal, invisible, the only wise God, high above all kings and potentates, high above all princes and presidents. Thy throne and Thy authority is over all.

We pray for our great country. We pray for those who were once our enemies. O Lord! bless them. O Lord! give them a right mind. O Lord! bring them back in loving concord into the great nationality of brotherly affection and of united action. Remember the downcast and oppressed. Grant them complete and perfect deliverance. Remember those who have triumphed in the recent struggle, and grant that moderation, and charity, and kindness, may characterize all our councils and our measures.

Now may Thy blessing descend upon us. May Thy wisdom abide in our hearts, and may the courage and strength, which God alone can give, be abundantly imparted to us, and, as at the opening of these deliberations, so now, in the maturity of their progress, enable us to say in the divine words of prayer, which our Savior taught us:

Our Father which art in heaven, hallowed be Thy name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil: For Thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, forever. Amen.

THE UNION LEAGUE RESOLUTIONS.

THE PRESIDENT—Gentlemen of the Convention, I was informed by the Chairman on Resolutions, half an hour ago, that they probably would not be able to report before eleven o'clock. By the rules, I do not recall any formal business which can now be transacted before they report. I await the pleasure of the Convention

MR. SPENCER, of New York—I move, sir, that the resolutions of the National Council of the Union League of America, which were yesterday presented to the Convention, and by the temporary Chairman referred to the Committee on Resolutions, take the same direction as the resolutions and proceedings of the Soldiers' and Sailors' Convention, and be spread upon our record and made part of our proceedings.

I think, sir, that this courtesy we owe to the National Council of the Union League of America, to which is due the first Republican ascendancy in the South, and upon whose efficiency depends, in a great measure, the success of the Republican party in the South at the coming election. [Applause.] If any of the Northern States in November next, which were carried by us in 1864, shall fail to come up to the requirements of the times, we will supply their places by Radical South Carolina. [Applause.]

THE PRESIDENT—Gentlemen, it is moved and seconded that the resolutions of the Union League, which were yesterday received by the Convention, and referred to the Committee on Resolutions, be taken up and entered upon the record of the Convention and made part of the proceedings.

MR. CONWAY, of Louisiana—Mr. President, I move that the resolutions be now read to the Convention.

MR. ——— of Michigan—Mr. President, I rise to make an inquiry. How can those resolutions be acted upon by this Convention, until reported back by the Committee?

THE PRESIDENT—The motion was, that they be recalled from the Committee on Resolutions.

MR. ——— of Michigan—I move you, Mr. President, that the Committee be requested to report those resolutions at once back to the Convention.

MR. SPENCER, of New York—Mr. President, there may be a misapprehension in regard to entering those resolutions upon our record. We shall, by entering them upon our record, by no means adopt them, but extend an

act of courtesy to that body by reciting in our proceedings the fact that they sent us such resolutions.

THE PRESIDENT—Does the gentleman make his motion, then, that those resolutions be recalled from the Committee and entered upon the journal?

MR. SPENCER, of New York—Yes, sir, as a part of the proceedings of this Convention; it is a matter of fact which has transpired, which ought not to be ignored.

THE PRESIDENT—The motion now stands that those resolutions be recalled from the Committee on Resolutions, entered upon the journal, and made a part of these proceedings.

MR. CONWAY, of Louisiana—I call for the reading of the resolutions.

THE PRESIDENT—The Secretary will read the resolutions.

The Secretary then read the following communication and resolutions, from a printed copy:

CHICAGO, May 20, 1868.

*To the President of the Union National Convention:*

DEAR SIR: By direction of the National Council of the Union League of America, I have the honor to enclose a copy of resolutions passed by that body, in session in this city, and respectfully ask, in accordance with the request of said National Council, that they be presented to your Convention.

I am, very respectfully, yours,

CHARLES C. LATHROP, of New Jersey,  
Chairman of Committee.

#### RESOLUTIONS.

Adopted by the National Council of America, in session at Chicago, May 19, 1868:

*Resolved*, 1. That we deem the Union League of America of vital importance to the success of the Republican party, and the maintenance of loyalty, liberty, and equal rights in the Union, and urge its being vigorously sustained and reorganized in all the States as the right arm of the Union party.

2. That we pledge the loyal people of the North to uphold, protect, and defend the loyal people of the South from injustice, oppression, and assassination, and to this end will use all the means in our power, even the resort to arms, if requisite, in defence of their right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

3. That we would express our high appreciation of the sublime patience, forbearance, and magnimity of the negroes of the South, and their devotion as soldiers throughout the Union, during the war of the rebellion, and of their hearty loyalty, zeal, and becoming deportment since, showing that, under all circumstances in which they have been placed, they have justified the reposing in their hands the highest boon of an American citizen, the ballot, and illustrated the truth that it is eminently wise and always safe to act with equity and justice to all men, without regard to race or color.

4. That impartial suffrage is a cardinal principle of the Republican party, and should not be abandoned; and that we urge upon the several States, and upon Congress, the adoption of such measures as will secure the right of suffrage to every American citizen impartially.

5. That we fully indorse the action of Congress, and consider that the hour is passed for hesitation, compromise, and leniency toward those who support and defend traitors and endeavor to restore them to power, and that the loyal people of the country are unanimous in the sentiment that all who defy and trample under foot the acts of Congress for the maintenance of the principles our gallant soldiers and sailors fought and died to secure, ought to be hurled from power by the use of every loyal and constitutional means devised, and that any, whoever he may be, that has been recreant to his duty in securing this, failed to meet the expectations of the loyal people of the country, will be marked by men, and will receive the indignation and censure he so richly merits, and will be denounced in thunder tones, as an unworthy servant, whose place should be filled by a true patriot; and we especially feel called upon to condemn the traitorous conduct of the Senators who disappointed the hopes of every loyal heart in the land, in voting for the acquittal of Andrew Johnson, whom they knew to be guilty of the crime charged, and deserted their country in the hour of its peril; and we class them with those traitors to their party and country, Cowan, Dixon, Doolittle, and Andrew Johnson, with the assurance that a traitor's doom awaits them.

6. That we respectfully recommend to the Union National Convention the nomination of that tried soldier, judicious man, and reliable loyalist, U. S. Grant, for President, and of an undoubted Republican, and of a proved experienced statesman for Vice President. With such men we feel confident of victory, as our cause is eminently that of truth, justice, and equal rights, and must be approved of God.

#### INFORMALITY OBJECTED TO.

MR. JONES, of Ohio—Mr. President, is not this a most extraordinary proceeding? We have a rule that every proposition that is submitted to this Convention shall be referred to the Committee on Resolutions, without discussion. But here is a motion that a resolution, or a series of resolutions that have been referred to that Committee, shall be sent for and brought back into this Convention before we have allowed the ordinary courtesy to that Committee, of waiting to see what may be their judgment upon the merits of the resolutions. Why, sir, if this principle is to be sanctioned by this Convention, then every other friend of every other resolution that has been referred to the Committee, can make a motion, either that they be spread upon the records, or some other motion, and upon the strength of that motion, a discussion of the merits of the whole of those resolutions can be gone into in this Convention, and thereby the rule of this Convention necessary for the dispatch of business (that these resolutions shall be referred without debate), will be rendered useless.

Why, sir, we do not know but that this Committee will report the very thing proposed. We do not know but they will report that these resolutions shall be spread upon the journal. We should wait and see; and, in view of this fact, and in view of the debate we shall open upon that, and the interminable discussion that will come up, upon this question, I move that this whole matter be laid on the table.

MR. COCHRANE, of New York—I rise, Mr. President, for information. What is the state of the resolutions now before the Convention? What is the motion?

THE PRESIDENT—These resolutions were regularly referred to the Committee on Resolutions, and a motion is now made that they be recalled from that Committee and entered upon the records of the Convention, and made a part of its proceedings. It is moved that motion be laid on the table.

MR. COCHRANE, of New York—I ask for a division of the question; first, upon recalling it from the Committee, and then upon its being spread upon the record.

MR. JONES, of Ohio—It is not in order. There is a motion to lay on the table.

THE PRESIDENT—The motion to lay on the table is in order.

The motion to table, prevailed.

MR. SPENCER, of New York—I move that the resolution just laid on the table be now taken from the table. [Cries of "No, no."]

MR. JONES, of Ohio—The gentleman is out of order. They are not laid upon the table at all. The whole subject is laid upon the table.

MR. SPENCER, of New York—I am in order, and I propose to give some reasons why they should be taken from the table. I move the whole subject be taken from the table. [Cheers.]

MR. SPALDING, of Ohio—The resolutions are not laid upon the table. They are not here; they are in possession of the Committee.

MR. JONES, of Ohio—The original resolutions are not here; they are not in the house.

MR. SPENCER, of New York—If I am in order, I propose to give my reasons why they should be sent for and acted upon.

MR. JONES, of Ohio—They are not laid upon the table at all. The whole subject has been laid on the table.

THE PRESIDENT—Does the gentleman move to reconsider the vote just taken?

MR. SPENCER, of New York—I cannot, because I voted in the negative; but when a subject is on the table, I suppose it is within the power of the Convention, at any time, to take it from the table, so that we may debate it afresh. I suppose the object of laying the matter on the table is to give time for deliberation, and that at some other period it may be taken up again; and if it can be taken from the table at any time, it can be taken now.

MR. SPALDING, of Ohio—Mr. Chairman, I think we have adopted the rules of Congress; if so, it cannot be taken up now.

THE PRESIDENT—I suppose it cannot be taken up until some business has intervened. [Applause.]

MR. SPENCER, of New York—I will wait, then, until some does. [Applause.]

MR. JONES, of Ohio—I move that we have a speech from our American-German friend, Mr. Hassaurek, from Ohio. [Applause and laughter.]

THE PRESIDENT—Will the Convention hear Mr. Hassaurek, from Ohio? [Applause, and voices—"Hassaurek! Hassaurek!"]

Mr. Hassaurek arose, in response to the invitation, and advanced to the platform.

ADDRESS BY MR. HASSAUREK.

MR. HASSAUREK, of Ohio—Mr. President, often when I traveled over the Equadorian Andes, ascending and descending mountains, in order to pass the western branch of the mighty Cordilleras, it happened that hills which I was just ascending would obstruct my vision. As I slowly toiled up their steep acclivities, I saw nothing beyond or above them. They completely shut out the horizon from my view. For the time being, they seemed to me the last boundaries of the world, with nothing to come after. But when I had passed them; when I had risen to higher and more commanding elevations; when I had reached the summit of one of those huge mountains, which towered around us in their imposing majesty, like the waves of the ocean suddenly become stationary; and when I looked down on the country from which I had emerged, where were the hills which, but a few hours before, had seemed to me the *ultima thule*—the final barrier to all adventurous exploration? They had vanished into nothingness in the valleys below. Their long chains and ranges looked like garden fences scarcely rising above the plains. The valleys between them looked like fields between their enclosures, and no barrier, except the distant horizon, shut out the wonderful prospect from my enraptured view.

Gentlemen, we are in the midst of a period of transition. Every period of transition has its difficulties, its troubles and its dangers. These difficulties may seem insurmountable to the unphilosophical, who can see nothing but the present. The weak-minded and the despondent may see nothing beyond them. But when we shall have emerged from the lower mountain ranges, when we shall have reached the lofty summit to which we are slowly, but steadily, ascending, the hillocks below will disappear, and we shall smile at our faint-heartedness, which magnified difficulties and stood aghast before obstacles which a little patience and perseverance easily cleared away.

I do not shut my eyes to the magnitude of the problem this generation is called upon to solve. The task which is to be performed is not reconstruction, as some say. It is regeneration. How shall it be accomplished? Let us understand the subject in question with which we have to deal. There was a South, with slavery as the corner-stone of her social and political institutions, with labor looked upon as disreputable and unbecoming a gentleman; her real estate in the hands of a few wealthy families, wielding irresistible political influence; her agriculture retrograding, her cities and towns decaying, her industry paralyzed, her commerce languishing, her middle and lower classes demoralized by the baleful influence of slavery; men bred up in the belief that they were born to command, and that traffic in their fellow creatures was a divine institution; men who had been taught from their earliest childhood that a State had a right to withdraw from the federal compact, and that secession was not treason or crime, but the exercise of a constitutional privilege. [Confusion and noise in the lobby.]

Mr. President, I do not believe that this Convention is in humor, now, to hear a discourse on the political questions of the day. I was not prepared to make a speech, and I do not wish to interfere with the business of the Convention, and would rather be excused until that is over. [Cries—"Go on." "Go on."]

A DELEGATE—I beg leave to call the attention of the President to the noise in the lobby. It is impossible for us to hear the speaker, and that is the cause of the dissatisfaction. [Voices—"Go on."]

A DELEGATE—Mr. President—

THE PRESIDENT—The Chair calls upon the police and members of the Committee of Arrangements, who are about there, to take measures to correct the evil.



MR. ———, of Alabama—I hope the Chair will preserve order, that those here who know the eloquent orator may have an opportunity of hearing him, as they desire to do. [Applause. Cries of "Good."]

MR. HASSAUREK—These men now firmly believe that they have been outraged and oppressed by the Government. Vast armies have marched and countermarched over the South. The torch of war has carried desolation into her very heart. The shackles of the slave have been stricken from his limbs, and freedom has been proclaimed as the birthright of every individual breathing the air of our Republic. Here, you have two classes. The one educated in the prejudices of privileged aristocracy, still smarting under the bitterness of defeat and disfranchisement, deprived of what they looked upon as their property, reduced to poverty and extremity, and ready to fly to arms again at the first favorable opportunity; unrepentant, because not convinced, and characterized by all the wild recklessness and ferocity which the demoralizing relation between master and slave must inevitably produce. The other class, brought up in ignorance and humiliation, tyrannized and oppressed, and enjoying no rights which white men were bound to respect, just emerging from a degrading servitude, with crude and undigested notions of freedom, and, perhaps, an easy prey to demagogues, but full of gratitude to the Government which broke their chains; overflowing with enthusiastic loyalty to the flag which brought them freedom, and determined to defend their new treasure with the arms, the use of which they have learned in many a bloody field of battle. [Applause.]

I admit this is a great problem: To evoke order out of chaos; to reconcile the hostile elements in the South, while a party in the North are trying its utmost to fan the flames of discord, resentment and vindictiveness; to restore peace; to allay prejudices; to establish security amid scenes of bloodshed and violence; to direct misspent energies into the channels of industry and trade; to revive business and labor amid inveterate aristocratic prejudices; to re-build an edifice with such a predominating quantity of questionable material; and to create prosperity where ruin and decay now reign supreme, is, perhaps, the most difficult problem ever submitted to the wisdom of mortal men.

I have heard it said that the southern portion of our country are in want of a new Moses, to lead a people unfitted for self-government to and fro in the wilderness, until the old generation, with its prejudices and vices, has died away, and a new generation has sprung up under a different system of society. But, fortunately, it does not take forty years, in this wonderful country of ours, to bring up a new generation. A writer in "Blackwood's Monthly" (a British Tory magazine) once said that the Americans have a remarkable, but successful, way of blundering through their difficulties. There may be some truth in the assertion. Blunders may have been committed in our many attempts to solve a problem, so new, so unprecedented, so difficult. But even our blunders have had their lessons, and, hence, will contribute to help us through our difficulties. Let us trust to the spirit of our institutions; let us trust the principles which underlie them; let us trust to the genius of our people; let us trust to the glorious successes of our past, for they are guarantees of a bright and happy future.

Our first task will be to understand the problem, which I hope we do. The next will be to find the proper means of disposing of the question. It strikes me that the surest and safest way will be, never to lose sight of first principles. There are certain fundamental truths upon which all science of government rests. There are certain elementary principles upon which our American system is based. Let these truths and principles show us the way. Let them be our cloud by day, and our pillar of fire by night, and we shall soon be out of the wilderness and behold the land of promise. [Applause.]

And, first, there must be peace and security. Governments are instituted for the protection of life, property and liberty. Their cardinal purpose is security. It is self-evident that a sudden transition from slavery to freedom, and such a great revolution as the substitution of an entirely different system of society, will be accompanied by great commotions; but the sooner our countrymen in the South understand that there must be peace and security, the better it will be for them and for the country. There must be no riots, no mobs, no burning of school houses and churches, no Ku Klux Klans. A Union man in Georgia or Mississippi, be he white or black, must enjoy the same security of person and property that is vouchsafed to any rebel who comes to live among us in the North. A Northern merchant or traveler must be free to pass through a Southern State with the same degree of safety with which a Southern man may travel through Pennsylvania or Ohio. Those exhibitions of violence and lawlessness, which have disgraced the South, must cease. The same liberty of speech that Southerners may enjoy in the North must be enjoyed in the South. This is a fair and a just demand. The establishment of peace and security is necessary for the South herself, and for the business and prosperity of the whole country. Without it, the South would never recover from the effects of the war. Without it, the development of its resources and the revival of commercial and industrial life would be an impossibility. Without it, the purposes of government could not be accomplished; and peace, without it, the South would be unfit for, and should not be intrusted with self-government. [Applause.]

There must be peace and security in the South; for, in addition to the fundamental obligations of all government, the loyal people of the United States are under a special obligation to protect those who have stood by the cause of the country in the hour of need. This obligation is sacred, and cannot be repudiated without overwhelming us with everlasting disgrace and infamy. The Union men of the South, who risked their all, by their devotion to the old flag; the negroes of the South, who rushed to our rescue, fought under our flag, saved our prisoners from starvation, and harbored, fed and piloted our refugees, with a self-sacrificing devotion which stands without a parallel in the history of mankind, must not be coolly, cruelly and heartlessly abandoned to the hatred and vindictiveness of those who seek to re-establish slavery in fact, after its abolition in name. [Applause.] Hence, while there are no local governments in the South, the former State governments have ceased to exist by their rebellion against the United States, it is the duty of the Federal Government to provide that security of person and property without which government itself would be a sham and a mockery—a mere machine of vexation and oppression. We protect our citizens in foreign lands; why not, also, protect them at home? Hence, if we say there must be peace and security in the South, the loyal and intelligent people of the country will indorse this demand.

But how shall peace and security be established and maintained? It can only be done by keeping a party in power which will do it. The power of the Federal Government must not be intrusted to the hands of those who have brought all these troubles over the country. It must not be intrusted to the hands of those who would unbind anarchy and remove all checks and restraints from the southern portions of our country, at a time when they most need the protecting care of the Federal Government. The power of the nation must not be intrusted to the hands of the Democratic party, which is, and always has been, the party of lawlessness, turbulence and violence. It must not be intrusted to a party which, having been the advocate and defender of slavery, is identified with all its excesses, and, by keeping alive the spirit of rebellion and insurrection, shares with Andrew Johnson the blame and the responsibility for the present state of affairs in the South. The sacred duty of protecting the helpless and defenceless freedmen must

not be intrusted to the hands of those who are daily preaching hatred of race and arousing the mob by appeals to its lowest prejudices and fiercest passions. [Applause.] In other words, the wolf must not be made the custodian of the lamb, nor must the fox be appointed the protector of the hen-roost.

In the first place, then, I say, to establish peace and security in the South, it is necessary to keep the power of Government out of the hands of the Democratic party.

In the second place, it is necessary to promote the reconciliation of hostile elements by removing, as much as possible, the causes of complaint and irritation; and to do this, we must again recur to first principles.

To regenerate the South, it is necessary to infuse into its administration a principle heretofore unknown to its policy. I mean the principle of "equal justice to all." Southern institutions were thoroughly aristocratic. It is necessary to place them on principles of democracy. I mean democracy in its higher and nobler sense, and not in its present party signification. Let reconstruction be based upon the fundamental idea of American republicanism as announced in the Declaration of Independence. I know there are objections urged—grave objections—to admitting a certain class of citizens to participation in the exercise of political rights. It is said that, as they have just emerged from a degrading and demoralizing state of bondage, they are unfit to be judges of what is necessary for, or conducive to, their own welfare. But let me answer these and similar objections in the language of Macaulay, who expresses, much better than I could do, the weakness of the objections to this feature of reconstruction. He says:

"There is only one cure for the evils which newly-acquired freedom produces, and that cure is freedom. When a prisoner first leaves his cell, he cannot bear the light of day. He is unable to discriminate color, or to recognize faces; but the remedy is, not to remand him into his dungeon, but to accustom him to the rays of the sun. The blaze of truth and liberty may at first dazzle nations which have become half blind in the house of bondage; but let them gaze on, and they will soon be able to bear it. \* \* \* \* \* Many of the politicians of our time are in the habit of laying it down as a self-evident proposition, that no people ought to be free till they are fit to use their freedom. The maxim is worthy of the fool in the old story, who resolved not to go into the water till he had learned to swim. If men are to wait for liberty till they become wise and good in slavery, they may, indeed, wait forever."

Hence, let true democracy be the groundwork of reconstruction. Let there be no masters and no slaves, no privileged and no disfranchised classes; put them all on the same broad footing of equality before the law. Let all men have a fair start in the race of life. Let no man be without the means of self-protection, and of vindicating his own views, feelings or principles. Let there be no rightless class, no government without the consent of the governed. Let there be no odious or irritating distinctions on the ground of color or opinion.

The reconstruction laws of Congress have partially fulfilled these requirements. But to establish peace, security and reconciliation all considerations of enlightened statesmanship command us to go one step further, and couple universal freedom with universal suffrage. [Applause.] The existence of a disfranchised class is a source of irritation and disaffection. It is a standing threat and peril to the community. It is an impediment to reconciliation, and should be done away with. I know that rebellion has committed crimes which neither God nor man can forgive, but true statesmanship requires us to rise above the resentments of the hour, however just and proper they may be. If you must punish, punish individuals, but do not punish a class. All class legislation is odious, and, in this case, may become treasonable and dangerous to those by whom, as those against whom, it is directed. We want prejudices of color to abate, and hostilities of race to

wear away in the South, which will never be the case as long as the just emancipated field-hand votes, while his former master remains disfranchised. Such a state of affairs is big with the seeds of plots, conspiracies, insurrections and violence; we want the Southern whites to accept the situation; but those that are disfranchised never will. This is human nature, and easily accounted for. Hence, let them vote—white and black—and become reconciled to each others' political rights [applause]; let the strong arm of the Government maintain the public peace and repress anarchy and violence, thus facilitating the development of material prosperity, and the work of regeneration will have begun. *The developments of material prosperity are important elements of reconstruction.* Let peace and security be re-established and the tide of Northern capital and enterprise will flow into the South. Her agriculture will revive on a new basis. Her commerce will spread and prosper. New towns and villages will arise, while the old ones take a new start of improvement, and the ex-rebel, now impoverished and believing himself outraged, will suddenly discover that all this change has been for his benefit; that he has profited by the abolition of slavery; that his property has trebled and quadrupled in value; that new chances and opportunities of enriching himself are crowding around him; and that free labor, after all, is a blessing and not an injury. Then it will be that his political views will undergo a change. A man's real or supposed interests always have a most powerful influence over his opinions—in most cases powerful enough to outweigh abstract considerations of right and justice. You cannot make an ex-rebel loyal by disfranchising him; but wait till he commences to make money under the new *regime*, and he will soon become reconciled to it. [Applause.] Unfortunately, the South can see nothing without ocular demonstrations; unfortunately, they are a people without political or economical foresight, easily misled by appeals to their passions and prejudices. The history of the last seven years furnished a number of almost incredible instances of their blindness. And they are blind now, when they drive away the Northern merchant or mechanic, instead of welcoming him with open arms and thanking him for offering to promote their interests by attending to his own. But they will not be blind to ocular demonstrations, which are sure to follow a few years of peace and order, and of security of person and property.

O, that they could listen to the voice of reason. It says to them: Gentlemen of the South, the material resources of your section of the country are great; all it requires is the repression of your spirit of violence. Let order and security be maintained and prosperity is sure to follow.

But if you let ferocity and destructiveness go unbridled, you may, perhaps, escape the vengeance of judicial tribunals, but you are sure to be punished with beggary, ruin and starvation.

Your past experience, gentlemen of the South, ought to warn you against placing any dependence on, or listening to, the advice of the worst enemy you ever had—the Democratic party. In the legends of the middle ages, the devil secured wealth and success to those with whom he had entered into compact, but it was at the final expense of their lives and souls. The Democratic party has done the bidding of the South. It has been a willing instrument in the hands of its Southern masters, but the instrument has ruined its master. The devil has enforced the price of his services. [Applause.]

By its misrepresentation of Northern character and sentiment, the Democratic party deluded them into secession and rebellion. By its false assurances of a coming reaction in the North, the Democratic party caused them to persist in a hopeless war. There was a time when submission to the authority of the Union would have saved slavery. Had the Confederates, after the preliminary proclamation of Abraham Lincoln, laid down their arms, they would have been welcomed back with joy, and the fatted calf would have been slaughtered for their reception. Their "peculiar institution" would have

been left untouched; a reaction of mistaken generosity and reconciliation would have taken place, which, in all probability, would have led to the enactment of new guarantees for the maintenance and protection of slavery. But, while the Democratic party told the North, "You cannot subjugate eight millions of men," it kept alive in the Southern heart a steady hope of a Northern reaction against the war.

There was a time when rebellion, although defeated on the field of battle, might have recovered its entire political power. The fourteenth constitutional amendment would have marked no social or political change. It would have left the political balance of power where it was before the war. It did not ordain negro suffrage or military reconstruction. Had it been accepted by the South, delegations elected by rebel votes would have taken their seats in Congress, and men fresh from the rebel armies would have been elected to govern unreconstructed rebel States. Future history will look with amazement on the almost incredible blindness with which the South refused to avail herself of the opportunity to recover—with the exception of the name of slavery—everything else she had lost.

But she listened to the pernicious advice of the Democratic party and Andrew Johnson, and allowed the favorable opportunity to pass away. It was the greatest blunder ever committed by a political party since the days when God hardened the heart of Pharaoh, in order to effect the liberation of Israel. But the Democratic party is ready to inflict further ruin and misery on the unfortunate nation. It has plunged the South in a war of secession and rebellion; it will next plunge it into a war of races. Its unceasing labors are directed to the bringing about of such a horrible calamity. It fans, indefatigably, the flames of a most barbarous hatred of race. It strains every nerve to excite the passions and violence of the negro. It cudgels its dull brains to overwhelm him with ridicule and abuse. It recognizes no right in him which white men are bound to respect. It does not recognize the obligation of the nation to stand by those who have stood by the flag when everybody else had deserted it.

But, gentlemen of the South, you can no longer trample humanity in the dust. You cannot re-establish slavery, or its likeness. The negroes will assert their freedom. They will not be deprived of their civil rights. They will not surrender political rights they have once enjoyed. Beware, then, of men whom you have made brutal and barbarous by making it a crime to teach them to be human. You may organize Ku Klux Klans, and assassinate refractory individuals; but such a course is sure to lead to a terrible day of retribution. Why, then, rush on blindly to death and destruction? Why give up your country, a second time to misery and devastation? Why not take warning from the past, and discard the ferocious promptings and destructive policy of the Democratic party? Four millions of human beings, who have once basked in liberty, and whose claim to justice is recognized and backed by the moral sentiment of the country, cannot forever be outraged with impunity.

Hence, if listening to the voice of reason, humanity, and your own pecuniary interests, you will discard the policy of the Democratic party, curb the spirit of ferocity and violence, put an end to the burning of churches and school-houses, and establish and maintain peace and security, the negroes will be, not your enemies, but your workmen, your field-hands, tradesmen, or mechanics, and a regenerated South will arise, Phoenix-like, from the ashes of the past conflagrations. But if, heedless of the lessons of the past, you follow the lead and policy of the Democratic party, there will be no revival of prosperity; bloodshed and violence will reign supreme; the grass will grow on your streets; crumbling ruins will dot your country; and, in a lava stream of blood and fire, the horrors of San Domingo will sweep over the land. Then, when your ruin shall be made complete and irreparable, by your own blindness and perversity, remorse will increase the bitterness of

your despair, and your misery will be galled by your recalling, at last, that you have nobody but yourselves to blame for the ruin you have wrought. Bear in mind, then, that the Democratic party is the cause of all your troubles in the South, as we owe to it all the tears and the bereavements which the war has inflicted on the North. The ancient Persians believed in two hostile spirits, Abriman and Oromasdes, who pervaded the universe and waged eternal war against each other. The one was the spirit of good, the other the spirit of evil. In our political system, the Democratic party represents the evil spirit. It is the natural advocate of evil. It naturally attracts to its organization those that are swayed by prejudice or passion. It is a dangerous organization, which has cost the country hundreds of thousands of lives and millions of treasure. It is dangerous because of its recklessness and its formidable discipline. It is dangerous because it commands the unthinking and the ignorant, and can change its principles and policy without losing the gross of its followers. During the war, it represented the spirit of the middle ages struggling against the cause of humanity and modern civilization; and now, true to its character, it endeavors to cultivate a spirit of bad faith and dishonesty—bad faith to the creditor of the nation, and bad faith to those to whom the nation owes security and protection. [Cheers.]

The Republican party may have its imperfections and defects. Nothing is perfect under the sun. It may have committed indiscretions and blunders. Which party has not? It may have fallen into mistakes and errors, and may occasionally have succumbed to the temptations of power; but its principles are good, because they are the principles of right and justice. Though some Republican politicians may have sinned, the Republican people are well meaning, and represent the intellect and loyalty of the country. They may administer their own correctives without calling upon the enemy to destroy all the good the Republican party has done. Let us be reasonable and careful. Any party in power will be exposed to temptations; and men are but men. Let us remember that the Republican party had to deal with problems of unprecedented novelty and magnitude, and let us remember, above all, that, with all its empiricism in matters of finance of such difficulty as had never before demanded the attention and taxed the intellectual resources of the American people; with all the inconsistencies into which it may have allowed itself to be beguiled by the wickedness and perversity of a recreant President, the Republican party is the only organization with which we can now defeat the so-called Democratic party—the representative of violence, turbulence and anarchy, the embodiment of injustice, bad faith and passion, the evil spirit of our country.

No calamity could befall our country more disastrous to its peace, welfare and prosperity, than the success of the Democratic party next November. That calamity it is our most sacred duty to avert. Men may disagree on a multitude of questions, and yet co-operate for a purpose as to which they are agreed. You and I may differ about the tariff, banks, the currency, internal improvements, capital punishment, and other questions of state or national policy; each one of us may have his own opinions on matters not strictly connected with the great issue; but we should all understand that, before we can afford to quarrel on minor topics, the main question must be settled; that the integrity of the country must be firmly established before the disorganizer should be re-admitted to power; that the new edifice must be placed on imperishable foundations before the destroyer should be let in; that the roof must be put on the fabric of reconstruction, before the door of power should be thrown open to those who would not only pervert its completeness, but also tear down the walls which we have raised. The peace and tranquility, the business and commercial interests of the country; its future greatness and prosperity; its obligations of honor, justice and good faith; its position in the eyes of the civilized world—demand that the organization which alone can defeat the Democratic party, be put in possession of

the executive branch of the Government for the next four years. The policy of the Republican party has not had a fair trial since the death of Abraham Lincoln. In possession of the legislative power it could enact laws, but a hostile executor defeated their interests and purposes, or barely complied with the letter of congressional enactments, while he endeavored to defeat the spirit. If it had not been for this determined opposition of Andrew Johnson, the time of Congress might have been more profitably occupied, and the work of reconstruction would now be complete. But, as it is, the great task still remains to be accomplished, and it ought to be left in the hands of those who have begun it, and with whom alone it will be safe. [Applause.]

Do not forget that a change of administration would not be a change of individuals, but a change of principles and system. Do not, therefore, call upon those to complete the restoration of the Union who have done their uttermost to destroy it. Let not the history of the last seven years be written in vain. Let not the memory of our dead be forgotten. Let us not desert the cause for which they have suffered and died. Let us not abandon our friends. Let us not carelessly and impiously sacrifice the fruits of such a costly war. Let us not give up the building to destruction on the verge of its successful completion. Let us place the ship of State under the guidance of him who has led the hosts of the Union to victory and glory and he will safely pilot her into the harbor of peace, good will and justice to all men. [Applause.]

One word before I close. I am expected to say something about the national debt, and the questions arising out of propositions with regard to the manner and time of its payment; questions with which our opponents have succeeded in baffling and paralyzing thousands, while endeavoring to divide and demoralize us. And again I say, as I said in the beginning of my remarks, difficulties that appear insurmountable for the time being, will disappear the moment we apply to them the test of first principles, which, I repeat, we should never lose sight of. Nations should be guided by the same rules of honesty and good will that regulate the conduct of private individuals; for a nation is but an individual in the great family of nations. The same considerations of righteousness that should prevail between man and man, should prevail between governments and governments, or between citizens and governments, or governments and foreigners. [Cheers.]

"Do unto others as you wish others to do unto you." An honest man will perform his obligations. An honest nation will do the same. An honest man will not keep his promises to the ear, and break them to the hope, but he will keep them according to the letter and the spirit in which they were made. The American people, having made such enormous sacrifices to maintain its national integrity, and to secure the liberty of all its members, will not sully the memory of our war, by compromising or tarnishing our national honor.

And, sir, this debt, burthensome as it may be, will soon cease to be onerous. We are on the high road to a prosperity and greatness unparalleled in the history of nations. Iron ways of steam communication will soon stretch their arms across the continent, uniting the Pacific and Atlantic oceans, and giving birth to a new galaxy of empire States. Our resources are boundless. Our mineral wealth is still awaiting development. Our Pacific coast is but on the eve of a future wealth more solid and durable than the fabulous riches of Golconda. China, Japan, India, and the South Sea Islands, will be made tributary to California and Oregon. The flood-gates of emigration are still open in Europe, pouring out over our land millions of willing hands and stout hearts, adding millions to our prosperity, and trebling and quadrupling our population. Consider what this country will be in thirty or forty years, with a regenerated and prosperous South, with a thriving and enterprising North, with a West of gigantic greatness and strength. It will

then be child's play to pay our great debt. Until then, let us be honest and true. The title of American citizen is now a passport and an introduction in the Old World; let us not become a by-word and a reproach abroad, and a source of humiliation and mortification at home. Let not the mean and timid be listened to by the great heart of the American nation. Let not the name of republicanism and popular self-government be synonymous with fraud and dishonesty. Let us not disgrace the cause of democratic institutions by an unworthy example. Let monarchies and aristocracies have no reason to boast that they are superior to republics in good faith, honesty and morality. Let us not make ourselves helpless in case of a foreign war, by undervaluing or destroying our own credit by blind and selfish legislation. Let justice be our lode-star in this crisis of temptation and difficulties; and our children, and our children's children, will bless the memory of the men who saved the republic and the cause of human freedom, in the trying days of '64 and '68. [Applause.]

MOTION TO NOMINATE.

MR. SPALDING, of Ohio—It is doubtful when the Committee on Resolutions will be able to offer their report, and the Convention is becoming impatient. I move you, sir, that the rules be suspended, and that we proceed to nominate Gen. Grant for the Presidential chair. [Cries of "No." "No."]

THE PRESIDENT—The motion is before the house, and is to be disposed of by the usual vote.

MR. ———, of Tennessee—Mr. President, I move to lay the motion on the table.

MR. SPALDING—I will not put the Convention to that trouble; I will withdraw the motion.

MR. ———, of Kentucky—I move you, sir, in the absence of other business before this Convention, that that tried statesman and patriot, Gen. John M. Palmer, of the State of Illinois, be invited to address the Convention. [Loud applause.]

ADDRESS BY GEN. PALMER.

THE PRESIDENT—Is it your pleasure to hear from Gen. Palmer?

The motion unanimously prevailed.

THE PRESIDENT—Gen. Palmer will please advance to the platform. [Applause.]

Gen. Palmer advanced to the platform.

THE PRESIDENT—Gentlemen, an introduction is unnecessary. [Applause.]

MR. PALMER, of Illinois—Mr. President, and Gentlemen of the Republican Convention: I must confess that I have attended this Convention to witness, to observe, earnest action, without any disposition on my part to contribute to the volume of words that usually attend assemblages like this. As you will see, I have outlived, in a great measure, the estimate that young men place upon mere speech. [Laughter, applause, and cries of "Good."] Years ago, when the great questions before the country were matters of argument and deliberation, I endeavored, as best I could, to contribute my share to their peaceful solution. In 1861, it was resolved by a portion of the people of this country that the problems of the hour were to be settled in the most stern and decisive manner. In my way, to the extent of the power I possessed, I contributed to the settlement of those problems by arms. [Ap-



plause.] It seemed to me, at the close of the war, and it seems to me now, that the matters in dispute between the different sections of the country were settled upon the battle-field; and all that I have desired since that time is, that the logic of the battle-field should be recognized, and the decisions there made should be carried into effect. [Applause.] Years ago, in the beginning of the controversy, the question was, whether man in all parts of the Republic should be allowed to speak. I valued freedom of speech; not much speech, but freedom of speech. [Laughter and applause.] Whilst I demanded no large share of popular attention for myself, I did insist that they who loved speaking should be allowed to do it. It was denied, not only in the South, but in many districts in the North. At that time it was insisted, not only that men should speak as they pleased, and for themselves, but that men should speak for themselves and *work for themselves*. [Applause.] I believe that, while every man should be allowed to speak freely, and speak for himself, all men should be allowed to *act* freely, and act for themselves—that every man should be allowed to own himself. He should be allowed to own, not only himself, but to own his own wife and his own children. [Applause.]

We submitted that question to the arbitrament of the battle-field, and it has been decided by the sword; and, not only was that great fundamental essential doctrine established, but it was also settled as conclusively as any question could be settled, that men should not only be free in their own persons, but that they should be alike free and alike equal before the law, everywhere, in this great Republic [applause]; and the mission of the Republican party, to-day, is not to discuss theories, but to give practical effect to the great doctrines established upon the battle-field [applause]; not for the loyal men alone, not for the North, not for the South, but for men everywhere in the limits of the Republic; not for white men, not for red men, not for black men, but for all men. [Cries of "That's so," and applause.]

And we supposed that the voice of the American people, during the progress of the war and at the close of the war, seemed to indicate that hereafter there would be no difficulty—that these doctrines would be accepted, at least by the Republican party—would be accepted by every man—everywhere. Six months ago, what man supposed that there remained any further obstructions to the execution of the popular will? What man supposed that we were still to struggle on in vindication of these great principles? We had triumphed during the war—at the Presidential election of 1864. We had triumphed at the close of the war, in the great conflict of 1866, when Andrew Johnson appealed from Congress to the people; and the people of the country everywhere reiterated their determination that these great doctrines should be, hereafter, American doctrines [cheers] everywhere. The public voice was spoken in language not to be misunderstood. It was supposed then that every man who accepted the name of a Republican recognized these great essential doctrines, and that they were hereafter not to be resisted—at least by members of the Republican party.

There was but one thing, then, in the pathway of the people. In 1864, by one of those wonderful blunders, that sometimes seem like a visitation of the Almighty in His wrath, we elected Andrew Johnson Vice President. [Cheers.] Thoughtless men may characterize it as a blunder, but thoughtful men may well wonder whether there was not some political sin concealed—whether what we deemed a mistake, was not the judgment of the Almighty inflicted upon the country; and, certainly, less than the war itself, no curse could be heavier than the election of Andrew Johnson. [Cheers.] In 1866 the distinct issue was presented to the American people, whether that "cuss"—as the phrase is—should be removed.

The people of Illinois—I speak of our own State—by a majority unheard of in our history, instructed its representatives upon that question. Iowa spoke out. Kansas spoke out. Other States spoke out upon this question.

There was no possible room for mistaking the will of the people of the country. There was but one way by which all the departments of the Government could be brought in harmony. An attempt was made to impeach the President; but it has failed. It is not for me to speak of the reasons of that failure. It is enough for me, in speaking for the Republican party, to deplore that result. The removal of Andrew Johnson was demanded for the national safety. We may talk about it; we may discuss it as a judicial or a political question; but, as a question of common sense, it is that Andrew Johnson stood in the way of the peace of the country, and ought to have been removed. [Cheers long renewed.]

Impeachment—[cheers]—impeachment is the substitute of modern civilization for old-fashioned resistance and decapitation. That is all there is of it. [Cheers, and cries of "Good, good, sir."] In old times, among barbarous people, when the ruler stood in the way of the people, they took off his head. In America, under the influence of civilization and Christianity, when the ruler stands in the pathway of the peace and prosperity of the country, they, by impeachment, take off his political head. [Cheers and applause.] Nice, captious questions, borrowed from a police court, have no application here. It is enough that the interests of the millions of the American people demanded that this obstruction should be taken out of the way, and it ought to have been done [cheers; "good!"]; or, to use a lawyer's phrase, Johnson ought to have been indicted. He ought to have been charged upon the common counts, and convicted and removed.

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention, there remains for us but this remedy—I speak of the impeachment as a failure—there is a tribunal that cannot be corrupted.

A VOICE—What of Trumbull? [Cries of "Go on! Go on!"]

MR. PALMER—I leave that man to that tribunal of which I am about to speak. ["Good! good!"] There is a tribunal that cannot be corrupted. [Cheers.]

We propose, at this Convention, not to indict men, but we propose to again submit these great questions to the American people for their decision. [Cheers. "Right, right!"] We expect to summon the old anti-slavery man who has struggled on amid the storm and the sunshine, amid persecution and success; the man who stood by the flag of freedom, when many of us were still halting by the way. We expect to summon him again, and ask him to go again to the ballot-box and deposit his vote for the right. [Cheers.] We expect to place at the head of our ticket the great Captain who has led the armies of the Republic through the war. [Cheers.] And we expect to summon those gallant soldiers who followed him down the Mississippi—who were present at the fall of Vicksburg. We expect to summon those gallant men who followed the flag as it ascended Missionary Ridge, and saw the fight of Bragg and his host. We expect to summon the men who marched from Atlanta to the sea; and, also, those men who so many years struggled between Washington and Richmond, and at last saw the rebel flag go down upon the Appomattox. [Applause.]

We expect to summon all these to rally under the flag of the great Captain, and we expect, then, a vote which shall place these questions where they will be disturbed no more in our history forever. [Cheers.]

Gentlemen of the Convention, I have said to you that I have no fondness for words, for the sake of words. I trust your Committee on Resolutions are prepared to report resolutions for your consideration, which shall have no uncertain sound. [Cheers and prolonged applause.] Let us make an issue just as clear and as distinct as the stars upon the flag. [Cheers.] Let us make it so distinct that in this political fight we can do as we did upon the battle-field—that when we saw the stars and stripes we knew who was following them—we knew there were friends there. Let us have a distinct,

clear, well-defined platform. I do not want any mistake as to the issues to be decided by this contest.

And let me implore you, Gentlemen of the Convention—we mean to make Ulysses S. Grant President of the United States in 1868 [applause], as you did Abraham Lincoln in '64—and let me beg of you not to offer a continued, perpetual reward to the hands of the assassin, that his life may be taken. [Applause.] Let me beg that of you. Don't make a man Vice President whose character will offer a temptation for the assassination of Grant. [Applause and cheers.] Don't do that. [Great applause.] We want him to live out the four years, and, if the country demand his services, we desire his re-election. If the country shall then prefer some other public man, we wish that he may retire, and live to an old age in the enjoyment of the confidence and affection of his countrymen. And if the Baltimore Convention had not made a mistake in '64, Abraham Lincoln would, to-day, have been at Washington. [Applause.] Abraham Lincoln would have been at Washington, ready, on the 4th day of March, to extend the hand of welcome to Ulysses S. Grant. [Applause.] That hand is at rest forever! Let us take warning by the past; let us place the flag in the hands of none but true, well-tried men.

Gentlemen of the Convention, I am done. [Applause.] Mr. President, I thank you and the Convention for your courtesy. [cheers.]

#### WAITING FOR COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS.

MR. COCHRANE, of New York—Mr. President—

THE PRESIDENT—General Cochrane, of New York, has the floor.

MR. COCHRANE, of New York—I am informed that a valiant soldier, just from the field of fight, is present with us here, to-day. The smoke of the conflict has rolled past us, and we would like to have the report of that gallant soldier, of the deeds of our army done in the Senate Chamber of the United States. May the Convention, sir, hear from Senator Thayer, of Nebraska? [Loud applause. Cries of "Thayer! Thayer!"]

THE PRESIDENT—Will Senator Thayer advance to the platform?

A VOICE—He has gone out.

[Cries of "Depew," "Cochrane," "Logan," "Tremain," and Thayer."]

THE PRESIDENT—I am informed that Senator Thayer is not in the house.

Cries of "Logan!" Logan!"

THE PRESIDENT—Gentlemen! Order!

MR. ———, of Louisiana—Mr. President; In the storm of rebellion that has passed over this country, we had among us, in the Southern States, a gentleman whose voice, in defence of the Union, was often heard high above the storm; and his name is Gov. Hamilton, of Texas. [Loud applause, and cries for "Hamilton."]

THE PRESIDENT—I am informed that Senator Thayer is here.

[Cries of "Thayer," "Hamilton," "Logan."]

MR. ———, of Louisiana—It is the desire of Gov. Hamilton that he should be excused from addressing the House to-day. He is not well, and offers his apology on that ground.

[Cries—"Thayer! Thayer!" "Cochrane! Cochrane!"]

THE PRESIDENT—Gentlemen, let us have order for a moment; order! Is Senator Thayer coming to the platform?

[Cries—"He is coming." "Thayer," "Logan," "Sickles," "Tremain," "Depew."]

The band played the "Star Spangled Banner."

THE PRESIDENT—I understand that Senator Thayer declines to address the Convention.

[Cries—"Logan!" "Logan!" "Logan!"]

MR. ———, from North Carolina—I move, sir, that Mr. Harris, of North Carolina, an able and eloquent speaker, and a man whose services have contributed greatly towards the success of the Republican party in that and other Southern States, be invited to address the Convention.

Cries—"Logan!" "Harris!"

MR. VAN ZANDT, of Rhode Island—I move you, sir, that Gen. Logan be invited to address this Convention. I offered to change my name for him, yesterday. Let us have him!

THE PRESIDENT—It is moved that Gen. John A. Logan be called upon to address the Convention.

The motion prevailed.

MR. LOGAN, of Illinois—Mr. President, I must most respectfully decline to address this Convention at this time. I would desire to do so, if I felt able to respond to the call properly. Nothing would give me greater pleasure; but I hope the Convention will excuse me at the present time from so doing. I certainly have good reason for declining the call of the Convention.

MR. ———, of Pennsylvania—I move you that Gen. Sickles, of New York, be invited to address the Convention. [Three Cheers.]

THE PRESIDENT—It is moved that Gen. Sickles be invited to address the Convention.

The motion prevailed.

MR. COCHRANE, of New York—Mr. President, Mr. Sickles would very cheerfully address the Convention, were he present. I am sorry to say he is absent. [Laughter.]

[Cries—"Cochrane!" "Cochrane!"]

THE PRESIDENT—There is no motion before the Convention.

MR. ———, of Kentucky—I move you, sir, that in the absence of business before the Convention, Hon. Lyman Tremain be invited to address the Convention.

THE PRESIDENT—The Convention calls for Hon. Lyman Tremain.

A VOICE—He is not in the house.

The band played "Hail Columbia," and "Columbia, the Gem of the Ocean."

MR. LOGAN, of Illinois—Mr. President, I will make a suggestion to the Convention, sir, if permitted. Inasmuch as I declined to address the Convention—I have reasons for it—I would suggest General John Cochrane—"Good, good." "Cochrane, Cochrane!"—be invited to address the Convention during the time that we are waiting. [Cries, "Cochrane!" Great applause.]

THE PRESIDENT—Gen. Cochrane will take the platform. [Loud cheers.]

MR. COCHRANE, of New York—We are men of action, not of words. Your Committee has made its appearance. You will permit me to return my thanks for your complimentary invitation, and to retire. [Applause.]

THE PRESIDENT—Gentlemen of the Convention, come to order. I recognize Mr. Thompson, Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions.

#### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS.

MR. THOMPSON, of Indiana—Mr. President, the Committee on Resolutions is ready to report, through its Chairman. [Voices, "Let us hear it." "Take the platform."] The Committee to whom the subject of preparing resolutions for this Convention was referred, have instructed me to submit to the Convention the following report:

The National Union Republican party of the United States, assembled in National Convention, in the city of Chicago, on the 20th day of May, 1868, make the following declaration of principles:

FIRST—We congratulate the country on the assured success of the reconstruction policy of Congress [applause], as evinced by the adoption, in a majority of the States lately in rebellion, of constitutions securing equal civil and political rights to all, and regard it as the duty of the Government to sustain those constitutions, and to prevent the people of such States from being remitted to a state of anarchy or military rule. [Loud applause.]

SECOND—The guarantee by Congress of equal suffrage to all loyal men at the South was demanded by every consideration of public safety, of gratitude, and of justice, and must be maintained [applause]; while the question of suffrage in all the loyal States properly belongs to the people of those States. [Loud applause.]

THIRD—We denounce all forms of repudiation as a national crime; and national honor requires the payment of the public indebtedness in the utmost good faith to all creditors at home and abroad, not only according to the letter, but the spirit of the laws under which it was contracted. [Great applause.]

FOURTH—It is due to the labor of the nation, that taxation should be equalized and reduced as rapidly as national faith will permit. [Great applause.]

FIFTH—The National Debt, contracted as it has been for the preservation of the Union for all time to come, should be extended over a fair period for redemption, and it is the duty of Congress to reduce the rate of interest thereon whenever it can honestly be done. [Loud cheers.]

SIXTH—That the best policy to diminish our burden of debt, is to so improve our credit that capitalists will seek to loan us money at lower rates of interest than we now pay, and must continue to pay so long as repudiation, partial or total, open or covert, is threatened or suspected. [Great applause.]

SEVENTH—The Government of the United States should be administered with the strictest economy; and the corruptions which have been so shamefully nursed and fostered by Andrew Johnson call loudly for radical reform. [Cheers.]

EIGHTH—We profoundly deplore the untimely and tragic death of Abraham Lincoln, and regret the accession of Andrew Johnson to the Presidency [cheers], who has acted treacherously to the people who elected him and the cause he was pledged to support; has usurped high legislative and judicial

functions; has refused to execute the laws; has used his high office to induce other officers to ignore and violate the laws; has employed his executive powers to render insecure the property, peace, liberty, and life of the citizen; has abused the pardoning power; has denounced the National Legislature as unconstitutional; has persistently and corruptly resisted, by every means in his power, every proper attempt at the reconstruction of the States lately in rebellion; has perverted the public patronage into an engine of wholesale corruption; and has been justly impeached for high crimes and misdemeanors [good! good! cheers], and properly pronounced guilty thereof by the votes of thirty-five Senators. [Prolonged applause.]

**NINTH**—The doctrine of Great Britain and other European powers, that because a man is once a subject, he is always so, must be resisted, at every hazard, by the United States, as a relic of the feudal times, not authorized by the law of nations, and at war with our national honor and independence. Naturalized citizens are entitled to be protected in all their rights of citizenship, as though they were native born; and no citizen of the United States, native or naturalized, must be liable to arrest and imprisonment by any foreign power, for acts done or words spoken in this country; and, if so arrested and imprisoned, it is the duty of the Government to interfere in his behalf.

**TENTH**—Of all who were faithful in the trials of the late war, there were none entitled to more especial honor than the brave soldiers and seamen who endured the hardships of campaign and cruise, and imperiled their lives in the service of the country. The bounties and pensions provided by law for these brave defenders of the nation, are obligations never to be forgotten. [Cheers.] The widows and orphans of the gallant dead are the wards of the people—a sacred legacy bequeathed to the nation's protecting care. [Applause.]

**ELEVENTH**—Foreign emigration, which, in the past, has added so much to the wealth, development of resources and increase of power to this nation—the asylum of the oppressed of all nations—should be fostered and encouraged by a liberal and just policy.

**TWELFTH**—This Convention declares its sympathy with all the oppressed people which are struggling for their rights. [Cheers.]

ADOPTION OF THE REPORT MOVED.

**THE PRESIDENT**—The resolutions are before the Convention.

**MR. SPENCER**, of New York—I move, sir, that the report of the Committee be adopted. I believe that it evidences great care, and is pre-eminently a wise and truthful presentation of the articles of faith of the Union Republican party of the country, and as the great majority of this Convention is anxious and willing, promptly, in my judgment, to vote upon the platform, and as a discussion, in my judgment, would have no other effect than, perhaps, to place a dot over an *i*, or alter some word or sentence, leaving the platform substantially intact, I make this motion, and call for the previous question. ["Good."]

**THE PRESIDENT**—The previous question is moved.

**MR. COCHRANE**, of New York—I rise to a question of order. The previous question is not moved for by a majority of the delegation.

**THE PRESIDENT**—There is a rule of the Convention, that when the previous question shall be demanded by a majority of the delegation of any

State, and the demand seconded by two or more States, and the call sustained by a majority of the Convention, the question shall then be proceeded with.

#### AMENDMENTS OFFERED.

MR. COCHRANE, of New York—I move you, sir, that in the resolution respecting impeachment, after the words, “properly convicted by thirty-five votes,” to insert the words, “and improperly acquitted by nineteen.” [Great applause and laughter.]

MR. SCHURZ, of Missouri—I am in favor of the platform as it stands. [Cheers.] I only want to move two additional paragraphs, which I think I shall have the unanimous consent of the Convention to offer. I move to attach to the second of the resolutions, a clause in relation to the right of suffrage for the colored race.

THE PRESIDENT—The motion made by the gentleman from New York is in order; will he reduce it to writing? [Cries of question.]

#### THE PREVIOUS QUESTION MOVED.

MR. MCCLURE, of Pennsylvania—I am instructed by the delegation from Pennsylvania to call the previous question.

MR. VAN ZANDT, of Rhode Island—I am, also, instructed by the delegation from Rhode Island to call the previous question.

THE PRESIDENT—The gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. McClure) informs the Chair that he is instructed by the Pennsylvania delegation to move the previous question.

MR. VAN ZANDT, of Rhode Island—Rhode Island seconds.

MR. ———, of Ohio—Ohio seconds it.

THE PRESIDENT—It is properly before the Convention, under the rules. Shall the main question now be put? [Cries of “Yes, yes.”]

THE PRESIDENT—Gentlemen of the Convention, as there is no call that this question shall be put by States, I shall proceed to put the main question. Shall the main question now be put [Cries of “Yes, yes.”]

MR. ———, of Pennsylvania—Before that is put, I wish to make an inquiry. At what point is it that the Chair regards the previous question to have been demanded? Before, or after the motion of the gentleman from New York—General Cochrane, I believe?

A DELEGATE—After.

THE PRESIDENT—The Chair is obliged to the gentleman for the suggestion. The motion for the previous question was made after the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York (Mr. Cochrane).

MR. ———, of Indiana—I understood the gentleman from New York to have moved the previous question.

THE PRESIDENT—He did, but it was not seconded.

THE DELEGATE—The gentleman from Ohio seconded the motion.

MR. ———, of Ohio—I understand the gentleman from New York, who first rose, to have moved the previous question. Ohio seconded that motion.

THE PRESIDENT—New York disclaimed having offered it as a State.

MR. ———, of Pennsylvania—It was not done by delegation.

THE MAIN QUESTION ORDERED.

THE PRESIDENT—It was not done by a delegation until after the gentleman from New York (Mr. Cochrane) moved the amendment to the resolution. The previous question refers to the amendment. Shall the main question now be put?

It was so ordered.

THE PRESIDENT—The question recurs on the amendment of the gentleman from New York (Mr. Cochrane). Has he reduced it to writing?

A DELEGATE from Ohio—We demand that the vote be taken by States.

THE PRESIDENT—Is that done by Ohio? [Cries of "No," no.]

THE AMENDMENT WITHDRAWN.

MR. COCHRANE, of New York—Mr. President, upon my individual responsibility, I should suffer that amendment to remain; but my delegation unanimously have appealed to me, in their name, to withdraw it. [Applause.]

MR. SCHURZ, of Missouri—Mr. President—

THE PRESIDENT—Gen Schurz has the floor.

A VOICE—Mr. President—

THE PREVIOUS QUESTION AGAIN.

THE PRESIDENT—Gentlemen, it must be remembered that the previous question exhausts itself upon the amendment of the gentleman from New York (Mr. Cochrane), which he has withdrawn. We recur now to the main question, on the adoption of that report.

MR. SCHURZ, of Missouri—Mr. President—

THE PRESIDENT—Gen. Schurz has the floor.

MR. ———, of Ohio—I move the previous question.

MR. ———, of West Virginia—I also move it in favor of West Virginia.

MR. MCCLURE, of Pennsylvania—Mr. President, I rise to a question of order. The previous question goes to the main question before the Convention, and the Convention can do nothing now but vote upon the platform as a whole. [Cries of "That's it," "That's right."] There can be no discussion; we must vote.

A DELEGATE from Ohio—I rise to a question of order. The previous question has not exhausted itself. It rests now on the main question.

SEVERAL DELEGATES—Right! Right!

MR. MCCLURE, of Pennsylvania—The main question is yet to be put.

THE PRESIDENT—The Chair has been advised by eminent parliamentarians, and reconsidered his decision. It seems that the previous question applied also to the main question, upon the adoption of the report of the Com-



mittee on Resolutions. That question is now before you. How shall the question be put on the adoption of the report, viva voce, or by States?

VOICES—"Call the States!"

#### THE RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED.

THE PRESIDENT—All who are in favor of accepting the resolutions offered by the Committee, and adopting them as the voice of the Convention, will please signify it by saying "aye;" opposed, "no."

The motion prevailed.

#### MOTION TO RECONSIDER, LAID ON THE TABLE.

MR. THOMPSON, of Indiana—The Chairman of the Committee offers an additional Resolution, as an amendment to the Report. I am instructed by the Committee on Resolutions to report for the consideration of the Convention, the following Resolution, on an entirely different subject.

MR. MCCLURE, of Pennsylvania—Before the gentleman reads the Resolution, I ask him to yield while I make a motion. I move you, sir, by his permission, to reconsider the vote just taken, and then I move you to lay that motion on the table.

THE PRESIDENT—You hear the motion of the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. McClure). Is the motion seconded. [Voices, "Yes! yes!"] It is moved and seconded that the vote adopting the resolutions be reconsidered, and that that motion be laid upon the table.

The motion prevailed.

THE PRESIDENT—Mr. Thompson has the floor.

#### ADDITIONAL RESOLUTIONS.

MR. THOMPSON, of Indiana—The following is the Resolution submitted for the consideration of the Convention, from the Committee on Resolutions:

*"Resolved, That the adjournment of this Convention shall not work a dissolution of the same, but it shall remain as organized, subject to be called together, at any time and place that the National Republican Executive Committee shall designate."*

The Resolution was adopted.

THE PRESIDENT—The gentleman from Missouri (Mr. Schurz) has the floor.

MR. SCHURZ, of Missouri—Mr. President, I desire to offer an amendment to the second Resolution contained in this platform. I approve of every sentiment contained in it; but there seems to be something wanting. I will now read what I intend to offer as an amendment, but what I suppose the Convention may pass as an independent Resolution. It is:

"We highly commend the spirit of magnanimity and forgiveness with which the men who have served the rebellion, but now frankly and honestly co-operate with us in restoring the peace of the country, and reconstruct-

ing the Southern State Governments upon the basis of impartial justice and equal rights, are received back into the communion of the loyal people; and we favor the removal of the disqualifications and restrictions imposed upon the late rebels, in the same measure as the spirit of disloyalty will die out, and as may be consistent with the safety of the loyal people." [Cries of "Good! good!"]

This is the first amendment. The second—and I move that also as an independent Resolution—is this:

A DELEGATE—I do not think it is proper——

MR. ———, of ——— —I rise to a question of order, sir, and make a suggestion, and that is, that, according to a Resolution adopted yesterday, all Resolutions that were offered were to be referred to the Committee on Resolutions without debate. That Committee is still in existence.

A VOICE—The Committee have reported.

THE PRESIDENT—The Chair decides the motion in order.

MR. SCHURZ, of Missouri—It seems to me that the platform of the Republican party ought to contain at least a recognition of the great charter of our rights and liberties—the Declaration of Independence. I will, therefore, move, if it be in order, that the following Resolution be inserted among those already reported by the Committee:

"We recognize the great principles laid down in the immortal Declaration of Independence as the true foundation of Democratic Government; and we hail with gladness every effort toward making these principles a living reality on every inch of American soil."

MR. MCCLURE, of Pennsylvania—Mr. President——

THE PRESIDENT—Let Gen. Schurz have a moment longer.

MR. SCHURZ, of Missouri—I am requested to read the first Resolution again.

MR. RICHARDS, of Tennessee—I would suggest, sir, that the Rules be suspended, that the Resolution may be acted upon.

THE PRESIDENT—The Chair is of the opinion that the Committee on Resolutions has discharged its functions, and that the Convention is at liberty to receive the resolution; at any rate, Gen. Schurz has done nothing further, yet, than read his Resolution.

MR. MCCLURE, of Pennsylvania—Mr. President, I am instructed, by the unanimous vote of the Pennsylvania delegation, to second the motion for the adoption of these Resolutions.

THE PRESIDENT—Pennsylvania instructs its Chairman to second the motion for the adoption of these Resolutions.

MR. GOOCH, of Massachusetts—I ask, Mr. President, that these Resolutions, by unanimous consent, may be made a part of the platform, which we have just adopted.

MR. WARNER, of Alabama—Mr. President, as a soldier of the Republic, who fought four years for the suppression of the rebellion, and now, as an Alabama Republican, I desire to *third* that resolution [laughter], as expressing the sentiments of the Republicans of the unconstructed States.

THE PRESIDENT—Are you ready for the question? [Cries of "Question," "Question."]

The resolutions were then adopted.

#### MOTION TO BALLOT FOR PRESIDENT.

MR. FRENCH, of North Carolina—I move you, sir, that we now proceed to ballot for a candidate for President—[Great applause, and cries of "Vote!"]

THE PRESIDENT—The gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. French) moves that the Convention proceed to take a ballot for a candidate for President of the United States.

MR. LOGAN, of Illinois—Mr. President, I rise to propound a question to the Chair. According to the order of our business, it is not necessary for a vote in reference to the nomination of a candidate for President. Is not the question to be announced by the Chair, under the rules, "Is the nomination for President now in order?" I ask the question.

#### NOMINATION IN ORDER.

THE PRESIDENT—The rule for the order of business does not prescribe any specific time when the Convention will go into that business. It may delay it until after the nomination of Vice President, if it chooses. The Convention is at liberty to say whether or not it will now proceed to that business.

MR. LOGAN, of Illinois—I ask whether the Convention is ready to proceed to nominations for candidate for President?

THE PRESIDENT—Is the Convention ready? I await your pleasure.

MR. LOGAN, of Illinois—Is it the decision of the Chair that nominations are now in order

THE PRESIDENT—They are.

MR. LOGAN, of Illinois—[Cries of "Bully! John!"]—Then, sir, in the name of the loyal citizens, soldiers and sailors of this great Republic of the United States of America; in the name of loyalty, of liberty, of humanity, of justice; in the name of the National Union Republican party; I nominate, as candidate for the Chief Magistracy of this nation, Ulysses S. Grant.

The greatest enthusiasm prevailed, upon the nomination of General Grant. The mass of people arose, and gave three rousing cheers for the nominee. Handkerchiefs were waved, and the band played "Hail to the Chief!"

MR. BRIGHT, of South Carolina—I move you, sir, that the vote be taken by acclamation. [Cries of "No, no." "It can't be done."]

THE PRESIDENT—The Rules designate the manner in which the vote shall be taken. The list of States and Territories will be called by the Secretary, and, as they are called, let each delegation announce its choice for a candidate for the office of the President of the United States. It is understood, under the rules, that the Chairmen of the delegations shall announce the votes of their respective States.

CALLING THE ROLL.

THE SECRETARY—The State of Alabama!

THE CHAIRMAN of the Alabama delegation—Mr. President, Alabama, through the chairman of her delegation, casts eighteen votes for U. S. Grant. [Cheers.]

THE SECRETARY—The State of Arkansas!

THE CHAIRMAN of the Arkansas delegation—Mr. President, Arkansas casts ten votes for U. S. Grant. [Cheers.]

THE PRESIDENT—The State of Arkansas casts ten votes for Ulysses S. Grant.

THE SECRETARY—The State of California!

THE CHAIRMAN of the California delegation—Mr. President, we came—ten of us—here, six thousand miles, to cast our vote for General Ulysses S. Grant. [Cheers.]

THE PRESIDENT—California casts ten votes for Ulysses S. Grant.

THE SECRETARY—Colorado!

THE CHAIRMAN of the Colorado delegation—Mr. President, the Rocky Mountains of Colorado say—Ulysses S. Grant, six votes. [Cheers.]

THE PRESIDENT—Colorado casts six votes for Ulysses S. Grant.

THE SECRETARY—The State of Connecticut!

THE CHAIRMAN of the Connecticut delegation—Mr. President, Connecticut unconditionally surrenders her twelve votes for Ulysses S. Grant. [Cheers.]

THE PRESIDENT—Connecticut casts twelve votes for Ulysses S. Grant.

THE SECRETARY—Dakota!

THE CHAIRMAN of the Dakota delegation—Mr. President, Ulysses S. Grant—two votes.

THE PRESIDENT—Dakota casts two votes for Ulysses S. Grant.

THE SECRETARY—The State of Delaware!

THE CHAIRMAN of the Delaware delegation—Mr. President, the State of Delaware casts six votes for Ulysses S. Grant.

THE PRESIDENT—Delaware casts six votes for Ulysses S. Grant.

THE SECRETARY—The District of Columbia!

THE CHAIRMAN of the District of Columbia delegation—The District of Columbia gives her two votes for Ulysses S. Grant.

THE PRESIDENT—The District of Columbia gives two votes for Ulysses S. Grant.

THE SECRETARY—The State of Florida!

THE CHAIRMAN of the Florida delegation—Mr. President, Florida, the land of flowers, gives six votes for Ulysses S. Grant. [Cheers.]

THE PRESIDENT—The State of Florida gives six votes for Ulysses S. Grant.

THE SECRETARY—The State of Georgia!

THE CHAIRMAN of the Georgia delegation—Mr. President, the Republicans of Georgia, many of whom were original secessionists, recognizing

the wisdom of the maxim, "Enemies in war, in peace, friends," and ardently desiring a speedy restoration of union, harmony, peace, and good government, instruct me, through their representatives here, to cast eighteen votes for Gen. Ulysses S. Grant. [Cheers.]

THE PRESIDENT—The State of Georgia gives eighteen votes for Ulysses S. Grant.

THE SECRETARY—The Territory of Idaho!

THE CHAIRMAN of the Idaho delegation—Mr. President, the Territory of Idaho gives two votes for Gen. Ulysses S. Grant.

THE SECRETARY—The State of Illinois!

THE CHAIRMAN of the Illinois delegation—Mr. President, the State of Illinois gives thirty-two for Ulysses S. Grant. [Cheers.]

THE PRESIDENT—The State of Illinois gives thirty-two votes for Ulysses S. Grant. [Cheers.]

THE SECRETARY—The State of Indiana!

THE CHAIRMAN of the Indiana delegation—The State of Indiana gives twenty-six votes for Ulysses S. Grant. [Cheers.]

THE PRESIDENT—The State of Indiana gives twenty-six votes for Ulysses S. Grant.

THE SECRETARY—The State of Iowa!

THE CHAIRMAN of the Iowa delegation—Mr. President, Iowa gives sixteen votes for Ulysses S. Grant, and promises to back it up with forty thousand majority. [Cheers.]

THE PRESIDENT—The State of Iowa gives sixteen votes for Ulysses S. Grant.

THE SECRETARY—The State of Kansas!

THE CHAIRMAN of the Kansas delegation—Mr. President, Kansas—the "John Brown" State—gives six votes for Ulysses S. Grant. [Applause and laughter.]

THE PRESIDENT—The State of Kansas gives six votes for Ulysses S. Grant.

THE SECRETARY—The State of Kentucky!

THE CHAIRMAN of the Kentucky delegation—Mr. President, the State of Kentucky has directed its delegation to cast its vote—twenty-two votes—for Ulysses S. Grant. [Cheers.]

THE PRESIDENT—The State of Kentucky gives twenty-two votes for Ulysses S. Grant.

THE SECRETARY—The State of Louisiana!

THE CHAIRMAN of the Louisiana delegation—Mr. President, the State of Louisiana casts fourteen votes for General Ulysses S. Grant, and we propose to "fight it out on this line if it takes all summer." [Applause.]

THE PRESIDENT—Louisiana gives fourteen votes for Ulysses S. Grant.

THE SECRETARY—The State of Maine!

THE CHAIRMAN of the Maine delegation—Mr. President, Maine gives fourteen votes for Ulysses S. Grant. [Cheers.]

THE PRESIDENT—Maine gives fourteen votes for Ulysses S. Grant.

THE SECRETARY—The State of Maryland!

THE CHAIRMAN of the Maryland delegation—Mr. President, believing that our great Captain will crush treason in the Cabinet as he crushed it in the field, "Maryland, my Maryland," gives fourteen votes for Ulysses S. Grant. [Applause.]

THE PRESIDENT—Maryland gives fourteen votes for Ulysses S. Grant.

THE SECRETARY—The State of Massachusetts!

THE CHAIRMAN of the Massachusetts delegation—Mr. President, the State of Massachusetts casts twenty-four votes for Ulysses S. Grant.

THE PRESIDENT—Massachusetts casts twenty-four votes for Ulysses S. Grant. [Cheers.]

THE SECRETARY—The State of Michigan!

THE CHAIRMAN of the Michigan delegation—Mr. President, the State of Michigan, following the State of Massachusetts, gives sixteen votes for Ulysses S. Grant. [Cheers.]

THE PRESIDENT—Michigan gives sixteen votes for Ulysses S. Grant.

THE SECRETARY—The State of Minnesota!

THE CHAIRMAN of the Minnesota delegation—Mr. President, Minnesota, the North Star State, gives all she has—eight votes—for Ulysses S. Grant. [Applause.]

THE PRESIDENT—Minnesota gives eight votes for Ulysses S. Grant.

THE SECRETARY—The State of Mississippi!

THE CHAIRMAN of the Mississippi delegation—Mr. President, the State of Mississippi, the home of Jefferson Davis, repudiates that traitor, and offers her fourteen votes for Ulysses S. Grant. [Applause.]

THE PRESIDENT—Mississippi gives fourteen votes for Ulysses S. Grant.

THE SECRETARY—The State of Missouri!

THE CHAIRMAN of the Missouri delegation—Mr. President, the State Convention of Missouri instructed the delegation to vote for Ulysses S. Grant upon a radical platform; we have the radical platform, and, with full confidence that General Grant will carry it out, Missouri gives General Grant twenty-two votes. [Cheers.]

THE PRESIDENT—Missouri gives twenty-two votes for Ulysses S. Grant.

THE SECRETARY—The Territory of Montana!

THE CHAIRMAN of the Montana delegation—The mountains of Montana, and the Columbia river, are vocal with the name of Grant. She gives him two votes. [Applause.]

THE PRESIDENT—Montana gives two votes for Ulysses S. Grant.

THE SECRETARY—The State of Nebraska!

THE CHAIRMAN of the Nebraska delegation—Mr. President, Nebraska, the last State admitted into the Union, and the first to adopt impartial suffrage [applause], gives six votes for Ulysses S. Grant. [Cheers.]

THE PRESIDENT—Nebraska gives six votes for Ulysses S. Grant.

THE SECRETARY—The State of Nevada!

THE CHAIRMAN of the Nevada delegation—Mr. President, the Silver State has but six votes to give, but it proposes soon to be able to have six more to give. It gives all it has for Grant. [Cheers.]

THE PRESIDENT—Nevada gives six votes for Ulysses S. Grant.

THE SECRETARY—The State of New Hampshire!

THE CHAIRMAN of the New Hampshire delegation—Mr. President, New Hampshire gives ten votes for Ulysses S. Grant. [Cheers.]

THE PRESIDENT—New Hampshire gives ten votes for Ulysses S. Grant.

THE SECRETARY—The Territory of New Mexico!

New Mexico did not respond.

THE SECRETARY—The State of New Jersey!

THE CHAIRMAN of the New Jersey delegation—Mr. President, the New Jersey delegation, instructed by her Convention—and in giving these instructions, she spoke the voice of every man of the Republican party within her borders—now deliver their fourteen votes for Ulysses S. Grant, not only a victorious soldier, but a man, conspicuous for calmness of judgment, sincerity of patriotism, and personal honesty. [Cheers.]

THE SECRETARY—The State of New York!

THE CHAIRMAN of the New York delegation—The State of New York gives sixty-six votes for Ulysses S. Grant.

THE PRESIDENT—The State of New York gives sixty-six votes for Ulysses S. Grant.

THE SECRETARY—The State of North Carolina!

THE CHAIRMAN of the North Carolina delegation—Mr. President, North Carolina, known as the land of the "tar heels" [great laughter], gives eighteen votes for Ulysses S. Grant, and will give twice eighteen—thirty-six thousand votes—all of which will stick! [Great applause.]

THE PRESIDENT—North Carolina gives eighteen votes for Ulysses S. Grant.

THE SECRETARY—The State of Ohio!

THE CHAIRMAN of the Ohio delegation—Mr. President, Ohio has the honor of being the mother of our great Captain. Ohio is in line, and on that line Ohio proposes following this great Captain, that never knew defeat; to fight it out through the summer, and in the autumn, at the end of the great contest, and to be first in storming the intrenchments, until victory shall be secured, and all the stars that glitter in the firmament of our glorious constellation shall again be restored to their proper order, and all the sons of freedom throughout the whole earth shall shout for joy. ["Good! good!"] Ohio gives forty-two votes for U. S. Grant. [Cheers.]

THE PRESIDENT—Ohio casts forty-two votes for Ulysses S. Grant.

THE SECRETARY—The State of Oregon!

THE CHAIRMAN of the Oregon delegation—Mr. President, the State of Oregon—the most Northwestern State of this Union—have directed their delegates here to cast six votes for U. S. Grant. [Cheers.]

THE SECRETARY—The State of Pennsylvania!

THE CHAIRMAN of the Pennsylvania delegation—The State of Pennsylvania casts fifty-two votes for Ulysses S. Grant.

THE PRESIDENT—The State of Pennsylvania casts fifty-two votes for Ulysses S. Grant.

THE SECRETARY—The State of Rhode Island!

THE CHAIRMAN of the Rhode Island delegation—Little Rhody, small in stature, but patriotic, gives her eight votes for Gen. Ulysses S. Grant, and wishes she had more. [Applause.]

THE PRESIDENT—Rhode Island casts eight votes for Ulysses S. Grant.

THE SECRETARY—The State of South Carolina!

THE CHAIRMAN of the South Carolina delegation—The State of South Carolina, the birth place and home of John C. Calhoun, and the doctrine of State rights—first to withdraw herself from the Union—directs me, through her representatives sent here by a Republican majority of forty-three thousand and four hundred and seventy [applause], returning as we do to the councils of those who desired only to preserve the Union, arm in arm and heart to heart with Massachusetts [great cheers], gives her twelve votes for Gen. Ulysses S. Grant. [Immense applause.]

THE PRESIDENT—The State of South Carolina gives twelve votes for Ulysses S. Grant.

THE SECRETARY—The State of Tennessee!

THE CHAIRMAN of the Tennessee delegation—Mr. President, Tennessee, being one of the Southern States that was forced into the rebellion—Tennessee, being the first to reconstruct or be reconstructed, and be readmitted into the Union, and to-day being in the enjoyment of a most liberal Republican government, casts her twenty votes for Ulysses S. Grant [cheers]; and with the solemn pledge, never again to present the name, for President or Vice President, of such a traitor as Andrew Johnson. [Loud cheers.]

THE PRESIDENT—Tennessee gives twenty votes for Ulysses S. Grant.

THE SECRETARY—The State of Texas!

THE CHAIRMAN of the Texas delegation—Mr. President, Texas, through her delegates here assembled, has instructed me to cast twelve votes for Ulysses S. Grant, from the empire State of the South, having a territory of two hundred and seventy-five thousand square miles, and capable of sustaining twenty millions of people. [Applause.]

THE PRESIDENT—Texas gives twelve votes for Ulysses S. Grant.

THE SECRETARY—The State of Vermont!

THE CHAIRMAN of the Vermont delegation—Mr. President, the Republicans of Vermont, through their delegation, give their ten votes for Ulysses S. Grant.

THE PRESIDENT—Vermont gives ten votes for Ulysses S. Grant.

THE SECRETARY—The State of Virginia!

THE CHAIRMAN of the Virginia delegation—Mr. President, the State of New Virginia, rising from the grave that Gen. Grant dug for her in the Appomattox, in 1865, comes up here with her twenty votes and enlists under his banner, and they propose in next November to "move on the enemy's works." [Loud applause.]

THE PRESIDENT—Virginia casts ten votes for Ulysses S. Grant.

THE SECRETARY—West Virginia!

THE CHAIRMAN of the West Virginia delegation—Mr. President, West Virginia, a corner of the rebellion which never gave a Democratic majority,



gives freely and willingly her ten votes for Ulysses S. Grant for President. [Applause.]

THE PRESIDENT—West Virginia gives ten votes for Ulysses S. Grant.

THE SECRETARY—The State of Wisconsin!

THE CHAIRMAN of the Wisconsin delegation—Mr. President, Wisconsin, the last on the roll of States, adds her voice to that of her sister States, and gives her sixteen votes for Ulysses S. Grant. [Applause.]

THE PRESIDENT—Wisconsin gives sixteen votes for Ulysses S. Grant, and the roll is completed.

#### GENERAL GRANT DECLARED UNANIMOUSLY NOMINATED.

Gentlemen of the Convention, you have six hundred and fifty votes. You have given six hundred and fifty votes for Ulysses S. Grant. [Tremendous applause.]

The audience gave three enthusiastic cheers for General Grant.

#### THE BALLOT.

The ballot stood as follows:

Alabama .....	18	Mississippi .....	14
Arkansas .....	10	Missouri .....	22
California .....	10	Montana .....	2
Colorado .....	6	Nebraska .....	6
Connecticut .....	12	Nevada .....	6
Delaware .....	6	New Hampshire .....	10
Dakota .....	2	New Jersey .....	14
District of Columbia.....	2	New York .....	66
Florida .....	6	North Carolina .....	18
Georgia .....	18	Ohio .....	42
Idaho .....	2	Oregon .....	6
Illinois .....	32	Pennsylvania .....	52
Indiana .....	26	Rhode Island .....	8
Iowa .....	16	South Carolina .....	12
Kansas .....	6	Tennessee .....	20
Kentucky .....	22	Texas .....	12
Louisiana .....	14	Vermont .....	10
Maine .....	14	Virginia .....	20
Maryland .....	14	West Virginia .....	10
Massachusetts .....	24	Wisconsin .....	16
Michigan .....	16		
Minnesota .....	8	Total .....	650

MR. ———, of Indiana—I move you that we try our throats with three times three, with swinging hats and waving handkerchiefs, for General Grant.

Nine tremendous cheers were given.

The band played "The Battle Cry of Freedom," and the whole Convention joined in the chorus:

"The Union forever, hurrah boys, hurrah;  
Down with the traitor, and up with the stars;  
And we'll rally round the flag, boys,  
Rally once again,  
Shouting the battle-cry of freedom!"

THE PRESIDENT—The Convention will come to order.

MR. SEYMOUR, of Wisconsin—I move that the President of the Convention be authorized and requested to telegraph the result of the vote just taken to General Grant. [Cheers.]

The motion unanimously prevailed.

SONG.

Chaplain Lozier, Chaplain McCabe and Major H. G. Lombard then sang a song written for the occasion by Mr. Geo. F. Root, entitled, "We'll Fight it Out Here, on the Old Union Line," which was received with applause.

We'll rally again to the standard we bore  
O'er battle-fields crimson and gory,  
Shouting "hall to the chief" who in freedom's fierce war,  
Hath covered that banner with glory.

(Chorus.)

Then rally again, then rally again.  
With the soldier, and sailor, and bummer,  
And we'll fight it out here on the old union line,  
No odds if it takes us all summer.

We'll rally again, by the side of the men,  
Who breasted the conflict's fierce rattle,  
And they'll find us still true, who were true to them then  
And bade them "God speed" in the battle.

We'll rally again, and "that flag of the free"  
Shall stay where our heroes have placed it,  
And ne'er shall they govern, on land or on sea,  
Whose treason hath spurned and disgraced it.

We'll rally again, and our motto shall be,  
What ever the nation that bore us,  
God bless that old banner, "the flag of the free,"  
And all who would die with it o'er us.

THE PRESIDENT—The chair awaits the pleasure of the Convention.

MOTION TO BALLOT FOR VICE PRESIDENT.

MR. SCHOFIELD, of New York—Mr. President, I move that, in accordance with the rules adopted by the Convention, the Convention proceed to vote for a candidate for Vice President of the United States.

MR. HAMILTON, of Virginia—I move you, sir, as a substitute for the motion just made, that this Convention do now adjourn until five o'clock. [Loud cries of "No! no! no! no!"]

THE PRESIDENT—Does the gentleman press the motion

MR. HAMILTON, of Virginia—No! I withdraw it.

THE PRESIDENT—The order before the Convention, under the rules, is the nomination of a candidate for the Vice Presidency. Those who would proceed to the business next in order, will say "aye." Those opposed, "no."

The motion prevailed.

MR. PIERCE, of Virginia—Mr. Chairman—

THE PRESIDENT—Mr. Pierce, of Virginia. Attention!

NOMINATIONS.

MR. PIERCE, of Virginia—I am instructed, sir, by the loyal people of the

State of Virginia, through their representatives, here assembled—  
THE PRESIDENT—Order!

VIRGINIA NOMINATES HENRY WILSON FOR VICE PRESIDENT.

MR. PIERCE—To place in nomination the name of a noble son of New England as a candidate for the office of Vice President of the United States. That name is the name of the Hon. Henry Wilson, of Massachusetts. [Applause.] And, in placing him in nomination, we deem it due to ourselves—the duty of Virginia's sons as a slight reparation for the wrongs done by her in the past—for the contumely which has been heaped upon Massachusetts in the past, and as a proof of our regeneration, and as a proof that when the stone was rolled away from our doors—

THE PRESIDENT—Will the gentleman suspend his remarks for a moment. It is exceedingly difficult for the speaker to be heard. There must be better order. Proceed!

MR. PIERCE resumed—We wish to present this name as a proof that when the stone was rolled away from the door of the sepulchre that secession and rebellion had hurled us in, that we resurrected a loyal community, and that we acknowledge the supremacy of puritanical principle that had been rolled over Virginia. We now believe, that, if his name shall be put upon the ticket, it will be responded to by the loyal millions of the South, by the loyal soldiery of the country, by all those who have experienced and received the blessings that have resulted from his noble labors for eight years as the Chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs in the Senate. We believe it would add a tower of strength. You have willed us Grant, and if you will now grant us Wilson [laughter], we can carry the election. [Applause.]

MR. BROWN, of Pennsylvania—I move, sir, that the delegates have leave to nominate the name of candidates for the Vice Presidency, but that discussion as to the merits of candidates shall not be in order. [Cries of “No! no!”] I modify my motion by asking that the discussion be limited to five minutes. [Cries—“The Rule! The Rule!”]

THE PRESIDENT—The Rule, as adopted, provides for that, unless the gentleman wishes to move a suspension of the Rule.

MR. BROWN, of Pennsylvania—Will the President read the Rule.

THE PRESIDENT—The Rule is as follows:

“No member shall speak more than once on the same subject, nor longer than five minutes, without the unanimous consent of the Convention, except that delegates presenting the name of a candidate, shall be allowed ten minutes to present the name of a candidate.

MR. BROWN—I did not know, Mr. President, that there was such a Rule. I had forgotten it.

MASSACHUSETTS SECONDS THE NOMINATION OF HENRY WILSON.

MR. CLAFLIN, of Massachusetts—Mr. President, in accordance with the instructions of the State Convention of Massachusetts, in behalf of her delegation, I second the motion of the gentleman from the State of Virginia.

Massachusetts has never appeared with a candidate in a National Convention of the Republican party; and she does not appear to day for herself, but she appears because she has a candidate whom she believes is national; and that, were he in any other State, that State would have presented him to the Convention either in the past or the present, and he would have been accepted as the unanimous choice of the Convention; for the people of Massachusetts know and appreciate Henry Wilson. Born in a neighboring State—coming to Massachusetts at an early day—surrounded by unfavorable circumstances in early life, he soon took an advanced position among the cultivated, among the old and well-established names of political aspirants of that State. Soon he advanced into the National Legislature, and for the last fifteen years he has occupied a seat. He has been in the Legislature of his State and for the last fifteen years he has occupied a position in the Senate of the United States. And I challenge any man here to point to a vote of Henry Wilson, which has been against the Union, which has ever been questioned by the loyal people of his State, or which has been in favor of treason, or which has ever been sullied by treachery. And I challenge the name of any man of greater merit throughout our State and Union. He has spent more time, and done more labor, than almost any other man that can be found in the United States. In the ripeness of his life, in the vigor of his manhood, with integrity and courage, with a heart full of humanity for all men, with a genius almost unparalleled, we present him as our nominee before this Convention, knowing that he is in hearty accord with the great Captain you have placed at the head of your ticket—a man who will do more work in the coming campaign than almost any other man whom we can put forward. [Applause.]

## INDIANA NOMINATES SCHUYLER COLFAX FOR VICE PRESIDENT.

MR. LANE, of Indiana—I am instructed by the delegates of Indiana, to present that tried and trusted, and true patriot, Schuyler Colfax. [Prolonged cheers.] Of the purity of his life, in private and in public—of his distinguished public services—his long identification with Congressional action—it is idle and unnecessary that I should go into any lengthy eulogy. He is an Indianian, near to our home, near to our hearts. We know him; we love him; the people are united for him, and speak with but one voice. There are no dissensions there, no feuds to heal. He is the choice of the people, and although his residence is in Indiana, his fame, thank God, belongs to the whole continent. [Prolonged cheers.]

To his past history I need but refer for a moment. He began public service, as an orphan boy, with no inheritance except those gifts—those God-endowed gifts—which marked him from the beginning, a master and leader of men. [Cheers.] He began his career as a Whig politician, under the standard of that pure and incorruptible patriot, that far-seeing statesman, that representative of American character, that pure and fearless orator, Henry Clay. [Loud Cheers.] Faithful to his friends, faithful to his country, faithful to his party allegiance, he has supported every candidate of the Whig party, and every nomination of the Republican party.

These are some of his claims to your confidence and consideration. He has supported every measure of congressional reconstruction. With other distinguished gentlemen, presented for the same office, we have no quarrel. They are sons of a proud Republic. Their glory is a part of our common inheritance. We have no word of disparagement for them. When you make your nomination, we wish to be free to roll up our sleeves in their behalf; but I assure the Convention that, with Schuyler Colfax as our standard-bearer, we shall carry Indiana—sometimes, slanderously (by evil-minded persons) called a doubtful state [laughter]—we shall carry Indiana; we shall triumph

in the election. We may do this with others. I trust if another is nominated, we shall. But, with him, we regard it absolutely certain. It is an auspicious time to present a young man, a man representing the religious and moral sentiment of the country, and to a great extent a chosen, tried and true leader—no doubtful man. The painful experiences of the past have admonished us, and we must have no doubtful man in the office of Vice President. We present you no doubtful man. He has stood by reconstruction. Thank God, he has stood, also by impeachment [applause]; and when the seven recreant Senators—unlike the seven golden candlesticks burning in the old Jewish temple—when their lights shall have been extinguished, or when they shall be only dark lanterns, whose illuminations is only seen in places fit for the light of dark lanterns, Schuyler Colfax, as Vice President, or as Speaker, or as Member of Congress, will be found true to his principles, true to the interest of the Republican party, and of the Union party—for they are synonymous—one and the same.

And, now that we have passed through the conflict of war, and have emerged from the storm cloud of trouble, we shall redeem the whole United States, represented, and properly represented, and the Scripture is now being fulfilled, that even Ethiopia is stretching out her arms.

#### NEW JERSEY SECONDS THE NOMINATION OF SCHUYLER COLFAX.

Mr. PARKER, of New Jersey—Mr. President, the Republican Convention of New Jersey gave to their delegates an instruction which they have fulfilled. A subsequent Resolution, upon the subject of the Vice Presidency, expressly declared that upon that subject no instruction should be given, except that it was the duty of the delegates to aim at the nomination of the man most fitting to occupy the place of Vice President, most fitting from his record in the past, and most reliable in the future, without regard to locality. [Applause.] In the spirit of that Resolution, these delegates are here to-day.

We have a man among ourselves whom we should be glad to prefer. We have a man in the East for whom we feel veneration and affection, upon whom we can rely, and whom the country has relied upon, through the dark years of the fearful struggle we have passed through. But, looking through all the candidates before this Convention, looking through all the men of the nation, north, south, east, and west, we have determined, and, I, as their Chairman, am instructed to nominate to this Convention, for the Vice Presidency, Schuyler Colfax.

We nominate him as a young man, likely, in the providence of God, to be faithful to his country; and, in the call of the Master, to stand up ready to endure the work that has prostrated one, and would have prostrated, perhaps, another President, if the hand of the assassin had not found his heart. [Sensation.] We nominate him as the candidate of the young men. He is their representative, loved by them, possessing all the charms of heart, and the distinctions of mind, which would cause him to be known as a true patriot, as we have all of us known him to be. We nominate him because, coming from the great and growing West, we believe that he will add glory to the galaxy of men which the West has furnished, and will add even to the strength of the campaign for President, with whom, if our wishes are followed, he will be joined. [Applause] We nominate him because we know that, in our own State, we can lift the misrule that has been over us, and we can be a Republican State. Under his rule, we can do it. Schuyler Colfax, comes up here of Jersey blood [Applause], blood that has flowed throughout this land, and is always good and true. We nominate him for the virtues that have been expressed by the gentleman from Indiana. [Cries of "Time time!"]

Mr. ———, of Pennsylvania—Mr. President, I rise to a question of order. If I understand the reading of the Rules, and the intention of the Committee

in reporting them, it was that there should be one speech of ten minutes allowed in nominating Candidates. That was my understanding at the time, and I raise that point.

THE PRESIDENT—I see nothing but what is contained in the eighth Rule, that there should be allowed ten minutes to announce, and five minutes in speaking afterward.

A DELEGATE—I understand that to be the rule.

THE PRESIDENT—That is the way the Rules read.

THE CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEE ON RULES—The Rules say that the first speaker shall have ten minutes, and every other speaker five minutes. It has been incorrectly printed in the paper. It was especially talked of in the Committee, and was so understood.

THE PRESIDENT—By general consent, it will be agreed that that shall be the rule.

#### MICHIGAN SECONDS THE NOMINATION OF SCHUYLER COLFAX.

MR. CUTCHEON, of Michigan—I rise in behalf of the electors and delegates of the Republican party of Michigan, to support the nomination of Schuyler Colfax [Cheers.] At the State Convention, where the Republican party was very fully represented, when the name of Schuyler Colfax was proposed for the candidate for the office of Vice President, there we witnessed some such scene as has been witnessed here to-day when Ulysses S. Grant was declared the unanimous choice of this Convention for President. [Cheers.] In Michigan we have watched the course of Schuyler Colfax, who lives just upon her borders, and we believe, there, that no name can be proposed to the people of the United States for this high office that will excite so great enthusiasm in the State of Michigan. We know that in the State of Michigan the name of Schuyler Colfax is powerful. [Cheers and great applause.] While we pledge, sir, the most hearty support to any nominee of this Convention, we feel that, with Gen. Grant and Schuyler Colfax, we can promise for ourselves that in the State of Michigan we can roll up thirty thousand majority. [Applause.] We esteem him as true to principles as the needle to the pole. We trust him; we love him as the people all love the name of that man who comes so close to our hearts.

MR. MCCLURE, of Pennsylvania—I desire to make a motion with reference to that Rule, that I think would be acceptable. If the delegates shall obey the respective instructions they have received, there shall be no less than ten or a dozen candidates presented for Vice President. I move that the Rule of order be made to read that any persons presenting the name of any candidate for Vice President shall speak ten minutes in support of the same, and that there shall be only one speech of five minutes made in seconding the nomination. [Cries of "no," etc.]

THE PRESIDENT—If I understand the delegate, the motion is, that two speeches may be made for each person nominated as Vice President, the one of ten minutes and the other of five minutes in support of same.

MR. COCHRANE, of New York—Mr. President, by order of the Convention, it has proceeded to the business of nominating the candidates, and nothing else is now in order until that is accomplished. [Cries of "Right!" "Good!"]

MR. MCCLURE, of Pennsylvania—I suppose I could not reach it, properly, except by moving a suspension of the Rules.

THE PRESIDENT—The Chairman is of opinion that the Convention has control of the subject.

MR. MCCLURE, of Pennsylvania—I see that I cannot reach it without moving a suspension, and, therefore, I will withdraw the motion.

MR. BROWN, of Pennsylvania—Coming, as I do, from Pennsylvania, which desires to present a very popular and estimable gentleman to the office of Vice President, through a majority of her delegation—but coming, also, as I do, from the great county of Alleghany, a county which gave ten thousand majority for Abraham Lincoln, and which will give ten thousand again, in my estimation for Schuyler Colfax—[great applause]—I desire, gentlemen of the Convention, to be distinctly understood that I speak for myself, and not for the delegation, or any part of the delegation.

ANOTHER DELEGATE—"That's so!"

MR. BROWN, of Pennsylvania—Yes, it is!

A DELEGATE—No; and no part of the State at all.

MR. BROWN—I have come from the county which gives the Republican majority in Pennsylvania.

A VOICE—You pretend to represent it.

MR. BROWN, of Pennsylvania—I come from the county that gives more Republican majority than all the rest of the State put together. I believe that Schuyler Colfax is the choice of Alleghany county, and, speaking for myself, will vote for him first, last, and all the time.

MR. MCCLURE, of Pennsylvania—Mr. President—

MR. HASSAUREK, of Ohio—Mr. President—

MR. MCCLURE—I will withhold for the present.

#### OHIO NOMINATES BENJ. F. WADE FOR VICE PRESIDENT.

MR. HASSAUREK, of Ohio—The Ohio delegation, Mr. President, instructed by the State Convention, and of their own unanimous choice, present for the Vice Presidency a name which has found a place in the hearts of every earnest Republican [applause]; the name of that veteran champion of freedom and human rights, the Hon. Benj. F. Wade. [Loud applause.] Mr. President, like the great and immortal Abraham Lincoln, Mr. Wade rose from the lower and humbler walks of life, a child of the people.

Like the great emancipator, Mr. Wade is a self-made man, who fought his early way through difficulties, poverty, and obscurity. And, Mr. President and gentlemen of the Convention, if we cherish the memory of Abraham Lincoln as the author of the proclamation of emancipation, we must not forget that Benjamin F. Wade, like John the Baptist of old, preceded him as a preacher in the wilderness. [Applause.] There is another resemblance, Mr. President, between Benjamin F. Wade and our martyred President; it is that incorruptible virtue for which the people have designated him by the name of "Honest Ben. Wade." [Applause.]

There is no man throughout the length and breadth of this land, be he Democrat or Republican, who doubts the honesty of Benjamin F. Wade. If there is one man at Washington who watches over the people's money, and opposes with unrelenting hostility all schemes of lobbyists and corruptionists, that man is Benjamin F. Wade. [Applause.] And, although, he does not always do it in the choicest and gentlest terms of polite language [laughter]; but sir, he does it in the language of indignant honesty and unpurchasable rec-

titude. [Applause.] He is entitled for his meritorious public services to the second highest gift at the hands of the nation. If the active, the positive, and the strong men of the party, are not to be deserted by their friends, then, gentlemen, this Convention will say to "Honest Ben. Wade," "well done, thou good and faithful servant."

## MISSOURI SECONDS THE NOMINATION OF BENJ. F. WADE.

MR. SCHURZ, of Missouri—Mr. President, I am instructed by a large majority of the delegation from the State of Missouri, to second the nomination just made. [Applause.] It has been properly suggested by the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. Palmer), to-day, that the Republican party, in making a nomination for the office of President, ought to consider well one thing, that we present no temptations to the dagger of the assassin [applause]; and I am bold to say, that, if Ben. Wade is put behind Gen. Grant, there is not a Life Insurance Company in the world, that will not at once want to take a premium on the life of Gen. Grant. [Applause.] I need not speak of the career of the old chieftain. We all know that he is one of those men whom no flatterer can seduce, whom no threat can frighten, and no violence can coerce. [Applause.] Look at him now, as he stands in Washington, all the powers of corruption combined against him—and there he stands like a column of marble. [Applause.] I ask this Convention to stand by him.

## OHIO SECONDS THE NOMINATION OF BENJ. F. WADE.

MR. SPAULDING, of Ohio—I wish to say, sir, that I have attended all the Republican Conventions, I think, since the organization of the Republican party, and I never yet knew the delegation of my own State united upon a candidate, never; but now, after eighteen years of experience of the "brave old Ben" in the Senate of the United States, Ohio stands here to give him forty-two. [Applause.] Sir, I need not speak further in commendation of our candidate, and I will not further take the time of the Convention.

## NORTH CAROLINA SECONDS THE NOMINATION OF BENJ. F. WADE.

MR. JONES, of North Carolina—Mr. President, representing the State of North Carolina, we have no candidate to present from that State; but North Carolina, in appreciation of the gallant services done the Republican party by that old Roman veteran, Ben. Wade [applause], has instructed her representatives, on this floor, to cast her votes for Ben. Wade. [Applause.] Mr. President, I do not desire to take up any of the time of this valuable Convention [laughter], but I will say to the great West that I believe his nomination will give greater strength upon the ticket, than any other name that can be presented. [Applause.] Why, sir, in the Convention of North Carolina, that has recently presented a constitution to the people of North Carolina for its adoption, the candidates upon the respective State tickets have used this argument, sir, looking to the Congress of the United States as the means of removing that arch-traitor, Andrew Johnson, they have held out the inducement that old Ben. Wade would be in the Presidential chair, to aid in the great work of reconstruction that they have so much at heart. Every speaker that I know of, that has been on the stump in North Carolina, has pointed to Old Ben. Wade, as the man to mete out justice to them; and, sir, in conclusion, on behalf of the State, I say, we are ready to wade in. [Applause.]

## NEW YORK NOMINATES REUBEN E. FENTON.

MR. TREMAIN, of New York—Mr. President—[Applause.]

THE PRESIDENT—Judge Tremain, of New York, has the floor. [Applause.]



MR. TREMAIN, of New York—In behalf of four hundred thousand Union Republicans in the Empire State, I have the honor to present to the Convention the name of New York's favorite son, Reuben E. Fenton. [Applause.] The public career of Mr. Fenton during the ten years that he held the office of Representative in Congress, and during the four years that he has so creditably filled the office of Chief Magistrate of our State, has rendered his name and fame familiar to every member of this Convention. He was one of the earliest and most prominent founders of the Republican party, and as early as 1855 presided over the first State Convention held by that young and vigorous political organization. [Applause.] He is emphatically a man of the people; sound and earnest in all his political views [applause]; with sagacity and prudence that preserved him from political mistakes: without a superior as an efficient and successful political organizer; he generally secures victory for those with whom he works, and is one who wields a commanding influence in the affairs of our State and nation. His unselfish support of the great cause of freedom and justice has been a marked trait in his character, and strikingly exemplified throughout his whole political career. When the rebellion broke out he threw himself into the cause of his country with all the ardor of his nature, and so conscientiously and carefully did he devote himself to the welfare and the interests of our brave boys in blue that he was everywhere hailed by the soldiers with the appellation of "Fenton, the soldiers' friend." [Applause.]

In 1862 the great States of New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio swung from their moorings, and temporarily abandoned the cause of that party which was straining every nerve to crush out the rebellion and uphold the honor and integrity of the nation. It was a grievous error, and grievously have the people suffered from it. For two bitter years New York suffered under the administration of Horatio Seymour, and when the hour came for deliverance her sons turned instinctively to Reuben E. Fenton to become their standard-bearer. He took the field, and, although Seymour was then in the zenith of his power and popularity, Reuben E. Fenton overthrew this Goliath of modern democracy, and was elected Governor of the State of New York by ten thousand majority. [Applause.] Two years afterward he came before the people, and, with a record made glorious by his course in the war, he was elected by a majority of over eight thousand. Two years afterward he was again nominated by acclamation, for Governor, and, although his antagonist, the Mayor of New York, by reason of his official position, his residence, and his personal popularity, possessed extraordinary strength, Fenton was elected by an increased majority of fifteen thousand. [Applause.]

Sir—the question is a natural one—"Can you carry New York, with her thirty-three electoral votes, for Reuben E. Fenton?" I give you the answer, coming from the free and frank interchange of sentiment of sixty-six gentlemen, fresh from the people. The election of 1867 was no indication of the popular sentiment on the national issues; and, sir, there is no reason to believe that the people intended to reverse the judgment, which they deliberately pronounced in 1866, when they triumphantly sustained the patriotic policy of reconstruction adopted by Congress. Mr. Fenton was elected by fifteen thousand majority the last time he was before the people. We know, sir, that the naturalization process, aided by the dram shops of New York, are multiplying Democratic voters, but we shall overcome them by the increase in part of the young men who are rising in our land to vote with us, and by the force of sound religion and increasing morality.

While we believe that we shall carry New York for any candidate, it is our undoubted conviction that, with Grant and Fenton for our standard bearers, we shall give a decisive majority to the nominee of this Convention. Sir, in the cruel war through which we have passed, New York made great sacrifices. She poured out her blood and treasure like water. She claims no credit for it. In the future, as in the past, under all circumstances, and at all

hazards, she will, combining her merchant princes with her professional men, and all that are loyal, crush but all repudiation and maintain the plighted credit, honor and faith of the nation. [Great applause.]

Sir, if you concur in the opinion of the Republicans of New York, we shall not only appreciate the honor and the responsibility you have conferred, but the intelligence, which goes flashing over the wires communicating the result of your proceedings, will so inspire our constituents with a sense of gratitude, of determination, and of resolution, that they will enter upon the contest as irresistible as the charges of the "Old Guard" of Napoleon Bonaparte. [Applause.] When the result shall have been achieved and the victory shall have been won, then you will hear the powerful voice of New York joining with her loyal sister States in the grand national chorus, and she will be entitled to claim a proud share in the honor of the great and glorious victory that shall have been achieved. [Tremendous cheering.]

#### REMARKS OF MR. STORRS.

MR. STORRS, of Illinois—We remember well, when in 1864, the conflict we were then waging was transferred from the Potomac to the city of New York, the cohorts of the rebellion were under the command of Horatio Seymour, and the people of this nation were as much interested, and its future existence as vitally depended upon the success of that contest, as it did, sir, upon the contest being waged before Richmond. I have not forgotten, and the people of this nation have not forgotten, that our leader in that great contest in the State of New York, was Reuben E. Fenton, of that State. [Great Cheers.] I have not forgotten, sir, and I cannot forget while I remember the glories of our country, that, organizing the true and loyal men of our nation, he drove sedition out of the City and State of New York, and placed the glory of victory again upon our banner. Two years ago, sir, our battles were re-fought. I have not forgotten, that all the powers of an unscrupulous party, aided by more unscrupulous apostates [cheers], were again enlisted against the Republican organization. Sir, apostates do not flourish well upon the soil of the West; and, if there is any State above all others whose loyalty caused the people of the West to rejoice, it was the State of New York when we saw the followers of Johnson borne down under inevitable defeat, by an army led by Reuben E. Fenton, of New York. Sir, "Peace hath her victories, not less renowned than war."

We have put the great military captain of the age at the head of one ticket, and I, sir, in seconding the motion of the gentleman from New York, propose that the great civil chieftain of the Empire State, be second upon the ticket. I second the nomination. [Great cheering.]

MR. LOGAN, of Illinois—I did not intend, sir, to say one word in reference to the candidate presented for the Vice Presidency, nor do I desire now, sir, to discant on the qualifications or the merits of either of the candidates. They are all good men; they are all loyal and capable; but if I should sit still, as Chairman of the Illinois delegation, after the remarks of one of the delegates, it might be understood that he represented the entire delegation. I merely rise to say, that, I will announce that Illinois stands fifteen votes for Benjamin F. Wade [cheers], eleven votes for Hannibal Hamlin [applause], three votes for Schuyler Colfax [cheers], and three votes for Reuben E. Fenton. [Cheers.]

#### LOUISIANA SECONDS THE NOMINATION OF R. E. FENTON.

MR. WARMOTH, of Louisiana—I rise, sir, simply for the purpose of stating, that the delegation from Louisiana instruct me to second the nomination of Gov. Fenton, of New York. [Great cheering.]

## KENTUCKY NOMINATES JAMES SPEED FOR VICE PRESIDENT.

MR. WOOD, of Kentucky—Mr. Chairman, the delegation from the State of Kentucky, have instructed me to present the name of Hon. James Speed, for the office of Vice President. [Cheers.] In presenting the name of Mr. Speed, I am proud to say, that he is not unknown to the American people. During the darkest days of this Republic; during the rebellion, when everything seemed to threaten the overthrow of the government, Mr. Speed, at the earliest possible period, took his place in the Union Republican party, and under that banner he has ever fought. [Applause.] There is no man in this Union, who stands higher in the State of Kentucky, than Mr. Speed. Mr. Speed, sir, was the confidential friend and adviser of the late lamented Mr. Lincoln. He was a member, as is well known to this Convention, of Mr. Lincoln's Cabinet, and was conspicuous for his great ability, and for his incorruptible integrity. He remained in the Cabinet of Mr. Lincoln, as is well known, and remained in that Cabinet until some time after Mr. Johnson assumed control of the government.

THE PRESIDENT—The Chair is obliged to call for order. It is with very great difficulty that Mr. Wood can be heard.

MR. WOOD, of Kentucky—Mr. Lincoln, who well knew Mr. Speed, and who knew his sterling character, his incorruptible integrity, and his moral worth, selected him as a member of his Cabinet. He remained in that Cabinet until after Mr. Lincoln's assassination, and after Mr. Johnson's inauguration to the Presidency. He remained in Mr. Johnson's Cabinet, until Mr. Johnson proved himself a traitor to the Republican party. When Mr. Speed found that there was no opportunity to be useful in that Cabinet, he, like a proud and noble man, retired from that Cabinet into private life, and is now exerting his great talents and influence for the Republican party. If Mr. Speed should receive the nomination of this Convention, there is no man in this broad Union, who can exert a more powerful influence on the success of that party. Kentucky will give her undivided support to him, and we trust that all loyal men throughout the Union will do the same.

## MARYLAND NOMINATES J. A. J. CRESSWELL FOR VICE PRESIDENT.

MR. SANDS, of Maryland—Mr. President, after the names, world-wide known, that have been placed before this Convention, and after the applause which has greeted the mention of these names, the task which I have to perform, which is laid upon me by my State, is somewhat difficult. It might seem, sir, that my associates and myself, coming from a State bound hand and foot, to-day, by the treachery of a recreant President, and a recreant Governor who is too mean to have his name breathed here to-day—it might seem that we should be quiet. But, sir, though we are to-day at the mercy of treason, I tell you that within the limits of that State, there are fifty thousand knees that have never bowed to the Baal of treason. [Applause.] When, in 1861, the fires of patriotism were attempted to be extinguished, they went out to the valleys and hills, and kindled them there, and, please God, we will keep them there, as long as there is a single hand to tend them. [Cheers.] In that year which took from us the beloved Abraham Lincoln—in that same year, God took from our little State, a man whose name was only second in our hearts to Lincoln—Henry Winter Davis. [Loud cheering.] Sir, as we watched his ascending spirit, we thought at last that we saw the man upon whom his mantle fell. We took him. We made him our representative; first, before the people in the forum, next, in the house of Representatives, and next in the Senate of the United States; and his vote, thank God, was the first of a majority which passed through the caucus of the Republican party of the

United States—the first vote there for impartial suffrage. [Applause.] We honor him; Maryland honors him; and the men of Maryland, whose hearts are true to the nation, true to liberty, and true to impartial justice, sent us here to name him in this body, as her best beloved of to-day, and to put his name in nomination as a candidate for Vice President of the United States. I name him and have done—the Hon. John A. J. Cresswell, of Maryland.

## REMARKS OF MR. TAYLOR.

MR. TAYLOR, of Kentucky—I rise, sir, in behalf of the Kentucky delegation, to second the nomination of James Speed, of Kentucky. Gen. Speed has been from his boyhood a favorite son of that State. Gen. Speed has been from his infancy to manhood, a friend of human rights; from his boyhood to his manhood, he was anti-slavery, and as far back as 1859, in the State of Kentucky, when it was necessary for a man of stern manhood and integrity, to get up and vindicate his principles; even as far back as 1849, he advocated then a change in the constitution and he was a candidate before the people, for the purpose of emancipating the slaves of the State of Kentucky. From that time to the present he has followed that same career. He has never yielded with a truckling spirit to the pro-slavery party. He has preserved his manhood to so great an extent, that when Abraham Lincoln became President of the United States, in the first year of his administration, he called him to the Cabinet as one of his advisers.

THE PRESIDENT—The Chair regrets to be again obliged to call for better order. It is simple justice to the gentleman from Kentucky. If any persons are obliged to leave the hall, let them do so quietly. Proceed!

MR. TAYLOR, of Kentucky—He continued in the discharge of his duties at the National Capitol, until he could no longer participate in the counsels of Johnson, without compromising his manhood, and, true to his patriotic impulses, he withdrew from that council, and returned to private life. [Applause.] I cannot come before you to-day, pledging you the vote of Kentucky at the next Presidential election; but I can come before you, my countrymen, and pledge to you a candidate, who is true to all his principles of Republicanism, who will never betray the principles upon which the Republican party stands; and who has no impulse in his heart, that does not beat in unison with the great Republican party of the country.

## REMARKS OF MR. CRESSWELL.

MR. CRESSWELL, of Maryland—I ask the indulgence of the Convention for a moment to explain somewhat the singular position that I occupy upon this floor. My name having been mentioned in connection with the high office, the nomination for which is your present business, it is incumbent on me to say what I am about to say. It is true that the State Convention of my own State, actuated by a desire to compliment me, complimented me by instructing my associates to cast for me their first ballot. I have requested that the delegation forego the compliment. They have as peremptorily declined. Under the circumstances, therefore, I am obliged to acquiesce, but preserve, however, a right to direct one vote which is under my control. I shall vote from a high sense of duty.

If I had the privilege of complimenting all the gentlemen who have been named, I should be obliged to vote for them all. I have the pleasure of a personal acquaintance with each of them. I know them all to be true and faithful Republicans. But, in this emergency—in this time when all the Republican party have at stake is in the issue—at this juncture of affairs, I believe it my duty to give my vote for the man whose life has contributed so

much to the establishment of the principles of Republicanism,—I mean glorious old Ben. Wade, of Ohio. [Applause.] I have seen that old veteran in the midst of the storm of battle, and I know that he has never been shaken in his purpose. He stands for the right, without fear and without reproach, and he stands before the people of the United States to-day, more than any other man, as an exponent of the principles which we seek to make immortal in the grand contest in the coming Presidential conflict. One more treason may strike them down; one more victory makes the eternal truths which we have proclaimed, and which we have fought for in our battles. I can, truthfully, cast my vote to sustain the old veteran with his sturdy frame covered all over with the glittering insignia of illustrious achievements in behalf of his party. [Cheers.]

PENNSYLVANIA NOMINATES A. G. CURTIN FOR VICE PRESIDENT.

MR. FORNEY, of Pennsylvania—Mr. President, as Chairman of the Republican State Delegation of Pennsylvania, I have the honor to nominate Andrew Gregg Curtin as the Republican candidate for Vice President. [Loud cheers.] I deeply regret my own condition, and that it prevents me from speaking of this distinguished citizen as he deserves, and as I desire to speak. I, therefore, devolve the duty upon Mr. McClure. [Applause.]

MR. MCCLURE, of Pennsylvania—Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention, I rise not to speak for Andrew G. Curtin. He needs not the Vice Presidency of the United States to increase his fame, nor to increase the affection of his people for him. I rise not to tell the story of his official career. That is known as well in Chicago as in Pennsylvania; as well upon the shores of the Pacific as upon the shores of his own Atlantic. I arise to speak in behalf of three hundred thousand Republicans of Pennsylvania, who stand charged in the contest with carrying the very centre of the enemy's column, and giving success to our great cause in November. [Applause.]

I say I speak not for men, nor do I speak from State pride. I appeal to the delegates of this Convention, in the words of truth and soberness, asking them to bear well in mind that as Pennsylvania shall cast her vote on the second Tuesday of October, so, in all human probability, shall the verdict of this great nation be rendered in November. I ask the members of this Convention to bear well in mind that after we shall have entered into this great national struggle for freedom—for a final victory—for the logical consequences of the war—that every loyal heart throughout this entire nation will turn, with quickened emotion, to the Keystone State in October; that every loyal eye will turn with steady gaze upon the verdict of her people, and that, if she shall declare in behalf of the policy and principles of the Republican party, then your victory is complete—your great battle is won.

I present, in behalf of Pennsylvania, to this Convention the name of Andrew G. Curtin, solely as the precursor of success in this contest. [Applause.] And I need not say that I do not present a man in any sense unworthy of the distinguished compliment we ask this Convention to give him. In 1860, when they turned to Illinois and took her favorite son for the Presidency, I know well (for I bore some humble part in that contest) how Pennsylvania determined it for Illinois, determined it for New York, determined it for New Jersey, determined it for the Union, by her majority of thirty-two thousand for Andrew G. Curtin. [Cheers.]

We selected him with reference to the great issues, as well as with reference to the great national success. We knew that upon us devolved the duty of carrying the stronghold of the enemy's works. We selected the man most fitting, the man most worthy, the man strongest in the hearts and the affections of the people of Pennsylvania. And by his matchless eloquence, and by his brilliant leadership, she gave her first verdict squarely for the Republican par-

ty in 1860, and gave her sixty thousand for Lincoln in November. And I remember well, too, in our State, when gloom prevailed throughout the Union; when loyal heads were bowed in despair; when men felt almost on the verge of disaster; when Indiana fell, and Iowa swerved; when New York gave her Seymour, and New Jersey her Parker; and in the first great contest to redeem what we had won in 1860 and lost, we called him again because he was of all men the man most fitted to the occasion, of all men the most powerful. In 1863, the country having advanced, having learned in the school of war that we must plant our banner forward, and march onward, we again turned to Andrew G. Curtin, of Pennsylvania, and charged him with the duty of saving the State, and saving the common country.

THE PRESIDENT—Gentlemen of the Convention, the gentleman's time is exhausted. Shall more time be given him?

Cries—"Go on! go on!"

THE PRESIDENT—I made the suggestion, because Colonel Forney, who made the nomination, is unable to speak and present the claims of that candidate.

MR. MCCLURE, of Pennsylvania—I say, in 1863, when almost every loyal heart was stricken in despair, when our most faithful States seemed to have wavered in their fidelity, and when we had to commence the great work and turn back this tide of disaster, Pennsylvania then sought for her most trusted, her most honored, her most successful leader, and Andrew G. Curtin was again made our standard-bearer. Then, as now, he had been so eminent in good deeds, as to have ignoble foes. But he took the banner of emancipation [cheers], and bore it in triumph in Pennsylvania from the Lakes to the Delaware. He rallied around it the faithful people of our Commonwealth, as no other man could rally it then, or can rally it now [cheers]; and, with seventy thousand of our noble soldiers in the field, disfranchised by a court faithless to the cause of our country, he was again triumphantly elected by a majority of fifteen thousand votes, and Pennsylvania was saved, and your nation was saved. [Renewed cheers.] I need not say that he is pre-eminent in our State, because he is known everywhere the same, as the soldier's friend, and the great civilian hero of the war. [Cheers.]

I dispute not the eminent merits of the distinguished civilian presented by New York; but I say if there is one man who towers over all others as the great civilian hero of this war, it is Andrew G. Curtin, of Pennsylvania. [Applause.] There is Pennsylvania, gentlemen of the Chicago Convention! There is Pennsylvania! Behold her! He has made her record during this war. He has written her history during this war. He has advanced her every step she has advanced, for freedom, for justice, and for liberty and for law. I need not refer to him. I refer to our State, because the history of our State for the last six years is the history of Andrew G. Curtin. There is not a soldier's home where his name is not lisped in love throughout our great commonwealth, and wherever there is a grave of our martyred soldiers, and where they sleep in every valley, there is not a tomb of a martyr so humble, there is not an altar where his name is not lisped with reverence and affection. I appeal to this Convention—not for him, not for my State. I appeal to this Convention in behalf of the millions of Republicans of the Union—in behalf of victory. I do not say, gentlemen, that he shall be faithless if any other candidate is presented. Far from it. Pennsylvania has been too often tried, too often trusted and has manifested her fidelity under every circumstance; and whatever may be the choice of this Convention, she will give her united, earnest, and, I trust, successful efforts for the nominee. [Cheers and prolonged applause.]

THE PRESIDENT—The gentleman's time has expired.

## IOWA NOMINATES JAMES HARLAN FOR VICE PRESIDENT.

MR. WILLIAMSON, of Iowa—Mr. President, I am instructed, by the delegation from Iowa, to place in nomination for the office of Vice President of the United States, the name of one of Iowa's most favored public men [laughter], the name of a man whose public life and career has been a synonym for that of purity and political fidelity—the name of a man who resigned the high office of cabinet minister when he could no longer find friends of the country, of the constitution, and of the people with whom to consult in that high position. It is only necessary for me to mention the name of the Hon. James Harlan, United States Senator from Iowa [cheers]; a man whose whole life has been devoted to the principles of justice, who has stood firm and fast by the great principles of the party, when others, whom we have equally trusted, have deceived and ignored the express wishes of the people of the State and of the United States. [A voice—"Grimes!"]

It is not necessary to make an extended remarks, as the gentlemen calling out the name of Mr. Grimes on so many occasions bring the mantling blush of shame to any speaker who is not in the habit of addressing large assemblages of this kind. [Applause and laughter.]

## SOUTH CAROLINA SECONDS THE NOMINATION OF HENRY WILSON.

MR. WHITMORE, of South Carolina—Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention: No other emotion save that which is the proudest and the noblest, can inspire the hearts of those who are the representatives of the people, here to-day. When the names of each of the noblest sons of the country, most experienced in statesmanship, are brought before us, and we are called upon by the eloquence of the gentlemen who present them, our sympathies are stirred within us. I have nothing to say against the claims of any of the gentlemen who have been presented for our consideration. I trust, however, that our hearts may be animated with the purest desire to protect the rights and privileges and grand principles of our party, in the nomination which we shall make for the Vice Presidency of the United States. It may seem strange, Mr. President and Gentlemen, that South Carolina with her voice here to-day, in behalf of one hundred thousand voters—South Carolina, with principles so antipodean in the past to the sentiments of the platform which has been adopted here to-day—should stand here, in this hour, to give her voice in favor of one of Massachusetts' proudest sons. [Great applause.] We wear, Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention, his name upon our badges, and the remembrance of his deeds, and the great duties which he has fulfilled in our hearts. We stand here well men, true and strong, representing the Republicans of South Carolina, to throw our voice and vote into the scale in preference of Hon. Henry Wilson, of Massachusetts. [Applause.]

## REMARKS OF MR. KELFER.

MR. KELFER, of Alabama—Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention—It may seem improper, perhaps, in a representative from Alabama to add yet another name to the already long list of acceptable men, for any one of whom the whole Republican party of this country may well be proud to give their suffrages; and yet, Mr. President, the poor step-children of the Union in Alabama—[laughter]—that State whose name means "Here we rest," and where we Republicans have no rest, so far as we can see, are hardly likely to have [laughter]—still, Mr. President, we feel that a debt of gratitude requires on the part of some of us standing here as delegates of the Republican party of that State to recognize, if we can, even by a few votes, the sentiment of gratitude that we feel for one whose name is cherished in the State of Ala-

bama, second to none of the illustrious men who have been named heretofore in connection with this high office. I mean to name, sir, for Vice President, the Hon. William D. Kelley, of Pennsylvania. [Applause and laughter.] Gentlemen may laugh if they please, Mr. President, but we all know in the coming campaign there is no man in these United States whose clarion voice will bring voters up to the work before them, in a manner to surpass that in which they will be brought by William D. Kelley. [Laughter.] And if there is a doubtful Congressional District, who do they send for to canvass it but William D. Kelley, of Pennsylvania? [Cheers.] He is the man whom we want to marshal our voters to the polls. He is a man on whom the mantle of Henry Clay, as the great champion of American industry, has fallen. He is the champion of the rights of the laboring men everywhere. He has been the life-long devoted friend of human liberty and equal rights. And we of the South never appeal to him in vain for advice, counsel, and assistance, when it has been denied by many to whom, perhaps, the gentlemen might think it more advisable to give their votes at this time. We feel a debt of gratitude to Judge Kelley, and, although his claims have not been brought forward prominently as a candidate in this Convention, some of us, at least, will recognize the debt we owe him by our votes on this occasion.

## REMARKS OF MR. SEYMOUR.

MR. SEYMOUR, of Wisconsin—I wish to declare, sir, that in rising to mention and propose the name of Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine, [applause,] that I have not arrogated to myself the honor or the pleasure of expressing the wishes of the Wisconsin delegation. The Wisconsin delegation is divided, by giving Colfax eleven, Fenton six, Hamlin two, and Curtin one. [Applause.] I merely, sir, rise in the name of those who desire to vote for this honored man, that the name should be put in nomination. This candidate is a man who is a head and shoulders above all corrupting influences. We do not wish to charge one word of objection upon any gentleman that is named; not even to intimate their unfitness. On the contrary, the multiplicity and respectability of the candidates afford abundance of evidence that the Republican party is full of good material for the Vice Presidency. But we know that we must, in this campaign, consolidate and organize all the Union element of the nation, and we think this nomination will do it. There is nothing that will put the Republican party in a state of invincibility so much as to go back and correct the blunder that was made at Baltimore in 1864. It will be regarded by the people as a pledge of the Republican party to a return to soundness; it would re-light the campaign fires, and, with the enthusiasm of 1860, the party of Lincoln and Hamlin would again unite and march on to victory. He is one of the few public men in this country upon whose name the politicians have never been able to throw a stain. [Cheers.] He is respected at home and abroad as a man of unsullied character, as a man true to the principles of the Republican party—true to the interests of the United States. [Applause.]

## MAINE NOMINATES HANNIBAL HAMLIN, OF MAINE, FOR VICE PRESIDENT.

MR. SHEPLEY, of Maine—Mr. President, instructed by the delegates, who are themselves instructed by the people of Maine, I rise to lay before you, on behalf of the Republicans of Maine, and on behalf of those whose hearts respond to the memories of the old ticket of "Lincoln and Hamlin" [cheers]—to nominate Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine. [Cheers.] Four years ago, the National Republican Convention laid aside a candidate who had been tried and found true and faithful, to take up a candidate whom the representatives of the people have been obliged to put upon trial, for high crimes and misde-



meanors [cheers], and against whom the unanimous voice of the loyal people of this country has pronounced the verdict of guilty. [Cheers] The mistake of that day—the mistake of that hour, has cost us, and is costing us, today, through the treachery of Andrew Johnson, thousands and tens of thousands of lives of loyal men in the South. It cost us the life of Abraham Lincoln [sensation], and, unless the official guillotine be soon set to work, it may cost us the life of the nation.

I will not go further into the history of those mistakes, but there would seem to be a poetical justice, now, in retracting our steps, and presenting to the people of this country the associated names from Illinois and from Maine, as on the old ticket of "Lincoln and Hamlin." [Cheers.] It would be a ticket, glorious with all the memories and associations of the past. [Cheers.] It would be a ticket, radiant with every promise of victory and security for the future. I am not going into a biography of the candidates whom we represent. The golden page of history, which records the highest advancement in human freedom and human progress, is illuminated in golden letters with the names of Lincoln and Hamlin. [Applause.] His record is before the country. He has been tried and proved, and has not been found wanting. We do not ask you to nominate him as a compliment to Hannibal Hamlin. He has once received that token of the nation's appreciation. We do not ask you to nominate Hannibal Hamlin as necessary to carry the State of Maine. We will give you our vote for any candidate whom you may name in this Convention. [Cheers.] We do say, however, if you do give us the name of Hannibal Hamlin on this ticket, that as we are the first State, almost, to record our vote in the coming campaign, we will pitch the key-note, with Grant and Hamlin on the ticket, and we will pitch it so high that no discordant sound of treason shall ever be heard. [Applause.]

#### REMARKS OF MR. SOUTHER.

MR. SOUTHER, of Pennsylvania—I only get up to say, Mr. President, that, as the name of another individual from Pennsylvania has been presented here, and no one seconds that nomination, I simply rise to say that I do not second it—that I was sent here for a different purpose—that the delegation from Pennsylvania came here under instructions to vote for A. G. Curtin. That is what they came here for; that is what they were commanded to do; and, perhaps, I should not have troubled this Convention for one moment were it not for the fact that, throughout this city, ever since the delegates came here, it has been told that Andrew G. Curtin was not the choice of Pennsylvania, and that there was opposition to him in our own Convention. That opposition has manifested itself here this morning, and it amounts to about the same thing as the man's interest in the oil well, which was one thirty-second of one forty-second, and it was a dry hole! [Laughter.] I can only say, sir, that we have presented the name of Andrew G. Curtin here in good faith, as has been well said here by the gentleman who seconded the nomination.

There is some part of this contest to be fought in Pennsylvania, and I will only say that during the war all eyes were at one time turned to Pennsylvania, on the eve of a battle, and her conduct on that day was considered to be the turning point in the struggle. It may, perhaps, be so in this contest, and we have, therefore, made a choice which gives no uncertain or doubtful sound. We can certainly tell what will become of Pennsylvania. We ask you, gentlemen, to take this matter to your serious consideration, and, if we are not favored with our candidate, we will simply say that we came instructed by the State Convention to present the name of Andrew G. Curtin, as the unanimous choice of Pennsylvania.

## REMARKS OF MR. HUMPHREY.

MR. HUMPHREY, of Alabama—Mr. President, without solicitation, or, at least, without any authority from the delegation of Alabama as a delegation, one of our delegates, from personal consideration, from the high regard and respect which he has for Judge Kelley, presented his name. It is the presentation of but one man of the delegation, and whilst the delegation from Alabama has the highest regard and respect for the statesmanship of Mr. Kelley, for the statesmanship of Mr. Wade, of Mr. Colfax, and of the other gentlemen whose names have been mentioned in connection with the Vice Presidency, we feel, Mr. President, that so far as the State of Alabama is concerned, her destiny depends upon the exactest statesmanship that can be administered in the affairs of the Government for the next coming years. And, sir, with a view not to disparage any one, nor with a view to enter into a fulsome eulogy upon any individual, I shall mention a name which understands and comprehends, as we conceive, the great issues which are involved in the reconstruction policy. Sir, although the delegation will be divided, there will be a respectable vote given for the man. I mention the Hon. Henry Wilson, of Massachusetts.

## REMARKS OF MR. RASTER.

MR. RASTER, of Illinois—Mr. President, eleven delegates of the State of Illinois second the nomination of that man, whose name is inseparably connected with the most glorious page in the history of the Republican party—the name of the Hon. Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine. [Applause.] In going back in our memories to the history of our party, we would not willingly rest upon the recollections of 1864. But we do like to return to the year 1860, as the year of our triumph. In the platform that has been adopted, to-day, we have a bill of indictment, as it were, of the nation against Andrew Johnson. That indictment has been applauded by this Convention. But has it not occurred to you that it was by the Republican party Johnson was placed in a position whence the weapon of an assassin raised him to the Presidency? We say, in our platform, that we regret having done so. But, sir, is that enough? Faith, without acts, is nothing; neither is confession, without penitence. The Republican party sinned, in 1864; it is now confessing that sin. We said, in 1864, that it was not good to swap horses in the middle of a stream; and yet we *did* swap one horse of the noble team which had carried us to victory. [Applause.] I take it that our platform will not be complete if, to the confession, we do not add the penitence. [Applause and laughter.] The error we did commit was greater, perhaps, than any one here would be willing to think of. Would our martyred President be a martyred President to-day if we had not swapped horses? What was said of honest Ben Wade, that he would be a shield to the life of General Grant, is true; but it was as true of the Hon. Hannibal Hamlin, in 1864, in regard to the life of the favorite son of Illinois. In that respect, and because we think that the best memories of the party would be revived by the name of Hannibal Hamlin, we second the nomination. But, at the same time, we have one other reason. It is this: There is as wide a discrepancy in regard to the Vice Presidency as there ever was in the selection of a candidate for the Presidency. A great number of men—good and true—have been nominated. I have not a single word to say against any one of them, and would not if I could; but I do say that, if there should be no union possible upon either one of the candidates named, I think that Hannibal Hamlin would be just the man to unite the friends of all the other candidates who have been nominated to-day. [Applause.]

MR. HUBBARD, of West Virginia—Mr. Chairman, Western Virginia desires that a vote shall be taken, in order that we may show our hands for the man we are in favor of. [Loud cheers, and cries of "Good!" "Good!"]

MR. ———, of Pennsylvania—Mr. President, I move you now, sir that the nominations be closed, and that we proceed to vote; upon which I move the previous question.

[Cries of "No! no!"]

THE PRESIDENT—The Chair can not entertain the motion.

#### KANSAS NOMINATES S. C. POMEROY FOR VICE PRESIDENT.

MR. MARTIN, of Kansas—I simply desire to present the name of the honored and trusted citizen of our State; I submit as a candidate for the office of Vice President, the name of Senator Pomeroy, of Kansas. [Cheers.]

#### REMARKS OF GEN. SICKLES.

MR. SICKLES, of New York—Mr. President, I need not, perhaps, say anything in addition to what has already been said. Language would fail me in this hour, to add anything to the discussion we have heard, in regard to the candidates for the Vice Presidency; but I feel, sir, that I might do injustice to my own State, if I omitted to respond to the invitation extended to me by my own delegation, and the remarks made by my colleague in presenting the name of Governor Fenton, of New York. [Great applause.] The Convention of the Republican party of New York, in making its choice for the Vice Presidency, did not fail to give candid consideration to the services and qualifications of the statesmen of sister States. They thought, sir, that it was eminently proper—and in this they concurred with the views already presented here from other States—they thought it eminently proper, that the choice of this Convention for the Vice Presidency should fall upon one of the most eminent and able of the War Governors, who sustained our illustrious War Minister, Edwin M. Stanton. [Cheers and applause.] In that group of War Governors, we find a Curtin, of Pennsylvania; a Buckingham, of Connecticut; a Salomon, of Wisconsin; a Morton, of Indiana [applause]; the lamented Andrew, of Massachusetts [applause]; and last, not least, Reuben E. Fenton, of New York. [Applause.] There are many others. I cannot name them all. [Cheers.] If the Convention will make its choice from these—and we doubt not it will—we are sure it will not fail to meet the wishes of the people, and that the choice will fulfill the expectations of the loyal masses of the people of the United States. But, sir, let me say, that it seems to me nothing can be more fit, in the Presidential contest, than to have, as the lieutenant of the General who never lost a battle, a leader who never lost an election. [Cheers.]

THE PRESIDENT—Gentlemen, the Convention informally indicates a desire for the roll call. Shall the roll be called?

MR. NOWLAN, of West Virginia—I move nominations be closed. ["No! no!"]

THE PRESIDENT—By general consent, the Secretary will proceed to call the roll of States.

The Secretary then proceeded to call the roll of States, and announced the following result:

## FIRST BALLOT.

STATES	WILSON	COLFAX	WADE	FENTON	HAMLIN	CURTIN	HARIAN	POMEROY	KELLEY	SPEED	CRESSWELL
Alabama	4	4	2	2					4		
Arkansas	2	1	1	1							
California	1	2	5	2							
Colorado	6	6									
Connecticut	4	2	2	4							
Dakota	2	2									
Delaware	6		2								
District of Columbia			2								
Florida	2	2		2							
Georgia	6	2	3	6		1					
Idaho	6										
Illinois		3	15	3	11						
Indiana		26									
Iowa							16				
Kansas								6			
Kentucky										22	
Louisiana				14							
Maine				14							
Maryland			1								13
Massachusetts	24										
Michigan		16									
Minnesota			8								
Mississippi	5		6	4							
Missouri		2	20								
Montana			2								
Nebraska			6								
Nevada			2	4							
New Hampshire	10										
New Jersey		14									
New York				66							
North Carolina			18								
Ohio			42								
Oregon		6									
Pennsylvania		1	3			48					
Rhode Island	2	3	2		1						
South Carolina	12										
Tennessee		6	3	11							
Texas	11		1								
Vermont		10									
Virginia	18		2								
West Virginia	5	1	2			1					
Wisconsin		7		6	2	1					1
Total	119	115	147	126	28	51	16	6	4	22	14

THE PRESIDENT—Does the Convention desire the vote read for correction, or is the summary enough?

SEVERAL DELEGATES—The summary!

THE PRESIDENT—Gentlemen of the Convention, I read the statement of the vote:

The total number of votes cast is.....648  
 Necessary to a choice.....325  
 Mr. Wade has .....147  
 Mr. Fenton has .....126  
 Mr. Wilson has .....119  
 Mr. Colfax has .....115  
 Mr. Curtin has .....51  
 Mr. Hamlin has .....28

Mr. Speed has .....	22
Mr. Harlan has .....	16
Mr. Creswell has .....	14
Mr. Pomeroy has .....	6
Mr. Kelley has .....	4

You have made no choice. Is it your pleasure to proceed to another call of the roll?

VOICES—"Vote!" "Adjourn!" etc.

THE PRESIDENT—The Secretary will immediately proceed to another call of the roll. [Voices, "Adjourn!" "Vote!" etc.]

A DELEGATE from North Carolina—I move an adjournment until 7 o'clock this evening. [Cries of "No!" "Vote!" "Call the roll!"]

THE PRESIDENT—It seems to be the desire of the Convention to proceed to another call of the roll without any withdrawal of nominations.

MR. —, of North Carolina—I move an adjournment. [Cries of "No! go on with the vote!"]

THE PRESIDENT—The Secretary will proceed to call the roll.

MR. WOOD, of Kentucky—On behalf of the delegation from Kentucky, I withdraw the name of Mr. Speed.

The Secretary then proceeded to call the roll of States upon a second ballot, with the following result:

## SECOND BALLOT.

STATES	WILSON	COLFAX	WADE	FENTON	HAMLIN	CURTIN
Alabama .....	11	1	2	2		
Arkansas .....	10					
California .....	1	2	5	2		
Colorado .....		6				
Connecticut .....	4	1	3	4		
Dakota .....		2				
Delaware .....		5				1
District of Columbia .....			2			
Florida .....	2	2		2		
Georgia .....	2		7	7		
Idaho .....				2		
Illinois .....		3	15	3	11	
Indiana .....		26				
Iowa .....		4		10	2	
Kansas .....		2	2	2		
Kentucky .....		9	13			
Louisiana .....				14		
Maine .....					14	
Maryland .....	1	2	10		1	
Massachusetts .....	24					
Michigan .....		16				
Minnesota .....			8			
Mississippi .....	5		2	4		
Missouri .....		2	20			
Montana .....			2			
Nebraska .....			6			
Nevada .....				4		
New Hampshire .....	10					
New Jersey .....		14				
New York .....				66		
North Carolina .....	9		9			
Ohio .....		4	38			

STATES	WILSON	COLFAX	WADE	FENTON	HAMLIN	CURTIN
Oregon .....		6				
Pennsylvania .....		33	5			44
Rhode Island .....	5					
South Carolina .....	12					
Tennessee .....		6	3	11		
Texas .....			9	3		
Vermont .....		10				
Virginia .....	12	4	2	2		
West Virginia .....	6	3	1			
Wisconsin .....		7	1	6	2	
Total .....	114	145	170	144	30	45

THE PRESIDENT—Gentlemen of the Convention, I read the statement of the vote:

Total number of votes cast .....	648
Necessary to a choice .....	325
Mr. Wade has .....	170
Mr. Colfax has .....	145
Mr. Fenton has .....	144
Mr. Wilson has .....	114
Mr. Curtin has .....	45
Mr. Hamlin has .....	30

Gentlemen of the Convention, you have made no choice. Will the Secretary proceed with the call of the roll?

VOICES—The roll!

A DELEGATE from Virginia—I move you, sir, that we adjourn until 7 o'clock to-night. [Many voices, "No!"]

THE PRESIDENT—It would seem to be unnecessary to put the vote. The Secretary will proceed to call the roll.

The Secretary then proceeded to call the roll, with the following result:

## THIRD BALLOT.

STATES	WILSON	COLFAX	WADE	FENTON	HAMLIN	CURTIN
Alabama .....	11	1	2	2		
Arkansas .....	10					
California .....		1	8	1		
Colorado .....		6				
Connecticut .....		3	2	7		
Dakota .....		2				
Delaware .....		5		1		
District of Columbia .....			2			
Florida .....	2	2		2		
Georgia .....		4	6			
Idaho .....						
Illinois .....		4	17	3	2	
Indiana .....	26					
Iowa .....	8			3		
Kansas .....	2			2		
Kentucky .....	10	12				
Louisiana .....		5	5	9		

STATES	WILSON	COLFAX	WADE	FENTON	HAMLIN	CURTIN
Maine .....	1	2	10		14	1
Maryland .....	24					
Massachusetts .....		16				
Michigan .....	1		7			
Minnesota .....	4	1	4	5		
Mississippi .....		12	20			
Missouri .....			2			
Montana .....			6			
Nebraska .....			12	4		
Nevada .....	10					
New Hampshire .....		14				
New Jersey .....				66		
New York .....	9		9			
North Carolina .....		5	37			
Ohio .....		6				
Oregon .....		5	7			40
Pennsylvania .....		8				
Rhode Island .....	12					
South Carolina .....		6	3	11		
Tennessee .....			11	1		
Texas .....		10				
Vermont .....	10	6	2	2		
Virginia .....	7	2	1			
West Virginia .....		8	1	5	2	
Wisconsin .....						
Total .....	101	165	178	139	25	40

THE PRESIDENT—Gentlemen of the Convention, I read the statement of the vote:

Total number of votes cast.....	648
Necessary for a choice.....	325
Mr. Wade has .....	178
Mr. Colfax has .....	165
Mr. Fenton has .....	139
Mr. Wilson has .....	101
Mr. Curtin has .....	40
Mr. Hamlin has .....	25

MR. MCCLURE, of Pennsylvania—Mr. President— [Cries of "Vote!"]

THE PRESIDENT—The Chair must hear the gentleman from Pennsylvania. He has the floor.

MR. MCCLURE, of Pennsylvania—I hold in my hand a letter from Governor Curtin, of Pennsylvania, placed in the hands of the delegation. [Cries of "Louder!"]

I have in my hand a letter from Governor Curtin, addressed to the delegation from Pennsylvania, allowing them, in their discretion, to withdraw his name from this Convention. A majority of the delegation have instructed me now to present that letter, and thus withdraw his name from the Convention. Shall I read it? [Cries of "Read it! Read it!"]

MR. MCCLURE, of Pennsylvania—Mr. President, I will read the letter.

PHILADELPHIA, May 16, 1868.

"GENTLEMEN: While deeply sensible of the honor done me by the Republicans of Pennsylvania, in the cordial presentation of my name for the Vice Presidency, under the instructions of this Convention, directing the

vote of the State to be cast for me, I do not feel justified, in this period of our country's peril, to allow my name to be used to embarrass, in any degree, the action of the delegation, in effecting what may be deemed best for the harmony of the party, and the success of our cherished principles. Never before in our history, was the success of loyal principles so vital to the peace and prosperity, and, indeed, the safety of the Republic, and no mere personal interest, or ambition, should be allowed to interfere with the deliberations of the people, or the declaration of their judgment. At the election, we must have the most cordial unity of action, and when my name stands in the way of it, the delegation should not hesitate to withdraw it from the list of candidates before the Convention. Fidelity to the harmony and interests of the Republican party will be the highest measure of fidelity to me, on the part of the Pennsylvania delegation. [Applause.] Appalling treachery, and emboldened treason, confront us, and the welfare of the living, and justice to the memory of the heroic dead, demand of all a singleness of purpose in making this last struggle for freedom, justice, and law. Do not hesitate to withdraw my name whenever, in your judgment, it will promote unity and harmony in the Republican party, and its ultimate triumph, which is so essential to the perpetuity of the government, and the prosperity and happiness of the American people.

"Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

"ANDREW G. CURTIN.

*"To the Pennsylvania Delegation in the National Republican Convention."*

The Secretary then called the roll, with the following result:

FOURTH BALLOT.

STATES	WILSON	COLFAX	WADE	PENTON	HAMLIN
Alabama	11	1	22	2	
Arkansas	8		7	2	
California		1	7	2	
Colorado		6			
Connecticut		2	2	8	
Delaware		2		1	
Dakota		2			
Florida	2			2	
District of Columbia			2		
Georgia		5	5	8	
Idaho				2	
Illinois		6	17	3	6
Indiana		26		2	
Iowa		8		8	
Kansas		2	12	2	
Kentucky		10	12		
Louisiana			5	9	
Maine					14
Maryland	1	3	10		
Massachusetts	24				
Michigan		16			
Minnesota	1		7		
Mississippi	4	1	5	4	
Missouri		2	20		
Montana			2		
Nebraska			6		
Nevada			2	4	
New Hampshire	10				
New Jersey		14			
New York				66	
North Carolina	7		10	1	
Ohio		6	36		



STATES	WILSON	COLFAX	WADE	FENTON	HAMLIN
Oregon		6			
Pennsylvania	2	14	33		3
Rhode Island		6	2		
South Carolina	7			5	
Tennessee		6	3	11	
Texas		1	11		
Vermont		10			
Virginia	5	10	2	3	
West Virginia	5	4	1		
Wisconsin		11		3	2
Total	87	186	206	144	25

THE PRESIDENT—Gentlemen of the Convention, I read the statement of the vote:

Total number of votes cast	648
Necessary for a choice	325
Mr. Wade has	206
Mr. Colfax has	186
Mr. Fenton has	144
Mr. Wilson has	87
Mr. Hamlin has	25

Is it your pleasure to proceed to another ballot [Cries of "Vote!"]

The Secretary will proceed immediately to call the roll.

The Secretary then proceeded to call the roll on the fifth ballot, when the votes were cast as follows:

## FIFTH BALLOT.

STATES	WADE	COLFAX	FENTON	HAMLIN	WILSON
Alabama	2	1	2		11
Arkansas	2				8
California	5	1	1		
Colorado	6				
Connecticut	4		6		
Dakota	2				
Delaware	4				
District of Columbia	2				
Florida	1		5		
Georgia	5	3	10		
Idaho			2		
Illinois	19	8	3	2	
Indiana	26				
Iowa	8		8		
Kansas	2		2		
Kentucky	12	10			
Louisiana	5		9		
Maine				14	
Maryland	10	3			1
Massachusetts					24
Michigan		16			
Minnesota	7				1
Mississippi	6	1	4		3
Missouri	20	2			
Montana	2				

STATES	WADE	COLFAX	FENTON	HAMLIN	WILSON
Nebraska	6	1			
Nevada	1		5		
New Hampshire	9		1		
New Jersey		14			
New York			66		
North Carolina	9	7			2
Ohio	36	6			
Oregon		6			
Pennsylvania	20	30	1	1	
Rhode Island		8			
South Carolina			7		3
Tennessee	22	17			
Texas	12				
Vermont		10			
Virginia	12	10	5		3
West Virginia	1	9			
Wisconsin		11	2	3	
Total	207	226	139	20	66

Before the result of the ballot was announced, several delegations changed their votes.

MR. WILLIAMSON, of Iowa—Mr. President, Iowa desires to change the votes cast for Fenton to Colfax, and cast its entire sixteen votes for Colfax.

MR. MCCLURE, of Pennsylvania—Pennsylvania votes, sir, unanimously for Colfax. [Immense applause and great confusion, several gentlemen trying to obtain the floor.]

THE PRESIDENT—The Chair will not entertain any motion until there is better order. The gentleman from Louisiana first caught the eye of the Chair.

MR. WARMOUTH, of Louisiana—I am directed, sir, by the delegation from Louisiana to change its fourteen votes to Schuyler Colfax. [Applause.]

THE PRESIDENT—Gentlemen of the Convention, I am waiting to announce the gentleman from Connecticut, who is waiting to speak.

MR. BENT, of Connecticut—Mr. President, Connecticut desires to change her vote and make it unanimous for Schuyler Colfax. [Applause.]

MR. CLAFLIN, of Massachusetts—Mr. President, by the authority of Senator Wilson, and by direction of the delegation from Massachusetts, I withdraw his name from this Convention, and Massachusetts desires her vote to be placed for Schuyler Colfax, of Indiana. [Applause and great confusion.]

THE PRESIDENT—The Chair will entertain no motion until there is better order, and will announce when he considers order restored.

MR. —, of the District of Columbia—The District of Columbia, sir, desires to change its vote. [Applause.]

THE PRESIDENT—The gentleman will remain seated until we have order.

MR. STOKES, of Tennessee—I am authorized, Mr. President, by the delegation from Tennessee, to cast the vote of our State as a unit for Schuyler Colfax. [Applause.]

MR. WOOD, of Kentucky—Mr. President, I am authorized to cast the vote of Kentucky as a unit for Schuyler Colfax.

MR. LEE, of South Carolina—Mr. President, the delegation from South Carolina desires to change its vote to Schuyler Colfax. [Applause and confusion.]

THE PRESIDENT—It is impossible to transact any business until the Convention gets seated and returns to order. The work could be done in a minute, that now, in this way, cannot be done here in an hour. I am waiting to announce the vote given by South Carolina and Florida. I then will listen to gentlemen. South Carolina, I understood to give her vote unanimously for Mr. Colfax?

MR. LEE, of South Carolina—That was the vote of South Carolina.

THE CHAIRMAN of the Florida delegation—Mr. President, I am instructed by the delegates from Florida to present a flowery tribute of six votes for Schuyler Colfax. [Applause.]

MR. BARKER, of Maine—I am instructed, Mr. President, by the delegation from Maine, to change its vote from its first choice to its second one, and give its fourteen votes for Schuyler Colfax. [Cheers.]

THE PRESIDENT—Maine announces its vote unanimously for Colfax.

THE CHAIRMAN of the Minnesota delegation—The whole delegation cast their vote for Colfax. [Applause.]

THE CHAIRMAN of the Wisconsin delegation—Mr. President, the delegation from Wisconsin has instructed me to cast their vote unanimously in favor of Schuyler Colfax. [Cheers.]

MR. JONES, of Ohio—Mr. President, on behalf of the delegation of Ohio, by unanimous consent, I rise to make a motion to terminate this contest, where we seem to struggle now, to concentrate upon the distinguished statesman from Indiana. Mr. President, a large majority in the Ohio delegation presented her favorite son, Benjamin F. Wade, and desired his nomination. But, sir, whether it be Wade, or whether it be Colfax, or whether it should have been the distinguished gentleman from Massachusetts, or from New York, or any other of the great names here presented, Ohio fights as she votes, though the Legislature have legislated that, if there be a challenge of a man on account of a possible admixture of colored blood in the veins of his father, or his grandfather ("why don't you vote?")—we will still, Mr. President, in spite of this, carry the flag of victory. We will not forget our tens of thousands who have fallen for the cause of our liberty, nor will we forget the sufferings of those men, nor the tears of their wives and orphans. I move, therefore, sir, that the Rules be suspended, and Schuyler Colfax be declared unanimously nominated.

THE CHAIRMAN of the Mississippi delegation—I am directed by the delegates from Mississippi to have their votes changed, so that they will have fourteen votes for Schuyler Colfax. [Applause.]

MR. PIERCE, of Virginia—I am instructed, sir, by the delegation from Virginia, to cast twenty votes for Schuyler Colfax. [Applause.]

THE CHAIRMAN of the Nevada delegation—Mr. President, Nevada changes her vote to Schuyler Colfax. [Applause.]

THE CHAIRMAN of the Kansas delegation—Mr. President, Kansas changes her vote to Colfax. [Applause.]

MR. THAYER, of Nebraska—Mr. President, Nebraska desires to change her vote to Schuyler Colfax. [Applause.]

MR. JONES, of Ohio—Mr. President, does the Chair entertain my motion to suspend the Rules, and declare the nomination unanimous?

SEVERAL DELEGATES—"No! no!"

THE PRESIDENT—Gentlemen of the Convention—

A DELEGATE from California—California desires to change her vote to Schuyler Colfax. [Applause.]

THE PRESIDENT—The Chair claims the floor. The gentleman from Ohio moves to suspend the Rules and make the nomination of Schuyler Colfax unanimous.

A DELEGATE—I second the motion.

SEVERAL DELEGATES—Go on with the roll!

THE PRESIDENT—Gentlemen—

SEVERAL DELEGATES—Call the roll!

THE PRESIDENT—It requires two-thirds of the Convention to suspend the rules. The Chair decides that the roll must be called.

The Secretary then proceeded to call the roll.

THE SECRETARY—Alabama!

A DELEGATE from Alabama—Mr. President, Alabama casts fifteen votes for Colfax and one for Governor Fenton.

THE SECRETARY—Arkansas!

A DELEGATE from Arkansas—Mr. President, Arkansas casts ten votes for Colfax.

THE SECRETARY—California!

A DELEGATE from California—Mr. President, California casts ten votes for Colfax.

MR. COCHRANE, of New York—Mr. President, I rise for information. The delegates in this quarter of the Convention do not know, now, upon what business the Convention is engaged, or in what part of the call it is.

THE PRESIDENT—There was a strong objection made to any suspension of the Rules, and, hearing no motion, the Chair decided, under the regular order of business, to call the roll again.

MR. COCHRANE, of New York—We ask, sir, for the announcement of the vote of—

THE PRESIDENT—The Chair will give the announcement of the vote.

MR. COCHRANE, of New York—That, sir, is in order, and nothing else is in order.

THE PRESIDENT—The Convention, it seemed to me, called for the call of the roll, because it would obviate the necessity of these changes, and I ordered it.

MR. PARKER, of New Jersey—Mr. President, a delegate from Maryland has been endeavoring, over and over again, to announce the vote of that State, but by some accident has not met your eye. I demand that he be heard.

THE PRESIDENT—The Convention has demanded the calling of the roll, in order to settle these changes. That is the better—

SEVERAL DELEGATES—Call the roll!

THE PRESIDENT—If the house prefer—

SEVERAL DELEGATES—Call the roll!

THE PRESIDENT—I now give the gentleman from Maryland the floor.

MR. SANDS, of Maryland—Mr. President, Maryland casts her vote of fourteen for Schuyler Colfax.

MR. COCHRANE, of New York—I rise, sir, for the information of the New York delegation. We understand that there is no new call for the roll, but a repetition, in order to certify to the old one [That's it! That's it!], so that, when a State is called, it is not for a new vote, but to ascertain and certify its old one, so that when New York may be called in its order, she is not to vote again, having on this very call cast her vote for Reuben E. Fenton. Am I right?

THE PRESIDENT—The Convention demanded the calling of the roll over again. The Chair hesitated a moment for that, and delegates again insisted that there should be a calling of the roll, from the beginning, to make these changes.

A DELEGATE—Mr. Chairman—

THE PRESIDENT—If there be no objection, the Chair will order the action; if not, the call will be proceeded with.

MR. COCHRANE, of New York—I hope, sir, the Chair will proceed in the usual way, and have the corrections made.

THE PRESIDENT—The Chair will order the usual course.

MR. ———, of North Carolina—Mr. President, North Carolina desires to change her eighteen votes to Schuyler Colfax. [Applause.]

MR. ———, of the District of Columbia—The District of Columbia desires to change her two votes to Schuyler Colfax.

MR. BROWN, of Georgia—Mr. President, the delegation from Georgia came here to support the choice of the Northern States, as soon as that choice should be manifest to us. I am, therefore, instructed by the delegation, to change the vote of Georgia, and cast eighteen votes for Schuyler Colfax. [Cries of "Good! good!"]

THE CHAIRMAN of the New Hampshire delegation—The delegation from New Hampshire desire that I should change the New Hampshire ten votes, and cast them for Schuyler Colfax. [Applause.]

MR. ———, of California—Mr. President, California desires to change her ten votes to Schuyler Colfax. [Applause.]

MR. THAYER, of Nebraska—Mr. President, Nebraska desires to change her vote and make it unanimous for Schuyler Colfax. [Applause.]

MR. PROUTY, of Kansas—Mr. President, Kansas desires to make her vote unanimous for Schuyler Colfax. [Applause.]

THE CHAIRMAN of the Arkansas delegation—Mr. President, Arkansas desires to make her vote unanimous for Schuyler Colfax. [Applause.]

THE CHAIRMAN of the Texas delegation—Texas casts her twelve votes for Colfax. [Cheers.]

MR. SCHURZ, of Missouri—Missouri desires to make her vote unanimous for Schuyler Colfax. [Applause.]

THE CHAIRMAN of the Delaware delegation—Mr. President, Delaware is unanimous for Schuyler Colfax. [Cheers.]

MR. HARRIS, of West Virginia—Mr. President, West Virginia desires to make her ten votes unanimous for Schuyler Colfax. [Cheers.]

THE PRESIDENT—Gentlemen of the Convention, have you made all the changes you desire?

SEVERAL DELEGATES—"New York!" "New York!"

MR. MCCLURE, of Pennsylvania—At an early period, when the name of Pennsylvania was called, she cast her votes for Colfax and Wade. At a subsequent period we changed it so as to make it unanimous—our fifty-two votes are cast for Schuyler Colfax. I didn't know whether you had heard it corrected or not. On behalf of Pennsylvania, I beg leave to say that it will uphold any Republican ticket that may be presented this fall, notwithstanding you have omitted to give us our first choice—Governor Curtin. [Great applause.]

A DELEGATE from Nevada—Mr. President—

THE PRESIDENT—If there be no more changes to make on this vote, the Secretary will give the summary as soon as possible.

THE DELEGATE from Nevada—Mr. President, I wish to announce that Nevada has changed her vote. [Applause.]

MR. LOGAN, of Illinois—I desire that Illinois may be called. Illinois gives thirty-two votes for Schuyler Colfax, of Indiana. [Applause.]

[Calls for "New York" etc., and "Music!"]

The following is the final vote, after changes:

FINAL BALLOT.

STATES	NO. OF DELEGATES	FENTON	WADE	COLFAX
Alabama	18	...	...	15
Arkansas	10	...	...	10
California	...	...	...	10
Colorado	...	...	...	6
Connecticut	12	...	...	12
Dakota	...	...	...	2
Delaware	...	...	...	6
District of Columbia	...	...	...	3
Florida	6	...	...	6
Georgia	8	...	...	18
Idaho	...	2	...	...
Illinois	32	...	...	32
Indiana	26	...	...	26
Iowa	16	...	...	16
Kansas	6	...	...	6
Kentucky	22	...	...	22
Louisiana	14	...	...	14
Maine	14	...	...	14

STATES	NO. OF DELEGATES	FENTON	WADE	COLFAX
Maryland .....	14	.....	.....	14
Massachusetts .....	24	.....	.....	24
Michigan .....	16	.....	.....	16
Minnesota .....	8	.....	.....	8
Mississippi .....	14	.....	.....	14
Missouri .....	22	.....	.....	22
Montana .....	2	.....	.....	2
Nebraska .....	6	.....	.....	6
Nevada .....	6	.....	.....	6
New Hampshire .....	10	.....	.....	10
New Jersey .....	14	.....	.....	14
New York .....	66	66	.....	.....
North Carolina .....	18	.....	.....	18
Ohio .....	42	.....	46	6
Oregon .....	6	.....	.....	6
Pennsylvania .....	52	.....	.....	52
Rhode Island .....	8	.....	.....	8
South Carolina .....	12	.....	.....	12
Tennessee .....	20	.....	.....	20
Texas .....	12	.....	.....	12
Vermont .....	10	.....	.....	10
Virginia .....	20	.....	.....	20
West Virginia .....	10	.....	.....	10
Wisconsin .....	16	.....	.....	16
Total .....	650	69	38	641

## COLFAX DECLARED NOMINATED.

THE PRESIDENT—I will read the statement of the vote:

The whole number of votes cast.....	648
Necessary to a choice.....	325
Schuyler Colfax, of Indiana, has.....	541
R. E. Fenton, of New York, has.....	69
B. F. Wade, of Ohio, has .....	38

You have made the choice of Hon. Schuyler Colfax, of Indiana. [Tremendous and prolonged applause. Cries, New York! New York!"]

## THE NOMINATION MADE UNANIMOUS.

MR. SICKLES, of New York—Mr. President, I need not say, and no one will need to be assured, that New York stands true to her colors. We have clung to our candidate, Gov. Fenton, with the same tenacity with which our constituents have always adhered to the Republican cause. [Cheers.] The time has come, however, when we have to prove that we are not less mindful than our sister States, of what we owe to the harmony of the action of the Convention. [Prolonged applause.] Ardently as we desired, and confidently as we anticipated, the nomination of our favorite candidate, we bow to the wisdom of the Convention, and accept the choice which is made. In obedience to the instructions of the New York delegation, and in accordance with my own sentiments, I now move that the nomination of Schuyler Colfax, as our Candidate for the Vice Presidency, be made unanimous. [Great applause.]

MR. ———, of Indiana—I call for three cheers for the “onelegged General.”

The cheers were given.

Three cheers were then called for Governor Fenton, and three cheers for Senator Wilson, which were also given.

MR. JONES, of Ohio—Was there ever such a race as this, in which Ohio had the leading nag in the race, and nearly had the leading horse on the home stretch, and yet is denied the poor privilege of congratulating the winner? I hope the Convention will allow the Empire State of the West to have the poor privilege of joining the Empire State of the East in seconding the nomination. [Cheers.]

A delegate called for three cheers for Ohio, and another called for three cheers for Ben. Wade, which were given.

MR. ———, of Louisiana—I am instructed to propose three cheers for the Ticket.

The cheers were given.

THE PRESIDENT—You have heard the motion of the gentleman from New York, seconded by the gentleman from Ohio, that the nomination of Schuyler Colfax for Vice President of the United States be made unanimous. Those who are in favor of the motion, say “aye.”

The motion prevailed unanimously.

THE PRESIDENT. There is nobody left. [Laughter.] We need not call for the noes, Schuyler Colfax is the nominee of the Convention! [Applause.]

#### DESPATCH FROM MR. COLFAX.

THE PRESIDENT—I have an important despatch to read. It is one in which you will doubtless be much interested. It is addressed by the Hon. Schuyler Colfax, to the Hon. J. B. Defrees, of Indiana, and he says:

“I read this morning to General Grant, the midnight despatch, giving an abstract of the platform, and General Grant heartily approves its tone.” [Great applause.]

Gentlemen, it will be necessary to call the roll of States, for the purpose of ascertaining who have been selected members of the National Committee.

#### COMMITTEE TO WAIT ON THE CANDIDATES.

MR. SICKLES, of New York—Mr. President, before the roll is called for that purpose, I desire to submit a motion. I move that the officers of this Convention constitute a Committee, to communicate to our candidates for President and Vice President their nomination by this Convention.

MR. COCHRANE, of New York—Mr. President, I second the motion.

MR. ———, of ——— —I understand, Mr. President, it to be the rule, that a Committee nominated by the delegates from each State, is selected for that duty. [Cries of “No!” etc.]

THE PRESIDENT—The officers are chosen from each State, a Secretary and Vice President, from each State, and the States are thus represented. The motion prevailed.



MR. SICKLES—I wish it to be understood, as a part of my motion, that they communicate the Platform and Proceedings of this Convention, also.

THE PRESIDENT—The Convention has so understood it.

MR. —, of South Carolina—I move you a vote of thanks to the officers of the Convention, for the manner in which they have presided over this business.

MR. VAN ZANDT, of Rhode Island—The roll should be called first.

#### NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

The Secretary then called the States, and the following was announced as the National Executive Committee:

Alabama—Jas P. Stowe.	Minnesota—John T. Averill.
Arkansas—B. F. Rice.	Mississippi—A. C. Fisk.
California—Geo. C. Gorham.	Missouri—Benj. F. Loan.
Colorado—Daniel Witter.	Montana—Lester S. Wilson.
Connecticut—H. H. Starkweather.	Nebraska—E. B. Taylor.
Dakota—Newton Edmunds.	Nevada—Charles E. DeLong.
Delaware—Edward G. Bradford.	New Hampshire—Wm. E. Chandler.
District of Columbia—S. E. Bowen.	New Jersey—J. Gobsill.
Florida—S. B. Conover.	New York—Horace Greeley.
Georgia—J. H. Caldwell.	North Carolina—William Sloane.
Idaho—John C. Henly.	Ohio—B. R. Cowen.
Illinois—J. Russel Jones.	Oregon—H. W. Corbett.
Indiana—Cyrus M. Allen.	Pennsylvania—Wm. H. Kemble.
Iowa—Josiah Tracy.	Rhode Island—Lyman B. Frieze.
Kansas—John A. Martin.	South Carolina—James H. Jenks.
Kentucky—Allen A. Burton.	Tennessee—Wm. B. Stokes.
Louisiana—M. H. Southworth.	Texas—A. J. Hamilton.
Maine—Lewis Barker.	Vermont—T. W. Park.
Maryland—Charles C. Fulton.	Virginia—Franklin Stearns.
Massachusetts—William Claffin.	West Virginia—Samuel D. Karns.
Michigan—Marsh Giddings.	Wisconsin—David Atwood.

#### MEETING OF THE COMMITTEE.

THE PRESIDENT—Gentlemen of the Convention: I am requested to announce that the National Committee will meet at the Tremont House to-night at 8½ o'clock, to organize.

#### VOTE OF THANKS.

THE CHAIRMAN of the Nevada Delegation—Mr. President I move you that the thanks of this Convention be returned to the officers thereof.

The motion was unanimously adopted.

MR. COCHRANE, of New York—Mr. President, I move you, sir, that the thanks of this Convention, for the ability, labor and courtesy of the Committee of Arrangements, be bestowed upon the Committee by the Convention.

The motion prevailed unanimously.

MR. COCHRANE, of New York—It is understood, sir, I suppose, that the proceedings of the Convention, as furnished by the Official Reporters of this

Convention, will be duly signed by the officers of the Convention and published; if not, I make a motion to that effect.

THE PRESIDENT—The proceedings will be published.

A DELEGATE—I move that the thanks of this Convention be tendered to the former National Executive Committee.

The motion prevailed.

ADJOURNMENT.

MR. COCHRANE, of New York—If there be no further business, I move the Convention do now adjourn *sine die*.

A VOICE—"Not *sine die*."

MR. COCHRANE, of New York—I suggest that it be at the call of the National Executive Committee, Mr. President.

The motion prevailed,

And the Convention stood adjourned subject to the call of the National Executive Committee.

CALL FOR GOVERNOR HAWLEY.

A delegate called for three cheers for the President of the Convention, Governor Hawley, which were given.

Loud cries were then made for General Hawley, who stepped forward and responded, as follows:

GENTLEMEN: Perhaps it is thrown away to say to you that it must be an impossibility for any person to speak now, after the labors of the day, and, I think, quite as nearly impossible, for any person to listen. I thank you for the compliment of the call. I shall save all my strength of body and mind for the campaign, for from now until the day of election I shall either write editorials or take the stump, and, hence, I am satisfied you will excuse me. [Prolonged applause.]

## NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. 1868.

Alabama—James P. Stowe, Montgomery.  
Arkansas—B. F. Rice, Little Rock.  
California—George G. Gorham, San Francisco.  
Colorado—Daniel Witter, Denver.  
Connecticut—H. H. Starkweather, Norwich.  
Dakota—Newton Edmunds, Yankton.  
Delaware—Edward C. Bradford.  
District of Columbia—Sayles E. Bowen, Washington.  
Florida—S. B. Conover, Lake City.  
Georgia—John H. Caldwell, Lagrange.  
Idaho—J. C. Henly.  
Illinois—J. Russell Jones, Chicago.  
Indiana—Cyrus M. Allen, Vincennes.  
Iowa—Josiah Tracy, Burlington.  
Kansas—John A. Martin, Atchison.  
Kentucky—Allen A. Burton, Lancaster.  
Louisiana—M. H. Southworth, New Orleans.  
Maine—Louis Barker, Stetson.  
Maryland—Chas. C. Fulton, Baltimore.  
Massachusetts—Wm. Claflin, Boston.  
Michigan—Marsh Giddings, Kalamazoc.  
Minnesota—J. T. Averill, St. Paul.  
Mississippi—A. C. Fisk, Vicksburg.  
Missouri—Benj. F. Loan, St. Joseph.  
Montana—Lester S. Wilson, Bozeman City.  
Nebraska—E. B. Taylor, Omaha.  
Nevada—Chas. E. De Long, Virginia City.  
New Hampshire—Wm. E. Chandler, Washington, D. C.  
New Jersey—James Gobsill, Jersey City.  
New York—Horace Greeley, New York City.  
North Carolina—W. Sloane.  
Ohio—B. R. Cowen, Bellaire.  
Oregon—H. W. Corbett, Washington, D. C.  
Pennsylvania—W. H. Kemble, Philadelphia.  
Rhode Island—Lyman B. Frieze, Providence.  
South Carolina—James H. Jenks, Charleston.  
Tennessee—W. B. Stokes, Liberty.  
Texas—A. J. Hamilton.  
Vermont—T. W. Parks, Bennington.  
Virginia—Franklin Stearns.  
West Virginia—Samuel D. Karns, Parkersburg.  
Wisconsin—David Atwood, Madison.

ORGANIZATION OF  
NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

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At a meeting of the National Executive Committee, an organization was effected, as follows:

HON WM. CLAFLIN, CHAIRMAN.

HON. WM. E. CHANDLER, SECRETARY.

CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

*(Headquarters at New York City.)*

WM. CLAFLIN, CHAIRMAN.

HORACE GREELEY,

R. R. COWEN,

WM. H. KEMBLE,

MARSH GIDDINGS,

T. W. PARK,

H. H. STARKWEATHER.

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EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE FOR THE WEST.

*(Headquarters at Chicago.)*

J. RUSSELL JONES,    CYRUS M. ALLEN,    E. B. TAYLOR.

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EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE FOR THE SOUTH.

*(Headquarters at Atlanta, Georgia.)*

M. H. SOUTHWORTH,    B. F. RICE,    JOHN H. CALDWELL.

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EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE FOR THE PACIFIC COAST.

*(Headquarters at San Francisco.)*

GEO C. GORHAM,

CHAS. E. DeLONG.

## LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE.

FROM U. S. GRANT.

"To GENERAL J. R. HAWLEY,

*"President National Union Republican Convention:*

"In formally accepting the nomination of the National Union Republican Convention of the 21st of May instant, it seems proper that some statement of views beyond the mere acceptance of the nomination should be expressed. The proceedings of the Convention were marked with wisdom, moderation and patriotism, and I believe express the feelings of the great mass of those who sustained the country through its recent trials.

"I endorse the resolutions. If elected to the office of President of the United States it will be my endeavor to administer all the laws in good faith, with economy, and with the view of giving peace, quiet and protection everywhere.

"In times like the present it is impossible, or at least eminently improper, to lay down a policy to be adhered to, right or wrong, through an administration of four years. New political issues, not foreseen, are constantly arising; the views of the public on old ones are constantly changing, and a purely administrative officer should always be left free to execute the will of the people. I always have respected that will, and always shall.

"Peace and universal prosperity—its sequence—with economy of administration, will lighten the burden of taxation, while it constantly reduces the national debt. Let us have peace.

"With great respect, your obedient servant,

"U. S. GRANT.

"WASHINGTON, May 29. 1868."

## LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE.

FROM SCHUYLER COLFAX.

"WASHINGTON, D. C., May 30, 1868.

"HON. J. R. HAWLEY,

*"President of the National Union Republican Convention:*

"DEAR SIR: The platform adopted by the patriotic convention over which you presided, and the resolutions which so happily supplement it, so entirely agree with my views as to a just national policy, that my thanks are due to the delegates as much for this clear and auspicious declaration of principles, as for the nomination with which I have been honored, and which I gratefully accept.

"When a great rebellion, which imperiled the national existence, was at last overthrown, the duty of all others, devolving upon those intrusted with the responsibilities of legislation, evidently was to require that the revolted States should be re-admitted to participation in the government against which they had erred only on such a basis as to increase and fortify, not to weaken or endanger, the strength and power of the nation. Certainly no one ought to have claimed that they should be re-admitted under such rule that their organization as States could ever again be used, as at the opening of the war, to defy the national authority or to destroy the national unity. This principle has been the pole star of those who have inflexibly insisted on the Congressional policy your Convention so cordially indorsed.

"Baffled by Executive opposition and by persistent refusals to accept any plan of reconstruction proffered by Congress, justice and public safety at last combined to teach us that only by an enlargement of suffrage in those States could the desired end be attained, and that it was even more safe to give the ballot to those who had loved the Union than to those who had sought ineffectually to destroy it. The assured success of this legislation is being written on the adamant of history, and will be our triumphant vindication. More clearly, too, than ever before does the nation now recognize that the greatest glory of a Republic is, that it throws the shield of its protection over the humblest and weakest of its people, and vindicates the rights of the poor and the powerless as faithfully as those of the rich and powerful.

"I rejoice, too, in this connection, to find in your platform the frank and fearless avowal that naturalized citizens must be protected abroad "at every hazard," as though they were native born." Our whole people are foreigners, or descendants of foreigners. Our fathers established by arms their right to be called a nation. It remains for us to establish the right to welcome to our shores all who are willing, by oaths of allegiance, to become American citizens. Perpetual allegiance, as claimed abroad, is only another name for perpetual bondage, and would make all slaves to the soil where first they saw the light. Our national cemeteries prove how faithfully these oaths of fidelity to their adopted land have been sealed in the life-blood of thousands upon thousands. Should we then be faithful to the dead, if we did not protect their living brethren in the full enjoyment of that nationality, for which, side by side with the native born, our soldiers of foreign birth laid down their lives?

"It was fitting, too, that the representatives of a party which had proved so true to national duty in time of war, should speak so clearly in time of peace for the maintenance untarnished of the national honor, national credit and good faith as regards its debt, the cost of our national existence.

"I do not need to extend this reply by further comment on a platform which has elicited such hearty approval throughout the land. The debt of

gratitude it acknowledges to the brave men who saved the Union from destruction, the frank approval of amnesty based on repentance and loyalty, the demand for the most thorough economy and honesty in government, the sympathy of the party of liberty with all throughout the world who long for the liberty we here enjoy, and the recognition of the sublime principles of the Declaration of Independence, are worthy of the organization on whose banners they are to be written in the coming contest. Its past record cannot be blotted out or forgotten. If there had been no Republican party, slavery would to-day cast its baneful shadow over the Republic. If there had been no Republican party, a free press and free speech would be as unknown from the Potomac to the Rio Grande as ten years ago. If the Republican party could have been stricken from existence when the banner of rebellion was unfurled, and when the response of "no coercion" was heard at the North, we would have had no nation to-day. But for the Republican party daring to risk the odium of tax and draft laws our flag could not have been kept flying on the field until the long-hoped-for victory came. Without a Republican party the Civil Rights bill—the guaranty of equality under the law to the humble and the defenceless, as well as to the strong—would not be to-day upon our national statute book.

"With such inspiration from the past, and following the example of the founders of the Republic, who called the victorious General of the Revolution to preside over the land his triumphs had saved from its enemies, I cannot doubt that our labors will be crowned with success. And it will be a success that will bring restored hope, confidence, prosperity and progress, South as well as North, West as well as East, and, above all, the blessings, under Providence, of national Concord and Peace.

"Very truly yours,

"SCHUYLER COLFAX."

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION, 1872.

PROCEEDINGS  
OF THE  
NATIONAL UNION  
REPUBLICAN CONVENTION,

HELD AT  
PHILADELPHIA, JUNE 5 AND 6, 1872.

Which Nominated for President  
and Vice President

ULYSSES S. GRANT AND HENRY WILSON.

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Reported by FRANCIS H. SMITH, Official Reporter.



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1903.**

NATIONAL  
UNION REPUBLICAN CONVENTION.  
1872.

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THE Fifth Quadrennial Convention of the Republican Party of the United States, for the nomination of candidates for President and Vice-President, convened at the Academy of Music, in the city of Philadelphia, Wednesday, June 5th, 1872, in pursuance of the following

CALL:

The undersigned, constituting the National Committee designated by the Convention held at Chicago on the 20th of May, 1868, hereby call a Convention of the Union Republican Party at the city of Philadelphia, on Wednesday, the 5th day of June next, at 12 o'clock noon, for the purpose of nominating candidates for the offices of President and Vice-President of the United States.

Each State is authorized to be represented in the Convention by delegates equal to twice the number of Senators and Representatives to which it will be entitled in the next National Congress, and each organized Territory is authorized to send two delegates.

In calling this Convention, the Committee remind the country that the promises of the Union Republican Convention of 1868 have been fulfilled. The States lately in rebellion have been restored to their former relations to the Government. The laws of the country have been faithfully executed, public faith has been preserved, and the national credit firmly established. Governmental economy has been illustrated by the reduction, at the same time, of the public debt and of taxation; and the funding of the national debt at a lower rate of interest has been successfully inaugurated. The rights of naturalized citizens have been protected by treaties, and immigration encouraged by liberal provisions. The defenders of the Union have been gratefully remembered, and the rights and interests of labor recognized. Laws have been enacted, and are being enforced, for the protection of persons and property in all sections. Equal suffrage has been engrafted on the National Constitution; the privileges and immunities of American citizenship have become a part of the organic law, and a liberal policy has been adopted toward all who engaged in the rebellion. Complications in foreign relations have been adjusted in the interest of peace throughout the world, while the national honor has been maintained. Corruption has been exposed, offenders punished, responsibility enforced, safeguards established, and now, as heretofore, the Republican Party stands pledged to correct all abuses and carry out all reforms necessary to maintain the purity and efficiency of the

public service. To continue and firmly establish its fundamental principles, we invite the co-operation of all of the citizens of the United States.

WILLIAM CLAFLIN, of Massachusetts,  
*Chairman.*

WILLIAM E. CHANDLER, of New Hampshire,

*Secretary.*

JOHN A. PETERS, Maine,  
LUKE A. POLAND, Vermont.  
L. B. FRIEZE, Rhode Island.  
H. H. STARKWEATHER, Connecticut.  
JAMES GOPSILL, New Jersey.  
WILLIAM H. KEMBLE, Pennsylvania.  
HOWARD M. JENKINS, Delaware.  
B. R. COWEN, Ohio.  
JOHN COBURN, Indiana.  
C. B. FARWELL, Illinois.  
ZACHARIAH CHANDLER, Michigan.  
J. T. AVERILL, Minnesota.  
DAVID ATWOOD, Wisconsin.  
GEORGE W. MCCRARY, Iowa.  
C. C. FULTON, Maryland.  
FRANKLIN STEARNS, Virginia.  
JOHN R. HUBBARD, West Virginia.  
WILLIAM SLOAN, North Carolina.  
THOMAS W. OSBORN, Florida.

L. C. CARPENTER, South Carolina.  
JOHN H. CALDWELL, Georgia.  
JAMES P. STOW, Alabama.  
M. H. SOUTHWORTH, Louisiana.  
A. C. FISK, Mississippi.  
S. C. POMEROY, Kansas.  
B. F. RICE, Arkansas.  
JOHN B. CLARK, Missouri.  
A. A. BURTON, Kentucky.  
HORACE MAYNARD, Tennessee.  
E. B. TAYLOR, Nebraska.  
JAMES W. NYE, Nevada.  
H. W. CORBETT, Oregon.  
GEORGE C. GORHAM, California.  
JOHN B. CHAFFEE, Colorado.  
W. A. BURLEIGH, Dakota.  
SAYLES J. BOWEN, District of Columbia.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *January 11, 1872.*

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 5, 1872.

#### THE CONVENTION CALLED TO ORDER.

At 12 o'clock noon, Hon. WILLIAM CLAFLIN, of Massachusetts, Chairman of the National Committee, called the Convention to order, and spoke as follows:

#### SPEECH OF GOVERNOR CLAFLIN.

*Gentlemen of the Convention:* Elected according to the usages of the Republican Party in conventions of the people held in every State, you have assembled for the purpose of placing in nomination candidates for the two highest offices in the gift of the American people. You represent a party founded on the broadest principles of freedom, justice, and humanity, and whose achievements have been the wonder and admiration of the civilized world. The promises of reform and progress made four years ago have been faithfully fulfilled [applause] in the guarantee by the nation of equal rights to all; in the reduction of the public expenditures and the public debt; in the decrease of the public burdens; in the improvement of the public credit; in the establishment of the public faith that no act of repudiation shall ever stain the statute-book, and in securing peace and order throughout the entire Republic.

You are summoned to declare anew your fidelity to those principles and purposes which have brought such beneficent results to the nation. We will not fear that the people will desert those who have been faithful to their high trust, for other men and other organizations, although they may adopt our principles and promise to adhere to our policy. Let us go forward with confident faith that our cause will triumph, notwithstanding unexpected defec-

tions, over all combinations, however skilfully planned, because in its continued success are centered the best interests and the highest hopes of the country. [Cheers.]

Before proceeding further, I will invite the Rev. Dr. Reed to lead the Convention in prayer.

The Rev. Dr. ALEXANDER REED of the Central Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia, then offered the following prayer:

PRAYER.

Our Father in Heaven! we bow before Thee at Thy throne. In infinite mercy listen to our prayer. Thou art the eternal God, the self-existent and unchangeable Creator. Immensity Thy dwelling-place, the Universe Thy home, greater than all Thy works, and worthy of the reverence and homage and love of all Thy creatures. Thou only art the Lord, exalted, supreme. There is no counsellor for Thee; for with Thee there are no mysteries and Thou makest no mistakes. Thou sittest on the circle of the heavens; all its inhabitants are but as grasshoppers. Nations are before Thee but as the dust balances; yet, though Thou art so exalted, Thy very greatness brings Thee near to us, for Thy spirit and presence fill heaven and earth; Thou dost encompass every creature Thou hast made, and in all heights and depths, throughout all space, boundless, infinite, Thou art God over all, blessed forever. We praise Thee. We rejoice to know Thee as our Creator, King and Father; and in the name of our ascended Saviour we come into Thy presence at this august hour seeking grace, Thy favor. We, pleading Thy promises to be nigh unto all that call upon Thee in truth, that they who ask shall receive of Thee, come humbly unto Thee, yet confidently, believing that Thou art the hearer of prayer.

Our Father, bless us to-day. Bless our beloved country with abundant and abiding benedictions. Our experience of Thy loving care through all the past gives us confidence to seek Thy guarding, guiding Providence for the future. Oh, God! for all that Thou hast done for us a nation, thereof we are glad.

In the travail pains of birth, through feeble infancy, and in dark and dangerous days of division and strife, Thou hast preserved us. Oh, bless us still. Through almost a century Thou hast never failed us; keep us still; leave us not to ourselves, to self-confidence, to pride, to forgetfulness of God. We do thank Thee for Thy favor and Thy faithfulness, for Thy patience and paternal love. We thank Thee that Thou hast proclaimed liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof; that Thou hast broken the bondsmen's fetters, and said to the oppressed, Go Free. We thank Thee that Thou hast ordained peace for us and prosperity in all our borders. We thank Thee for our new birth of freedom, and we pray Thee to guide and keep us, that this "Government of the people, by the people, and for the people, shall not perish from the earth." Therefore, bless Thy servant, the President of these United States, and guide him in all his diversified duties by Thy hand. Bless his counsellors, each and all. Bless the Governor of this Commonwealth, and of every Commonwealth throughout the land. Bless every citizen, old

and young, high and low. Bless the noble soldiery that still survive the days of blood and fire. May these noble heroes realize the gratitude of a rescued people and the care of a loving God. And now, O God! most high and holy, we devoutly pray do Thou bless this vast National Convention, gathered hither from North and South, and East and West, to transact business for a mighty constituency. May Thy blessing be upon them. May these leaders of the people and of a party be led by Thee. May these wise counsellors seek and receive that wisdom that cometh down from above, which is profitable to direct. Do Thou, Ruler Divine, preside over these deliberations, and may all questions issued and concluded here be acceptable to Thee, and whatever men may intend, do Thou superintend so that Thou shall be glorified, and the highest and holiest interests of this land may be secured and perpetuated. Guide these, Thy servants, to such selections of leaders as shall meet the approval of the good and patriotic throughout this great Republic, and shall be approved by Thee. And may this noble party now represented here—a party of glorious history and immortal renown—be wisely guided of God to such a policy as shall prove it in the future, as in the past, favored of Thee. And be pleased, Thou God of nations, to speak to this people gathered from all peoples, and make it a nation willing to obey and love Thee. And most devoutly do we pray that Thou wilt, amid the kingdoms of this world, advance Thy kingdom, blessed God! Remember the family of mankind; bring us all into one blood-beat again. May we feel heart to heart the world around, and in the same electric connection of love may the whole earth experience at last the consolation of Thy redemptive power, and stand disenthralled and united before God, a blessed brotherhood, baptized into purity; and then at last may there break forth, accordant with the choral utterances of heaven, a voice of joy the world around, giving praise unto the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

And now we commit ourselves and all our work to Thee. Bless us individually, we implore. As we here seek to exalt a ruler over this Republic, may we not forget to seek to exalt Thee ruler over our hearts and lives, as men—as mortal, as immortal men. And all we ask and all we offer is in the name of Him who taught us when we pray to say: Our Father which art in Heaven. Hallowed be Thy name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done in earth as it is in Heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive those that trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil. For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, forever. Amen.

TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN.

Governor CLAFLIN resumed:

*Gentlemen of the Convention:* I have the pleasure, by the instruction of the National Committee, of presenting to you the Hon. MORTON McMICHAEL, of Philadelphia, for temporary Chairman. [Great applause.] Those of you who favor that nomination will say *aye*.

The nomination was unanimously confirmed.

Hon. HENRY S. LANE, of Indiana; Hon. JAMES H. PLATT, JR., of Virginia, and Hon. JAMES LEWIS, of Louisiana, having been appointed by the Chairman for that purpose, escorted Mr. McMICHAEL to the Chair. On reaching the platform he was greeted with enthusiastic and prolonged applause, and, being presented by Governor CLAFLIN to the Convention, he spoke as follows:

ADDRESS OF THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN.

*Gentlemen of the Convention:* I thank you for the privilege of presiding, even for the brief period I shall enjoy that honor, over such an assemblage as this. I am the more gratified because as a delegate from Pennsylvania, and a resident of Philadelphia, it gives me an occasion to welcome you to our State and City, [applause:] to say to you all how glad we are to have you among us; to express to you our intention to promote your comfort while you remain with us; and our desire that when you leave us you will leave with such impressions as will induce you frequently to return. Under any circumstances, it would be a source of satisfaction to us to have the presence of so many distinguished men, gathered from all parts of this mighty land, which grows and stretches so rapidly that in these recurring quadrennial convocations new States, new Territories, and in this case, happily for the cause of humanity and progress, a new race—[great applause]—new, at least, in the possession of political rights and civil functions, and soon to be endowed with all the attributes of equality—are represented; under any circumstances your presence would be to us a source of satisfaction, and it is especially so in view of the purpose which has brought you hither. The malcontents who recently met at Cincinnati were without a constituency; the Democrats who are soon to meet at Baltimore will be without a principle. [Hearty applause.] The former, having no motive in common but personal disappointment, attempted a fusion of repelling elements, which has resulted in explosion; the latter, degraded from the high estate they once occupied, propose an abandonment of their identity, which means death. Unlike the first, you are the authentic exponents of a great national organization, based upon principles

Firm as the marble, founded as the rock;

As broad and general as the casing air:

[cheers.] unlike the last, your object is to preserve, not to destroy. And, gentlemen, differing from both these in character and aims, you will differ no less in the nature of your deliberations. On the subject which has most perplexed, and must continue to perplex their councils, in yours, rather let me say in ours, there will be absolute harmony. With us the selection of a Presidential candidate is a foregone conclusion. In that regard the people have decided for us in advance, and we have only to put their will into proper shape by formally nominating Ulysses S. Grant. [Enthusiastic and continued cheering, the whole audience rising to their feet.] And with the blessing of God we shall not only make that nomination without demur, without debate, without dissent, but we shall make it under such auspices as will insure its complete and abundant ratification at the polls. [Applause.]

It does not need, nor, considering my temporary occupation of this chair, would it be suitable that I should enter into any elaborate commentary as to the merits of our candidate. But this I will say, that notwithstanding all the malignant venom that has been spit at him; all the odious calumnies that have been heaped upon him; all the disgraceful slanders that have been circulated in regard to him, General Grant at this moment enjoys more of the confidence of his countrymen, is believed by them to be an honest, truer, and better man than any of his detractors. [Great applause and cries of assent.]

No one in our day has been more causelessly, more shamelessly villified; no one will be more thoroughly vindicated. The great heart of the American people beats responsively to truth and justice, and as they have tried and tested and trust him; as they know that his administration has been wise and faithful; as they have seen the nation prosper under his rule as it has never before prospered, they will stand by and defend, and, when the ballot-box gives them a chance to do so, avenge him. [Cheers, and cries of "They will."] Remembering the sore trials which, along with his fellow-soldiers, he underwent during the war, his sacrifices of ease and comfort, his perils by day and by night, the exposure by means of which those who now revile him were able to secure luxurious repose at a safe distance from danger, they are quite willing that he should indulge in "palace cars and cigars and seaside loiterings," [cheers and laughter;] and they mean to furnish him with the opportunity of enjoying these for at least four years to come.

As to the Vice-Presidency, no doubt, gentlemen, there will be various preferences. Some of us will at first favor one, some another, but we shall all strive to obtain the best man; and when the choice is ultimately made I trust that we shall all feel that we have succeeded. [Applause.] In regard to the platform to be adopted it is not for me to anticipate; but along with other important doctrines it will undoubtedly contain the widest recognition of human freedom, and the clearest affirmation of the duties which the Government owes to its laboring masses, wherever and however employed, in town or country; and with such candidates and such a creed, whether we have to encounter the decaying remnants of a once powerful party, but now so feeble that it is crying piteously to its enemy for succor; or an incongruous alliance of ill-assorted factions, with no band of union but the greed of office; or all of them combined, we shall go forth conquering and to conquer. [Hearty and continued applause.]

Music by the Band.

#### TEMPORARY SECRETARIES.

The CHAIRMAN. The Convention will now proceed to indicate persons to be selected as Secretaries of this temporary organization.

On motion of Mr. STANLEY T. PULLEN, of Maine, the following-named persons were elected as temporary Secretaries of the Convention:

JOHN W. NEWLIN, of New Jersey.

HIRAM POTTER, JR., of Florida.

JOHN R. HUBBARD, of West Virginia.

#### COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS.

The CHAIRMAN. It is customary at this stage of the proceedings for the delegates from the different States and Territories to designate one member of their number for the Committee on Credentials. The Secretary will call the roll of the States, and as it is called some gentleman representing each of them will indicate its choice in the matter to which I have referred.

The roll of the states was then called, and the following names were announced:

Alabama.....	J. W. Burke.	Georgia .....	Edwin Belcher.
Arkansas.....	J. H. Johnson.	Illinois .....	J. F. Alexander.
California .....	Thomas Fallon.	Indiana.....	M. L. Bundy.
Connecticut.....	James D. Frary.	Iowa .....	Isaac Pendleton.
Delaware.....	Benjamin Burton.	Kansas .....	William Baldwin.
Florida.....	J. H. Armstrong.	Kentucky.....	Samuel L. Casey.

Louisiana .....	Mortimer F. Smith.	South Carolina.....	S. A. Swalls.
Maine.....	John E. Butler.	Tennessee.....	R. R. Butler.
Maryland .....	Alexander Randall.	Texas.....	W. A. Saylor.
Massachusetts.....	E. B. Stoddard.	Vermont.....	George W. Grandey.
Michigan.....	James H. Stone.	Virginia .....	Robert Norton.
Minnesota.....	C. H. Goodsell.	West Virginia.....	George Edwards.
Mississippi .....	Edwin Hill.	Wisconsin .....	Joseph G. Thorpe.
Missouri.....	George A. Moser.	Arizona .....	John Titus.
Nebraska.....	John Roberts.	Colorado.....	Jerome B. Chaffee.
Nevada.....	C. C. Stevenson.	Dakota .....	(Contested.)
New Hampshire.....	Dexter Richards.	District of Columbia...	John F. Cooke.
New Jersey .....	George Wurts.	Idaho.....	E. J. Curtis.
New York.....	Edwin W. Foster.	Montana.....	Lucius B. Church.
North Carolina.....	Lewis Hilliard.	New Mexico.....	William Breeden.
Ohio .....	Griffith Ellis.	Utah .....	(Contested.)
Oregon .....	Hiram Smith.	Washington .....	E. Dorfield.
Pennsylvania.....	L. D. Shoemaker.	Wyoming .....	John W. Donnellan.
Rhode Island.....	Edwin L. Freeman.		

When Utah and Dakota were called, announcements were made by delegates from those Territories that, as there were contesting delegations, they would make no nominations for this committee.

#### COMMITTEE ON PERMANENT ORGANIZATION.

The CHAIRMAN. The Secretary will now proceed to call the roll of States, in order that the delegation from each State may suggest one of their number as a member of the Committee on Permanent Organization.

Mr. J. L. KECK, of Ohio. *Mr. Chairman:* In order to save time, I move that when the Secretary calls the roll, each State shall name the members whom it desires to have placed on the Committee on Permanent Organization, the Committee on Resolutions, and the Committee on Rules and Orders.

The motion was lost.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee now to be elected is the Committee on Permanent Organization.

A DELEGATE. Are we expected to present the name of one man for one committee, or the names of the committee for all?

The CHAIRMAN. Just one man from each State on Permanent Organization.

A DELEGATE. Call the Territories.

The CHAIRMAN. It is not customary to call the Territories. If it is the desire of the Convention, however, it shall be done.

On motion, it was voted that the Territories and the District of Columbia be allowed representation on all the permanent committees.

A MEMBER OF THE COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS. *Mr. Chairman:* I ask leave for the Committee on Credentials to retire to Horticultural Hall.

Leave was granted.

The Secretary then proceeded with the calling of the roll for Committee on Permanent Organization, with the following result:

Alabama .....	Isaac Heyman.	Georgia.....	Jefferson F. Long.
Arkansas.....	J. M. Johnson.	Illinois .....	Enoch Emery.
California .....	F. K. Shattuck.	Indiana.....	George K. Steele.
Connecticut .....	Bartlett Bent.	Iowa.....	A. R. Anderson.
Delaware.....	John C. Clark.	Kansas .....	Josiah Kellogg.
Florida.....	F. N. Wicker.	Kentucky.....	John B. Bruner.



Louisiana.....	E. W. Robinson.	South Carolina.....	W. B. Nash.
Maine.....	Hiram Bliss, Jr.	Tennessee.....	William Y. Elliott.
Maryland.....	John T. Ensor.	Texas.....	W. A. Elliott.
Massachusetts.....	Sylvander Johnson.	Vermont.....	George Wilkins.
Michigan.....	James Birney.	Virginia.....	John A. Harman.
Minnesota.....	A. E. Rice.	West Virginia.....	John E. Schley.
Mississippi.....	A. K. Davis.	Wisconsin.....	Thaddeus C. Pound.
Missouri.....	E. O. Stanard.	Arizona.....	James H. Toole.
Nebraska.....	John D. Neligh.	Colorado.....	George M. Chillicothe.
Nevada.....	George M. Sabin.	Dakota.....	(No nomination.)
New Hampshire.....	Daniel Barnard.	District of Columbia.....	Alex. R. Shepherd.
New Jersey.....	Levi D. Jarrard.	Idaho.....	E. C. Ford.
New York.....	John N. Hungerford.	Montana.....	L. B. Church.
North Carolina.....	James H. Harris.	New Mexico.....	(No nomination.)
Ohio.....	N. H. Van Vorhes.	Utah.....	(No nomination.)
Oregon.....	Myer Hirsch.	Washington.....	(No nomination.)
Pennsylvania.....	Charles Albright.	Wyoming.....	George W. Corey.
Rhode Island.....	William D. Brayton.		

A MEMBER OF COMMITTEE ON PERMANENT ORGANIZATION. *Mr. Chairman:* I ask leave for the Committee on Permanent Organization to retire.

The CHAIRMAN. The Committee on Permanent Organization will please retire. Rooms are provided in Horticultural Hall, and the Committee of Arrangements will escort them there.

A DELEGATE. *Mr. Chairman:* I move that the election of the Committee on Resolutions be deferred till the report of the Committee on Permanent Organization be received.

The motion was lost.

Mr. JOHN R. POPHAM, of Virginia. *Mr. Chairman:* I move that when the roll of States be called for the Committee on Resolutions, the chairmen of the several delegations report the names of the persons that have been selected for the two remaining committees—the Committee on Resolutions and on Rules.

The motion was agreed to, and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll of States, with the following result:

#### COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS.

Alabama.....	R. M. Reynolds.	New York.....	James N. Matthews.
Arkansas.....	William H. Grey.	North Carolina.....	James W. Hood.
California.....	J. H. Withington.	Ohio.....	R. B. Hayes.
Connecticut.....	Joseph R. Hawley.	Oregon.....	H. R. Kincaid.
Delaware.....	Henry F. Pickels.	Pennsylvania.....	Glenn W. Scofield.
Florida.....	J. W. Johnson.	Rhode Island.....	William Goddard.
Georgia.....	Dawson A. Walker.	South Carolina.....	Robert B. Elliott.
Illinois.....	Herman Raster.	Tennessee.....	A. J. Ricks.
Indiana.....	Charles Cruft.	Texas.....	J. W. Talbot.
Iowa.....	William Vandever.	Vermont.....	Benjamin H. Steele.
Kansas.....	C. A. Morris.	Virginia.....	Edward Daniels.
Kentucky.....	James Speed.	West Virginia.....	Thomas B. Swann.
Louisiana.....	John Ray.	Wisconsin.....	Thomas S. Allen.
Maine.....	S. T. Pullen.	Arizona.....	(No nomination.)
Maryland.....	Thomas A. Spence.	Colorado.....	Jerome B. Chaffee.
Massachusetts.....	J. B. D. Cogswell.	Dakota.....	(No nomination.)
Michigan.....	William A. Howard.	District of Columbia.....	Alex. R. Shepherd.
Minnesota.....	W. E. Hicks.	Idaho.....	E. J. Curtis.
Mississippi.....	John R. Lynch.	Montana.....	W. F. Sanders.
Missouri.....	J. H. Stover.	New Mexico.....	(No nomination.)
Nebraska.....	J. B. Weston.	Utah.....	(No nomination.)
Nevada.....	L. H. Head.	Washington.....	(No nomination.)
New Hampshire.....	Ossian Ray.	Wyoming.....	John W. Donnellan.
New Jersey.....	Charles Hewitt.		

COMMITTEE ON RULES AND ORDER OF BUSINESS.

Alabama.....	W. B. Jones.	New York.....	B. Platt Carpenter.
Arkansas.....	Stephen Wheeler.	North Carolina.....	George H. Brown.
California.....	Charles M. Patterson.	Ohio.....	W. C. Cooper.
Connecticut.....	Daniel Chadwick.	Oregon.....	J. F. Devore.
Delaware.....	Charles F. Richards.	Pennsylvania.....	C. W. Gliffan.
Florida.....	John W. Butler.	Rhode Island.....	Latimer W. Ballou.
Georgia.....	James M. Simms.	South Carolina.....	Thomas J. Mackey.
Illinois.....	Israel A. Powell.	Tennessee.....	George E. Grisham.
Indiana.....	C. W. Chapman.	Texas.....	James P. Newcomb.
Iowa.....	I. W. Card.	Vermont.....	James Hutchinson, Jr.
Kansas.....	H. C. Cross.	Virginia.....	G. G. Goddell.
Kentucky.....	William H. Gibson.	West Virginia.....	D. D. T. Farnsworth.
Louisiana.....	W. G. Elliott.	Wisconsin.....	C. J. L. Meyer.
Maine.....	A. H. S. Davis.	Arizona.....	(No nomination.)
Maryland.....	Samuel M. Shoemaker.	Colorado.....	George M. Chillicothe.
Massachusetts.....	Oliver Ames.	Dakota.....	(No nomination.)
Michigan.....	George Willard.	District of Columbia.....	John F. Cooke.
Minnesota.....	R. F. Crowell.	Idaho.....	B. J. Curtis.
Mississippi.....	A. Parker.	Montana.....	L. B. Church.
Missouri.....	John C. Orrick.	New Mexico.....	(No nomination.)
Nebraska.....	H. M. Atkinson.	Utah.....	(No nomination.)
Nevada.....	George M. Sabin.	Washington.....	(No nomination.)
New Hampshire.....	J. W. Johnson.	Wyoming.....	George W. Corey.
New Jersey.....	David Vickers.		

General JOHN A. LOGAN, in response to repeated and continued calls, came upon the platform, and having been introduced by the Chairman, spoke as follows:

REMARKS OF SENATOR LOGAN.

*Gentlemen of the Convention:* There is nothing that would delight me more, if I were capable of doing so, than to entertain you with a speech. I know I ought not to judge, but if you will allow me to be the judge on this occasion, I will suggest that I do not think that this is the time, so far as I am concerned. I am so out of voice from an effort last night that I am physically unable to address you at any great length, nor do I think it would be proper for me to attempt it.

There are a great many gentlemen here whom I know you are anxious to hear: men who are able, men who are eloquent and men whom you have not heard before.

A DELEGATE. We want to hear a few words from Logan. [Applause.]

Senator LOGAN, (*resuming.*) I will only say then for I very certainly cannot attempt to detain you with a speech, that if the people of this whole land to-day could see this convention assembled, its appearance and the manifestations of enthusiasm at the mention of the name of the man whom you intend to present to the American people to be voted for for President, [great applause.] it would gladden the national heart. I am proud, and I am glad to know, that to-day, after four years' trial of the President of the United States, when you come here to Philadelphia to repeat what you did four years ago—his nomination—there exists more enthusiasm in the midst of the delegates, four to one, than we found when we first presented him to the American people [Applause.]

This only proves the fact that he has done well. He has performed the duty that you imposed upon him to your entire satisfaction. [Applause.] And you come here to repeat, "Well done, thou good and faithful servant. Thou hast been faithful over a few things, we will make thee ruler over many things." [Great applause.]

After the remarks of General LOGAN, continued calls were made from the audience for "Morton," "Banks," and others.

Mr. CHARLES S. SPENCER, of New York. *Mr. Chairman:* The delegation from the State of New York desire me to move that their venerable head, the oldest pioneer in the cause of emancipation in this room, [cheers] GERRITT SMITH, [great cheering,] be invited to address you.

The motion was received with great enthusiasm, delegates all over the building rising to their places, waving their hats and handkerchiefs, and calling for Mr. SMITH.

The venerable gentleman rose in his place and bowed repeatedly, the assemblage continuing to cheer him. The Chairman came down from his platform and moved towards the part of the house where Mr. SMITH was, waiting to conduct him before the audience. Music being called for to fill up the gap until Mr. SMITH could get upon the stage, the band in the circle played "Hail to the Chief."

When the music ceased, Mr. Smith stood before the cheering assemblage.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, gentlemen of the Convention, three rousing cheers!

Three cheers were given with a hearty will; and Mr. SMITH spoke as follows:

#### REMARKS OF GERRITT SMITH.

*Gentlemen of the Convention:* I will detain you but a few minutes, for I fear I shall not be heard distinctly from my hoarseness. Gentlemen, the time has nearly come around again when the American people are to choose their Chief Magistrate. Who shall it be? [Cries of "Grant!" "Grant!" and loud cheers.] Whom shall we nominate? [Renewed cries for Grant.] You all say Grant; well, I agree with you. Why do we all say Grant? Because he was the savior of the country. [Applause.] Because he has blessed his country in time of peace. [Applause.]

From the breaking out of the rebellion the American people defended their country bravely, but not always successfully. They passed through a long alternation of successes and defeats, and quite as many defeats as successes, Sunshine was now upon their cause and now it was wrapped in gloom. It was in this crisis, in this period of fear, that General Grant was called to the head of the army.

The people had begun to despair of ultimate success, when General Grant, by the persistency of his policy, by his resolve to fight it out on the same line if it took all summer, achieved victory.

This course subjected him to much severe criticism on the part of distinguished gentlemen; but the final battle was fought and won; Lee surrendered, and our country, then divided, became one again.

I said that he had helped us in time of peace, also. He has done so. He has preserved us on terms of amity with all the nations of the earth. He has preserved the policy of kindness towards the poor, erring, deluded Indians.

And he is doing what he can, and if you give him time he will fully accomplish it, to crush out Ku-Kluxism and save the negro and the few white men who defend the negro from the bloody, fearful, and terrible vengeance threatened against them.

But it is said that General Grant has had one term of the Presidency, and now he ought to retire to give place to another. Well, my friends, my doctrine is that his having proved himself a good President once, proves him fitted for it a second term. [Applause.]

This was the doctrine of the American people when they re-elected Washington, the first savior of the country. [Applause.] It was their doctrine

when they re-elected Lincoln, the second savior of his country. [More applause.] It is their doctrine in regard to the third savior of the country, and they will re-elect General Grant accordingly. [Wild applause.]

It is said, too, that Grant has made mistakes. Oh, yes; he has. All Presidents make mistakes. To err is human—human in the broadest sense. Not even Presidents are exempt from liabilities to mistakes. It is said that some of his appointments have turned out badly. Yes; some of the appointments of all Presidents turn out badly. They are not all gifted with clairvoyance. They don't all read character in advance, [laughter,] but we find ample consolation in this fact, that notwithstanding the industrious efforts—and as venomous as industrious—to bring home to him corruption in these appointments, to foist upon him money-making or other corrupt motives, all this has signally failed. [Great enthusiasm.]

Now, we want Grant, I say, a few years longer in the Presidency. He is doing well. He is crushing out Ku-Kluxism, and if the Government allow him power enough he will make a complete end of it. We want his leadership a few years longer until we shall reach full and final triumph in this matter. [Applause.]

And, now, finally, we must have Grant a few years longer in the Presidency, because the anti-slavery battle is not yet fought out. This is with me the point of interest. I care comparatively little for dollars and cents; I go for human rights. [Applause.] I say it is not yet fought out, and it will not be fought out so long as a single shred of Ku-Kluxism exists in the land. It will not be fought out so long as a single man in this land is deprived of one single solitary right on account of his color. [Intense enthusiasm.] I cannot but feel, whenever I see in the proceedings of Congress a defeat of a Ku-Klux bill or of a Civil Rights bill, that these are steps toward the revival of American slavery.

We want Grant, therefore for four years more, until we shall see the end of these diabolical outrages, and until the right shall finally and fully triumph in this country. [Applause.]

Loud and persistent calls for "Morton!" now followed, and at length Senator O. P. MORTON, of Indiana, was assisted to the platform. He was greeted with much cheering and enthusiasm, and on being seated, for an infirmity prevents his standing, was presented to the audience as follows:

The CHAIRMAN. There, gentlemen, there is our great advocate, Governor MORTON. [Applause.]

#### SPEECH OF SENATOR MORTON.

*Gentlemen of the Convention:* In the enthusiasm which prevails here to-day I see the unmistakable evidence of victory in November. This enthusiasm is not manufactured; it is spontaneous, it comes from the hearts of this audience here to-day, representing the great mass of the people of the United States. [Applause.] You represent the Republican party and that party has a great mission to perform, a mission that is no less than taking care of this country. To that party the interests of this great nation must be committed in the future, as they have been preserved and fostered by it in the past. The Republican party is not a worshipper of men. We hold fast to principles rather than to men. We stand by the pioneers of Republican principles. We do them all honor, but only so long as they remain faithful to those principles. [Applause.] When a pioneer falls, he falls farther than anybody else. [Cries of "Good!" and applause.] Among several nations of antiquity the idea prevailed that the father had a right to kill his own offspring, and some men who think they were the fathers of the Republican party have re-

cently set up the claim that on that account they have the right to kill it. [Laughter and applause.] As a general thing we deny the paternity. [Applause.] But if we admitted the paternity we should deny the right to kill. What are the things that the Republican party yet have to do? I know it has been dinned in our ears for two or three years past that our mission was performed. Whenever a man has been beaten for the nomination for Congress, he has generally come to the conclusion that the mission of the Republican party was at an end, and we ought to form a new party. If he has been turned out of office for malfeasance, or if he has failed to get into office, he concluded that the duties of the Republican party are at an end, and that a new organization ought to be formed. [Applause.]

I ask you to-day, what are the duties before us? First, in regard to those questions which concern the administration. It is the duty of the Republican party to perfect our national financial system; [cheers] gradually but surely, not by violence, or spasmodic efforts, to bring our currency to par. We are certainly and safely approaching that event. We do not propose to accomplish it by violent action, but by using the natural causes which are now at work, we shall place the credit of the nation upon a higher basis than it ever occupied before, and upon a higher basis than that occupied by the credit of any other nation. [Applause.] We shall do this by faithfully performing all our promises; by keeping our contracts in the spirit and the letter; and by the gradual but certain reduction of the public debt. [Cheers.]

While we shall carry out to the letter the present policy we have on hand, while we have nothing new on the subject, (and I may say in regard to platforms that it is scarcely necessary for this Convention to adopt one, for the platform of the Republican party is found in its history for the last ten years, and it is to be found in the present policy of the Administration)—I say, while we shall do this, it is for us to carry out and consecrate the reforms upon which this Administration has already entered, [cheers,] for our work is not done in regard to those great measures which have grown out of the war.

It is for the Republican party to establish the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments, [cheers:] to plant them in the Constitution, beyond peradventure, so that they shall be recognized by all parties; so that there shall no longer be any considerable party in this country which shall dare to question the legality or the validity of these amendments. [Applause.] It is for the Republican party to establish fully the rights of the colored men of this country. [Applause.] Our work will not be done until they shall be conceded by all parties, and they shall have the full and free enjoyment of their rights in every portion of this country. [Applause.] Until they shall be in the full enjoyment not only of all their political but of all their civil rights.

Our work will not be done until there shall be equal protection under the law extended to men of every race and color, and to all men of all political views in every part of the United States. [Applause.] The mission of the Republican party will not be performed as long as there shall remain a Ku-Klux organization in any State of this Union, [applause.] for that organization but sleeps in some of the States, and it will awake to active, terrible life, shortly before the Presidential election, if there shall not be proper legislation, if there shall not be a firm, bold administration of the Government which shall afford protection to all. [Cheers.]

Our Government protects the rights of American citizens everywhere, in every foreign country. If half a dozen Americans were murdered in London or Havana, by a mob, we should demand the prompt punishment of the murderers. It would be a cause of national offence, if the Government of England or Spain did not use every exertion to bring the murderers to punishment. The murder of an American citizen in a foreign land requires the immediate notice of the Government, and his rights must be vindicated, if need be, by the whole power of the nation. Shall it, then, be said that the Government has

the power and the right to protect American citizens in every country but our own? [cheers.]

I hold that when any State fails, refuses, or, from any cause, is unable to secure to her citizens the equal protection of the laws, security for life, liberty and property—I hold that it is within the power and is the absolute and solemn duty of the Government of the United States to extend protection in such cases. [Applause.]

In passing what is called the Ku-Klux law, we did not intend to place an arbitrary power in the hands of the President of the United States, to be exercised by caprice or for selfish or partisan purposes. That power was placed there for the purpose of protecting, or enabling him to protect, the lives, liberty, and property of hundreds and thousands, and even of millions of people in some of the Southern States, where the State governments had been unable or had failed to grant such protection.

We knew, when placing that power in the hands of the President, he would not abuse it. He has not abused it. [Great applause.] And whatever may have been said, allow me to say here that the Ku-Klux law has done more good in a shorter time than any law ever enacted by the Congress of the United States. It has operated like a charm. It has protected thousands and thousands of people from murder, from outrage, and from exile. And those in the South who denounce that law, and who oppose the re-enactment for another year of the power of the President to suspend the writ of *habeas corpus* in case of revolution or rebellion, do not oppose it because any wrong has been done, because any rights have been violated, but they oppose it because they are unwilling that a certain instrumentality shall be crushed out, which, being left uncontrolled, may control, may absolutely sway, the political action of certain States of this Union. We desire only fair and honest elections. We want men of all parties and of all colors, without regard to previous condition, to have perfect liberty in the exercise of their political rights. [Applause.] And it is because they have not been accorded heretofore that that law was enacted.

Fellow-citizens, I believe that the salvation of this country, I believe that our greatest and best interests, are bound up with the continued predominance of the Republican party for years to come. [Applause.] I am not an advocate of the Republican party merely as a partisan, but because it has been the great instrumentality by which this country has been saved in the past, and by which, in my judgment, it must be preserved in the future. [Applause.] In a Government like ours there are, there must be, parties. Men entertaining similar principles must act together; they cannot act together without organization and co-operation, and that makes a party. When you have broken this party down, what security will you have that you can ever get another which will carry out and consummate its work. Stand fast by principle. Look to the future, and be guided by the light of the past. Sometimes a great light is extinguished; sometimes one of those to whom the people have been accustomed to look up falls by the wayside. We may drop a tear of regret, but we should not pause. [Applause.] Remember that the Republican party is greater than any man. It is much greater than all its leaders combined. But among the greatest of our statesmen and politicians a great many errors are committed. It is said that General Grant has committed his errors. I do not deny it; but I am happy to say that most of them are trivial. They do not go to the essence and substance of his administration, and some of those who now oppose him have committed a greater error. Any man who supposes that he has strength enough to break up the Republican party will commit a very grave blunder. [Applause.] Any man who supposes he can lead the Republican party into the ranks of the Democratic party, by means of any back door or back stairs, for the sake of plunder, commits a very great blunder. [Applause and laughter.]

Several men who have been distinguished in the Republican party, whom we have been looking up to as leaders and pioneers, have committed this mistake; but when they have made this mistake they have been dropped and passed away forever, and there has been no perceptible influence produced upon the party. [Applause.] A pebble dropped into a pool produces a ripple for a little while, but it very soon becomes placid; you cannot tell by looking at the surface of the pool what has happened. So, the greatest man in the Republican party, if he shall be unfaithful to its principles; if, by reason of personal disappointment or irritation he shall still endeavor to destroy its organization, or betray it into the hands of its enemies, he will sink out of sight, to disturb the surface of the political world as little as the pebble when dropped into the lake. [Applause.]

Then stand fast by your principles. You will on to-morrow nominate General Grant. [Applause.] General Grant has told the American people that he had no policy to urge against their wishes and their understandings. He has made pledges which have been faithfully redeemed. He endeavors to carry out the national wish whenever he finds out what that wish is. The judgment of all men is better than the judgment of any one man. The common sense of the country is better than the judgment of any man, however lofty or angelic may be his abilities, and the faithful public servant endeavors to find out what is the popular will, what is the wish of the nation, and then to carry it out, understanding that the great object of government is to subserve and carry out the wishes of the nation rather than to carry out the policy or theory of any individual. General Grant's career has been a great success in all essential and substantial matters. It has been a continual triumph.

He has fostered and protected the interests of the people. I believe they are intelligent enough to understand it, and that they intend to entrust those interests to him for four more years. [Applause.] But whenever General Grant shall betray the principles of the Republican party upon which he was elected, whenever he shall become recreant to his high duties, he will pass away as some other men have passed away. He will be condemned by the popular breath as other men are condemned. [Applause.]

After Senator MORTON had concluded, calls for several gentlemen were made, and quieted by the Chairman, who announced that a delegate from Massachusetts had the floor.

Mr. GEORGE B. LORING, of Massachusetts. *Mr. President and Gentlemen:* I do not propose to make a speech. I understand that the Committee on Permanent Organization are ready to report, or will be in a moment. It has been usual when there has been any conflict in regard to the delegates in the conventions, that the Committee on Permanent Organization should not report until the Committee on Credentials have made their report. But there is no difficulty whatever. The Committee on Credentials have a mere formality to go through, and as the Committee on Permanent Organization is now nearly ready to report, I move they be requested to do so at the earliest practicable moment.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. A. J. RANSIER, of South Carolina. Mr. President, we have listened with great pleasure to the eloquent and expressive words which have fallen from the sage, and if I may so express it, the philosopher of New York—I allude to Mr. Gerritt Smith; and as the time and occasion seem auspicious, I ask on behalf of this delegation that the Convention now listen to Governor

James L. Orr, of South Carolina. [Cries all over the house of "Orr!" "Orr!" and great cheering.]

Governor ORR, upon appearing on the stage, was received with great cheers. He spoke as follows:

SPEECH OF HON. JAMES L. ORR.

*Gentlemen of the Convention:* I feel that the call which has been made with so much enthusiasm by this body is more of a compliment to the section from which I come than any personal compliment intended for me. [Cries of "No!" "No!"] We are here for the purpose of nominating candidates for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency of the United States, for the Republican party, to fill these offices for four years more, and I suppose that whatever controversy or contest you may have in other States with the assistance of our colored friends in South Carolina you may be well assured that that State will give a cordial and overwhelming vote for the nominees of this Convention. [Great applause.]

I have felt more than ordinary solicitude, which has induced me to attend this Convention, growing out of the many assaults which I have seen made on the President of the United States. If there was a contest here, it would, perhaps be inappropriate to discuss the merits of any of the men who are to be presented; but the evidences are unmistakable here that the voice of the Convention, simply registering the instructions which we have received respectively from our constituents, will be the unanimous nomination of President Grant for re-election. [Applause.] I know that he has been arraigned; he has been maligned; he has been traduced. Has he been traduced or maligned more than General Washington? Was there ever a man who has filled the Presidential chair in the history of this Government who was subject to more assaults than Washington? He survived them, and the people that he carried through the bloody scenes of the Revolution re-elected him for four years, and when he had served eight years, he retired voluntarily.

The next great military hero that this country produced was General Jackson. At the end or before the expiration of his four years he was maligned all over the land and traduced, and yet the memory of the services which he had rendered to his countrymen in the war of 1812 carried him triumphantly a second time into the Presidential chair. Are the American people now, with the full recollection of the services rendered by General Grant in behalf of the Union, when they are enjoying the full fruition of those services, prepared to reverse the rule which was adopted with reference to those two illustrious heroes, his predecessors, and cast him aside? I don't believe it. [Great applause, and cries of "No, no, no! they won't."]

It is said that he has failed, failed morally, failed financially, failed in every respect as a President. Well, it may be that he has failed. That he has his faults, I have no doubt; but General Grant is not the man to fail. [Cheers.] When did he fail? Where did he fail? On what field did he fail? I was upon the other side, and one of the great reasons why I think that my countrymen, in my own section of the United States, those who in former times, before the war, were associated with me in political life, should sustain him, is this (and I have borne this testimony of him upon all occasions, from the beginning of the war to the end), that while he made a gallant and finally a successful soldier, in all his intercourse with the armies of the rebel States he never once forgot the duties of the soldier or of the gentleman. [Wild applause.]

I believe myself that his re-election is a necessity to preserve peace in the country and peace abroad, and if he has failed I like such failures as he has given us within the last four years. [Renewed applause.] There is



no sea that our flag does not float triumphantly upon. There is not a Court upon the face of the earth where the Government of the United States is not respected more than it has ever been before.

Your public debt is being extinguished, your public expenses are being reduced, and your taxation is being diminished. What more could a government do to make the people contented and happy, and induce them to give to those who are carrying it on their support and their votes? [Great applause.]

I come, gentlemen of the Convention, from the Ku-Klux region, and I desired and intended to have availed myself of the occasion some time, whilst in Philadelphia, to present to you some statistics which would perhaps enlighten you in respect to the outcry which has been raised by the Democratic party in the Southern States, and in the North and West also, about the outrages that have been committed. In South Carolina, as you are aware, in nine counties the writ of *habeas corpus* has been suspended—in a little over one-fourth of the entire State. The suspension embraced those counties where it was insisted that the State government was unable—it is unnecessary for me to discuss why—to give protection to men whose only offence was their political opinions and sentiments. They were colored men and white men, and when they went to sleep at night they had no guarantee that they would not be taken out of their beds at the dead hour of night; taken out and scourged, or else balls put through their bodies. This action on the part of President Grant was not taken until the Legislature of South Carolina passed resolutions and sent messengers to him calling upon him to send the forces of the United States Government there to give them protection. With reference to this Ku-Klux law President Grant had to execute the law. It was in the statute-book, and he was called upon to execute it by that tribunal which had the right to call upon him.

He performed the duty, and I have no doubt performed it cheerfully. He did not pass the law. How came it to be passed? Was it not the thunders of *The New York Tribune*, day after day and week after week, rung into the ears of Congress, demanding that they should pass some such law to give protection to these people? And now when the law is passed and has been executed in mercy and firmness, how stands my old friend Greeley? He has turned round now and denounces Grant and the Ku-Klux law for its enormities. Judge Bond has discharged his duties with great fidelity in South Carolina, has administered this law firmly and mercifully, and although you hear so much clamor, of people being cast into prison and not being able to procure bail, what is the result of the trials that have taken place? There have been about seven trials only at the two courts; one an acquittal, one a mistrial, and five convictions. Those are the results; and yet to show the extent of it, and how conclusive the proof was, not made up of manufactured testimony, or of testimony of suborned witnesses: more than sixty of these unfortunate people who have been indicted have voluntarily come forward and pleaded guilty to the charge preferred against them. Now when the facts come to be understood, I should suppose that, so far from being an element of weakness against the President, they would be an element of strength, because they prove beyond all controversy that when President Grant finds a law upon the statute-book he intends to execute it honestly and faithfully.

Gentlemen of the Convention, I thank you for the attention you have given me. I shall not detain you any further on this occasion. I trust that the proceedings of this body will be harmonious. I have no doubt that they will, but I hope that when we adjourn, and go forth to our respective homes, we will leave this place determined to fight a good fight and win the battle. In less than thirty days ten thousand voices will be raised, on every hill and in every valley upon the broad expanse of this great country, in favor of

the nominees of this Convention, and in November, when the votes are counted, I have no doubt whatever that General Grant and his associate will be re-elected, and that the Republican party and principles will be established for the next four years. God grant it may be so. [Applause.]

General SHELBY M. CULLOM, of Illinois in behalf of the Illinois delegation, asked that Governor RICHARD J. OGLESBY, of Illinois, be invited to address the Convention. [Loud cries of "Oglesby!" "Oglesby!"]

Governor OGLESBY appeared upon the platform and addressed the Convention as follows:

SPEECH OF GOVERNOR OGLESBY.

*Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention:* I have been listening for nearly two hours to some of the best speeches that have been made for a long time. You have first been entertained by the excellent and forcible speech of the temporary president of the Convention. After that you listened to the solemn words of invocation—one of the noblest and most fervent prayers that has ever been uttered in this city or this nation. You listened then to the Senator from Illinois (General Logan), who spoke for a few moments, and again to the Senator from Indiana (Governor Morton), who spoke at some length: but greatest and best of all, especially to those of us who never before have listened to his great words, we heard from that venerable, sublime man, of New York, who stood before us the impersonation of American dignity and American benevolence. [Great applause.]

I thought as the golden words fell from that oracle, that grand old agitator, how happy he must now be to realize the results of his long years of labor, when you and I were young and useless, as he saw before him here these colored men, redeemed and elevated to the high plateau of American freemen. [Renewed applause.]

The honorable Gerritt Smith has not only been a great instrument in the hands of God, before these American people, in lifting up this down-trodden and abused race, but he has taught you and me a little sense—to know and respect their rights. [Cheers.]

Why, the Republican party, as Senator Morton has said, is nothing more nor less than this great Republic. Without the Republican party the Republic would be nothing. [Cheers and cries of assent.] It has elevated us in the eyes of the world, in my opinion, to that high mark in American politics that no other party preceding it has, in our political history, ever attained before. In this convention to-day—neither a constitutional nor unconstitutional, but rather extra-constitutional body—the representatives of the outspoken sentiments of the respective States, speaking here for the whole people, that mighty tribunal before which politicians quake and tremble, come to record the solemn verdict of the Republican party of the United States. [Tremendous applause.] It is a solemn, grand result.

That little man, who but a few years ago was as unknown to fame and to this country as that poor colored man now redeemed and sitting in your midst; the young man who passed through West Point unnoticed, who passed through the Mexican war in the same way, unnoticed retired to private life. You and I know that among all the great names but a few years ago, this little man's name, Ulysses S. Grant, was unknown. I felt deeply grieved the other day by that great Senator from one of our grand States—that noble State that shines like a diamond on the Atlantic coast—that noble State which rocked the cradle of American liberty—that noble State that has ever stood first in behalf of human liberty—I felt really aggrieved in my own soul when I heard the voice, the grand potent voice of the Senator from Massachusetts speak in such disrespectful language regarding the President, pronouncing against that man violent and disrespectful epithets, cul-

minating with the weak, almost imbecile, charge that he was a tanner. What has been the history of General Grant? He went a stranger to West Point. He bore the ensign of his country as a subaltern officer in the Mexican war. He retired from the army and went into the ranks of private life, and, as an American citizen ought to do, when the hour came for him to support his wife and children, he went to work like an honest man. [Applause.]

How came the American people to select him for their general? Can you tell? Can history tell? No; no man can tell, unless it is written upon the necessities of the times by the invisible finger of Almighty God. [Applause.] Who brought him from obscurity? It was a mere circumstance in his life that he lived in our proud State. He came trudging along from obscurity step by step. He marched to the front. When the dark clouds of war were rolling and reverberating around the angry horizon; when none of us, not even our other gallant generals, our other magnificent soldiers in the East and West, worthy of all praise, worthy of all gratitude, when none of us knew where to look or what to do, this little shadow of Ulysses S. Grant fell upon us [applause] to give relief; and although that mighty voice assailed him but yesterday in the Senate to-day the feeble voice of an obscure man who fought under his orders and by his side must now defend and uphold him. [Immense applause.] You, soldiers of the Potomac; you, soldiers of the East; you, soldiers of the West, and of all the land, you remember how unostentatiously and kindly, how generously, how confidently he associated with and commanded us all. He was an enigma from the hour of his birth to this moment; his character has not yet been fathomed by this American people. He is purer and greater and nobler than we have ever thought him to be. Am I not an American citizen? Are you not, gentlemen, here with considerable responsibility upon your shoulders, representing your people? Are not you, and are not all of us American citizens, and have we not the same deep and vital interest in the perpetuity and the continuance of our Government that any other living mortal men can possibly have? I stand before you to-day, for one, uttering in my feeble way the voice of the great Prairie State, the State that gave to the country the immortal Lincoln. I come here to-day from that State with something of responsibility upon my shoulders, to speak for her free people, to say that our confidence to-day is unshaken in the deep and pure patriotism of General Grant, as has been shown in his magnanimity, and in his bright and shining intellect. [Applause.] He is not a man of words. He cannot utter a speech to defend himself at any time; upon no occasion can we hope for that, and therefore those of us who are gifted with speech—I am not sure but that some of us have a little too much of that element [laughter]—are quite free in our comments and strictures. Upon general grounds, and speaking for myself as one man, I claim as much interest in good government for myself and my children as any one can have in perpetuating this great Republic. But I come here to say, for myself, for you, and for the people whom we represent, that we have to-day perfect confidence in General Grant, and are willing to trust him four years longer, without so much as a shadow or suspicion of a doubt. [Applause.]

Those gentlemen who profess to believe the liberties of the people are in danger from the election of this man or that as President, are altogether mistaken in their estimate of the popular intelligence and popular patriotism if they suspect that General Grant, or any other living man, can destroy or tamper with the liberties of this great people. We tolerate incompetent officers; we tolerate unpalatable acts, but we suffer no man, great or small, to trifle with our liberties. The American people know how to defend themselves; they know how to protect their liberties. They are not alarmed at the cry of centralization of government, or of attempts on the part of this

man or that to usurp power. We are greater than we used to be. We can afford to overlook many things that twenty-five years ago were sufficient to raise the cry that the rights of the States or the rights of the people were in danger. Some of these venerable relics of the past are still tramping round in our State, with the same cry. [Laughter.] Some of these men have been greatly honored and respected in the Republican party, and they regard it as their mission to instruct our people how to vote. Let me say to you, gentlemen, gathered here in this Convention from all the States of this Union, to let Illinois alone. She will take care of herself. [Applause.] We know how to vote; we know how to discuss politics, and we know how to dispose of prominent gentlemen who have had no more prudence than to stumble and fall out of our gallant ranks as we are marching on. [Renewed applause.] There is no trouble in the State of Illinois, gentlemen, and I hope it will be so in every State in the Union. The public safety and the public security requires that this country shall still remain in the hands of its true and tried friends. No man doubts the fidelity of the Republican party to the principles of civil liberty. The people have confidence in us as the party of freedom and constitutional government. We do not hold the constitution of a State as the Brahmin holds his idol; we do not hold the constitution of any State as too sacred to be questioned when it is used for purposes of oppression and wrong. Oh, no, gentlemen, we bow to the majesty of the law; we abide by the requirements of our own State constitutions; we reverence the Constitution of the United States; but beyond constitutions, above constitutions, below constitutions, all around constitutions, stands this great American people, filled with common sense, deep profound unfathomable, and that American people will make and unmake constitutions. [Tremendous and long-continued applause.]

At the conclusion of the address there were loud calls for Governor JOSEPH R. HAWLEY of Connecticut, who went upon the platform and said:

*Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Convention:* I assure you that while I am gratified by this call, I am very greatly embarrassed also, for I desire to call for the report of the Committee on Permanent Organization. There may be other opportunities during the session of this Convention when I may desire to say a few words. It is not the time now for cool and deliberate argument. Will you, then, permit me now to call for the report of the Committee on Permanent Organization?

The Chairman stated he had just been informed that the committee is not ready to report.

Mr. M. D. BORUCK, of California. *Mr. President:* The delegates of California have heard with delight the distinguished speakers who have addressed us so eloquently in favor of the colored race and those delegates who represent them here in this Convention. California would like to hear a representative of that race speak for himself. [Great applause.]

There were continued calls for Grey (colored delegate from Arkansas), who was greeted with cheers upon taking the stand. He said:

SPEECH OF MR. WILLIAM H. GREY, OF ARKANSAS.

*Gentlemen of the Convention:* For the first time, perhaps, in the history of the American people, there stands before you in a National Convention assembled, a representative of that oppressed race that has lived among you for two hundred and fifty years, lifted by the magnanimity of this great nation, by the power of God and the laws of war, from the degradation of

slavery to the proud position of American citizenship. [Great applause.] Words fail me, upon this occasion, to thank you for this evidence of the grandest progress in civilization, when a people of such magnitude, the grandest and greatest nation upon the face of the earth, not only in the recognition of the merits and of the glory of the war which her noble sons waged so successfully, have, in convention assembled, been willing to listen not only to the greatest of her orators, but to the humblest citizens of this great Republic. [Applause.]

I scarcely know where to begin upon an occasion like the present. If I raise the curtain of the past, then I open the doors of the sarcophagus from which we have but just emerged. If I should go back to the primary history of my race in this country, I would open up, perhaps, to discussion things and circumstances that would make us blush, and the blood in our cheeks tingle in view of the evidences of the shameful and horrible condition—such in its degradation as the American people have never thought of—from which we have just escaped.

But this is scarcely necessary. We are ready to say in the words of the Good Book, "let the dead past bury its dead." While we remember these errors, while we remember all these degradations, there is no vengeance, thank God, found in our hearts. No revengeful feelings, no desire of retaliation. But God has given us a heart to thank the American people for the position in which we stand to-day, and we are willing, as I said before, to "let the dead past bury its dead," and to go on in our progress and fit ourselves to become what we have been made by law, American citizens in deed and in fact. [Applause.] It is the wonder of the world, the miracle of the nineteenth century, that in this tremendous struggle which rocked this great country from centre to circumference, that amid the debris of two hundred and fifty years, a living people were found by this great nation and lifted from degradation, as it were, by the strong arm of power, and at once, without preparation and without forethought, placed upon the broad plane of American citizenship. If we have failed somewhat in the sanguine expectation of our friends yet, upon the whole, I think we have fairly worked out the problem so far as we have gone.

To-day, for the first time, God has pleased me with the sight of that grand, noble old man, Gerritt Smith [applause], who stood by us and for us when we could not stand for ourselves. [Tremendous applause.] The sight of him repays me for all the toil, all the suffering, all the pain of years. The sight of him renews my faith in that humanity which is divine. [Cheers.] We are here to-day, gentlemen, a part and parcel of this great people, an integral part of the great body of this country, and here for the purpose, in harmony with you, of entrusting the reins of power into the hands of that hero who led us through a great and bloody struggle of years into the bright sunshine of liberty; led us out to citizenship and who, when the war ended and he was nominated for President, in 1868, said, "Let us have peace." The solving of the problem of our citizenship has been the work of years. No one knew how that position was to be brought about. But few men could comprehend the situation or the political position of affairs in the South. Few men knew.

I happened to be present on that occasion, in Chicago, in 1868, when General Grant was nominated, and I know very well, and there are men here who can attest it, that through that political contest it cost the lives of over three hundred black men in Arkansas to carry the State for Ulysses S. Grant. To-day the problem is being worked out to further solution. The Ku-Klux problem is being worked out. The Ku-Klux situation is settled, and the peace of the country secured. But, had it not been for the passage of the Ku-Klux law and the man at the helm who had the nerve to execute it, that organization would be to-day in full venom in that section of the

country. Therefore we urge upon the American people to give us Ulysses S. Grant for our candidate, for his name is a tower of strength at the South, and the only name that unrepentant rebels respect. [Prolonged cheers.] He is the man who is to work out the great problem now being solved in this country by the great Republican party;—as has been truly said, that problem has not yet been solved;—its duties are not entirely fulfilled; its organization must not yet be disintegrated. The full measure of our citizenship is not yet complete. We stand, many of us, in a prominent position in the Southern States; but right among the people where we hold these positions the law is so weak and the public sentiment so perverse that the common civilities of a citizen are withheld from us. We want the Civil Rights bill. [Applause.] We ask of the American people as the natural result of their own action that we shall be respected as men among men, and as free American citizens. [Cheers.] We do not ask that for any small reason. There are always two classes of people we have to be afraid of: that class who love us too well and that class who hate us too bad. [Laughter.]

All we ask is a fair chance in the race of life. Give us the same privileges and opportunities that are given to other men. I hope the action of this Convention will be such that we may be able to go home rejoicing. So far as the colored people of the South are concerned, they are a unit to-day for Ulysses S. Grant. [Cheers.] I know they told us after the Cincinnati Convention that "you niggers can now go for the father of Republicanism, Horace Greely." When we objected to this on the ground that he was not the Republican nominee they said, "He is the father of Republicanism." Said I: "Very well; if that is so I thank him for having been the father of such a brood of illustrious and loyal men, but I fear, like Abraham of old, he takes Hagar instead of Sarah, and we cannot afford that." [Laughter.]

This is the inheritance of the free woman. This is the legitimate inheritance; these are the legitimate offspring, and we are going to keep the boys at home. [Laughter.] I am very much afraid that, like Hagar and Ishmael, the old lady will have to hunt water in the wilderness. [Great laughter.] The black people stand solid together. They know intuitively who is their friend; they know full well there is no standing for them outside the Republican party. They know they cannot afford to vote for men who say to them when they desire to vote, "You have got your rights now; what more do you want?" They cannot afford to vote for men who have refused to acknowledge or carry out the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth amendments to the Constitution. They cannot afford to vote against their own manhood, and they will not do it. Thank God, the colored men are Grant men with scarcely an exception to-day. [Applause.] God grant that the Republican party may close up its ranks and solidly march together, and victory will perch on its banners in the coming contest. [Prolonged cheering.]

Hon. R. B. ELLIOTT, M. C., a colored delegate from South Carolina, having been repeatedly called for from the audience, came to the stand and spoke as follows:

#### SPEECH OF MR. ELLIOTT.

*Gentlemen of the Convention:* It is with great appreciation of the compliment paid to my State that I rise to respond to your invitation to address this august assembly. I regret, however, that while accepting this invitation, I am compelled by the recognition of the fact that we are assembled here for the purpose of an important duty to the people of the nation, which duty is now pressing closely upon us, to ask you to excuse me from any extended

remarks. I stand here, gentlemen of the Convention, together with my colleagues from the Southern States, to represent the people of my identity as an illustration of an accomplished fact in American emancipation. [Applause.] As an illustration, not only of the magnanimity of the American people, as stated by my distinguished friend from Arkansas, but also as a living example of the justice of the American Government [applause], we stand here in your midst, gentlemen, to assure you of the fact that we believe earnestly and faithfully in the principles of humanity and equal justice that you have asserted and maintained in the past. We stand forth to-day among you, not only to give our votes in this body in behalf of our constituencies for the nomination of President and Vice-President for the coming election, but also to pledge to you the earnest co-operation of the nine hundred thousand voters of our race, whose convictions are like unto your own. [Applause.]

We come here to-day to assure the delegates here assembled from the several States; we come here to assure the American people, that mindful of their services to us in the past, mindful of their goodness and of their justice, we intend to use the rights that have been given us, to use the privilege of the elective franchise, in the interest of the country, in the interest of the American people; and having a common interest with our fellow-citizens of whatever shade of complexion or from whatever part of the country, asking only what is just and fair, performing what is right, we mean to contribute our fair share and our full quota toward making our country what we conceive along with you, it ought to be; a country that guarantees to all its citizens the equal protection of the law. [Applause.]

We will unite with you in making the American people the grandest and most powerful and purest in all respects of all the nations upon the face of the earth. We propose to unite with you, not only in protecting our citizens abroad, not only in having our banner waving all over this broad land, but that you may guarantee to all your citizens, whether they be among the lofty or the lowly, the equal protection of the laws at home.

Gentlemen, will not attempt to detain the Convention from the purpose of its duties by any further remarks, but will simply say that the nine hundred thousand colored voters of America will stand by you in bringing success to the Republican party in the coming canvass upon the platform of justice and civil as well as political equality to all the people of the United States. [Applause.] Upon such a platform will we stand with you; we will pour out the gratitude of our hearts in most earnest devotion to our American institutions, and pour out upon them the rich oblation of earnest devotion. [Applause.]

Mr. HARRIS, a colored delegate from North Carolina, responding to repeated calls, spoke as follows:

#### SPEECH OF JAMES H. HARRIS.

It is not my purpose to detain this Convention. I cannot be oblivious of the fact that you have been in session already four long hours, and you must have become impatient in waiting for the report of the committee which we are now expecting. I do not appear upon this platform for the purpose of making a speech. I merely come forward to acknowledge the compliment paid, not to me, but to the loyal Republicans of North Carolina. [Applause.] I believe, sir, that no section of the country has gone through a more severe ordeal than the State of North Carolina. Ku-Kluxers themselves can testify to that fact; and while I state that, I can also say that I believe, Ku-Kluxers permitting—and I suppose General Grant has convinced them that they must permit it—on the first day of August no State, North, South, East or West, will give a better account of itself than the Repub-

licans of North Carolina will do. I cannot trespass upon your time by asking you to listen to my speaking. [Cries of "Go on!"]

I assure you I am not one of those who have entertained the idea for a moment that this party—I mean the originators of the party—have ever grown weak-kneed—decided to abandon a single principle of our original platform—although they may not have carried out the civil rights bills in the way some of us desired. I have not agreed even with some of the colored Republicans who think we ought to be very careful about committing ourselves to the principles that shall be enunciated here. I have always believed that the political salvation of the negro and of the honest, hard-working people of the South rests with the Republican party. I believe, also, that this Convention will adopt a platform broad enough for every loyal man to stand upon; that it will, before adjourning, incorporate into the platform every vital principle contained in Sumner's civil rights bill. Then, when we go into the campaign, we can unfold our banner in the bright sun and pleasant breeze with the name of Ulysses S. Grant in letters of living light upon it. We will make a clean sweep, and Mr. Greeley and Liberalism will be known no more in this country. [Applause.]

I will say, in conclusion, that our Northern friends need not give themselves any fear that we are charmed with the name of Mr. Greeley, or that we have one eye toward Cincinnati. Although ignorant in the South, although we have not had the advantages of education, yet we know by instinct which side our bread is buttered on. [Laughter and applause.] But, although we may not comprehend the great political questions, let me tell you one thing, that the name of no man, or set of men, in this land will ever blind us so much as to make us forget the party that gave us liberty; that party which defends us, and which will lead us to a glorious future. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The Committee on Permanent Organization is ready to report.

#### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON PERMANENT ORGANIZATION.

General ALBRIGHT, of Pennsylvania, the chairman of the committee, then reported the following as the

#### PERMANENT OFFICERS OF THE CONVENTION.

THOMAS SETTLE, of North Carolina, for President.

#### VICE-PRESIDENTS.

Alabama .....	Paul Strobach.	New Hampshire..	Wm. H. Y. Hackett.
Arkansas .....	Elisha Baxter.	New Jersey.....	Dudley S. Gregory.
California.....	H. S. Sargent.	New York.....	H. B. Claflin.
Connecticut .....	Sabin L. Sage.	North Carolina..	Edward Cantwell.
Delaware .....	Isaac Jump.	Ohio .....	Jacob Mueller.
Georgia.....	B. F. Conly.	Oregon.....	John P. Booth.
Illinois.....	Emery A. Storrs.	Pennsylvania.....	H. W. Oliver.
Indiana.....	Sol. D. Meredith.	Rhode Island.....	A. E. Burnside.
Iowa.....	W. H. Seevers.	South Carolina..	A. J. Ransler.
Kansas.....	John C. Carpenter.	Tennessee.....	William H. Wisner.
Kentucky.....	R. M. Kelley.	Texas.....	A. B. Norton.
Louisiana.....	Louis Farger.	Vermont .....	J. Fairbanks.
Maine.....	P. F. Robey.	Virginia.....	Charles T. Malord.
Maryland.....	Thomas Kelso.	West Virginia...	Charles Horton.
Massachusetts...	Alexander H. Rice.	Wisconsin.....	Lucian Fairchild.
Michigan.....	Eben B. Waul.	Florida .....	Dennis Eagan.
Minnesota.....	C. T. Benedict.	Colorado.....	George M. Chilcott.
Mississippi.....	R. W. Flurnoy.	District of Columbia...	John F. Cook.
Missouri.....	John F. Benjamin.	Idaho.....	John R. McBride.
Nebraska.....	John S. Bowen.	Wyoming.....	John W. Donnellan.



## SECRETARIES.

Alabama.....	William V. Turner.	Nevada.....	C. C. Stevenson.
Arkansas.....	L. G. Wheeler.	New Hampshire.....	Charles S. Whitehouse
California.....	Marcus D. Boruck.	New Jersey.....	John W. Newlin.
Connecticut.....	Daniel Chadwick.	New York.....	D. Ogden Bradley.
Delaware.....	Henry F. Pickles.	North Carolina.....	T. A. Sykes.
Florida.....	J. W. Butler.	Ohio.....	James A. Sands.
Georgia.....	P. M. Shurtley.	Oregon.....	H. R. Kincade.
Illinois.....	Daniel Shepard.	Pennsylvania.....	H. H. Bingham.
Indiana.....	O. M. Wilson.	Rhode Island.....	Wilson W. Aldrich.
Iowa.....	A. J. Felt.	South Carolina.....	H. G. Maxwell.
Kansas.....	Henry Buckingham.	Tennessee.....	Thomas Waters.
Kentucky.....	T. C. Buerles.	Texas.....	G. T. Rubey.
Louisiana.....	E. L. Weber.	Vermont.....	W. Harris, Jr.
Maine.....	E. C. Brett.	Virginia.....	John W. Wolts.
Maryland.....	W. G. Tuck.	West Virginia.....	I. T. Hoke.
Massachusetts.....	Charles E. Whiting.	Wisconsin.....	L. F. Frisby.
Michigan.....	C. S. Draper.	Colorado.....	Jerome B. Chaffee.
Minnesota.....	Otto Wallmark.	District of Columbia.....	Alex. R. Shepherd.
Mississippi.....	B. K. Bruce.	Idaho.....	E. J. Curtis.
Missouri.....	Theodore Breuer.	Wyoming.....	George W. Corey.
Nebraska.....	J. B. Weston.		

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

General ALBRIGHT, of Pennsylvania. *Mr. Chairman:* The Committee on Organization desire to present the name of General H. H. Bingham, of this city, for the permanent Secretary of this Convention. He is the man to whom we are indebted for this fine building and the fine adornments we have here, and to the great welcome the delegates have received in the city of Philadelphia. I move he be made that Secretary.

The motion was adopted.

The CHAIRMAN. I have the honor to announce to the Convention that Judge Settle has just been unanimously elected President of this body, and will now take his seat.

The Hon. THOMAS SETTLE, of North Carolina, President elect, was then escorted to the chair, now vacated by Mr. McMITCHEAL, and was received with enthusiastic and prolonged cheering, the audience rising to their feet. He addressed the Convention as follows:

## ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT.

*Gentlemen of the Convention:* I thank you for the distinction of presiding over the deliberations of the greatest party in the greatest Power on earth; and I accept it, not so much as a personal tribute to myself, as the right hand of fellowship extended from our magnanimous sisters of the North to the erring, wayward, punished, regenerated patriotic sisters of the South. [Immense applause.]

We have high duties to perform. We have assembled to name the man who shall administer the laws of the great Republic for the next four years; but our duties are plain. We shall be recreant to every trust and fail to respond to the vibrations of every patriotic heart if we do not, with one voice, name the soldier and patriot, Ulysses S. Grant, for the next President. [Renewed applause.]

We of the South recognize and demand him as a necessity for law and order in that portion of the country and for the freedom of all men. [Applause.] It is not proper that I should detain you with extended remarks this evening. I shall therefore assume the duties which you have imposed upon me and I shall be very glad if an opportunity is afforded me to address you at greater length later in the session and when our labors shall have closed.

Mr. CHARLES S. SPENCER, of New York. *Mr. President:* I move that we adjourn until to-morrow at ten o'clock. A great many men are tired out, and we all wish rest now, that we may come fresh to the labors of that important day.

The motion was carried.

The PRESIDENT. The motion to adjourn is agreed to, and the Convention stands adjourned until to-morrow morning at 10 o'clock.

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## SECOND DAY.

THURSDAY, JUNE 6, 1872.

At twenty minutes after ten o'clock the President of the Convention, Judge SETTLE, called the Convention to order.

Prayer was offered by Rev. Dr. HARPER, of the North Broad street Church, Philadelphia, as follows:

### PRAYER.

Our Heavenly Father, Thou who rulest in Heaven, we invoke Thy presence and Thy blessing. We desire to begin this day that is to be memorable in the future and solve the destiny of this nation—we desire to begin, O Lord, this day with Thee. We come before Thee with a deep reverence for Thee. Preside over this assembly. Give them one mind and one heart. Help them to adopt the best measures. May the platform be the embodiment of the most humane principles. May the men selected be good and true men; may the land approve all they do. O Lord, we thank Thee for Thy care of us in days of adversity; let us not forget the ocean of blood through which we have passed. Bless the people, our rulers, the enfranchised, the immortal dead, the widows and children, and make us a blessing among the nations of the earth, and we shall ascribe all the praise to the Father, son, and Holy Spirit, evermore. Amen.

### ROLL-CALL

Gen. H. H. Bingham the permanent Secretary, then called the roll of States, and all were found present, with full delegations.

### OREGON'S ELECTION.

Mr. DEVORE, of Oregon. *Mr. Chairman:* Oregon is redeemed. [Applause.] Oregon is redeemed both as to Representatives in Congress and her Legislature. [Renewed applause.] On last Monday an election was held in the State of Oregon. Four years we have been under Democratic rule. We are now Republican.

The Convention hailed the announcement with repeated outbursts of applause. A New Hampshire delegate proposed three cheers for Oregon, which were heartily given.

#### RULES AND ORDER OF BUSINESS.

The PRESIDENT announced as the business first in order the reception of the report of the Committee on Rules and Order of Business.

Mr. OLIVER AMES, of Massachusetts. *Mr. President:* The Committee on Rules and Order of Business respectfully report as follows:

Rule 1. Upon all subjects before the Convention, the States shall be called in alphabetical order, and next the Territories.

Rule 2. Each State shall be entitled to double the number of its Senators and Representatives in Congress according to the recent apportionment, and each Territory shall be entitled to two votes. The vote of each delegation shall be reported by its chairman.

Rule 3. The report of the Committee on Credentials shall be disposed of before the report of the Committee on Platform and Resolutions is acted upon, and the report of the Committee on Platform and Resolutions shall be disposed of before the Convention proceed to the nomination of candidates for President and Vice-President.

Rule 4. In making the nominations for President and Vice-President, in no case shall the calling of the roll be dispensed with. When it shall appear that any candidate has received the majority of the votes cast, the President of the Convention shall announce the question to be, "Shall the nomination of the candidate be made unanimous?" But if no candidate shall have received a majority of the votes the Chair shall direct the vote to be again taken, which shall be repeated until some candidate shall have received a majority of the votes cast.

Rule 5. When a majority of the delegates from any two States shall demand that a vote be recorded, the same shall be taken by States, the Secretary calling the roll of States in the order heretofore stated.

Rule 6. In the record of the vote by States the vote of each State shall be announced by the chairman; and in case the votes of any State shall be divided, the chairman shall announce the number of votes cast for any candidate, or for or against any proposition.

Rule 7. When the previous question shall be demanded by a majority of the delegation of any State, and the demand seconded by two or more States, and the call sustained by the majority of the Convention, the question shall then be proceeded with, and disposed of according to the rules of the House of Representatives in similar cases.

Rule 8. No member shall speak more than once upon the same question, nor longer than five minutes, unless by leave of the Convention, except that delegates presenting the name of a candidate shall be allowed ten minutes to present the name of such candidate.

Rule 9. The rules of the House of Representatives shall be the rules of this Convention, so far as they are applicable and not inconsistent with the foregoing rules.

Rule 10. A Republican National Committee shall be appointed, to consist of one member from each State, Territory, and District represented in this Convention. The roll shall be called, and the delegation from each State, Territory, and District, shall name, through their chairman, a person to act as a member of such committee.

D. VICKERS, *Secretary.*

OLIVER AMES, *Chairman.*

The report was unanimously agreed to.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS.

The President next called for the report of the Committee on Credentials.

Mr. ISAAC PENDLETON, of Iowa, chairman. *Mr. President:* The Committee on Credentials respectfully report that there are present full delegations from all the States and Territories; and that no seats are contested, except those of Utah and Dakota. The committee have decided to admit the four delegates from Dakota, giving them the right to two votes in the Convention. In the case of Utah the committee have decided that the delegation represented by A. S. Gould and O. J. Hollister is the more regular, and are therefore entitled to their seats.

[The report of the committee in detail is given in an appendix.]

A DELEGATE from California. *Mr. President:* I desire to move an amendment to the report, and I do not know whether this is the proper time to move that amendment. I have understood that there being a contest among the delegates from Utah, one set, and the regular set of delegates from that Territory, were ruled out because of their being Mormons. I therefore move that the report be amended so as to admit both sets of delegates, as was done in the other case. [Cries of "No!" "No!"]

The PRESIDENT. The question is upon the amendment.

Mr. E. B. STODDARD, of Massachusetts. The gentleman is mistaken in regard to the decision of the committee. It was made upon the ground that the delegates who were reported against were not elected at a duly called convention. This is the substance of the report of the committee. [Cries of "Question."]

Mr. CHARLES S. SPENCER, of New York. These gentlemen, sir, have come a long way here from Utah. There are but two of them. I shall support the amendment; I think we had better marry them all. [Laughter and applause.]

Mr. GEORGE WURTS, of New Jersey. *Mr. President:* In the committee I moved precisely this compromise, but the delegates whose exclusion is recommended declined to accept it.

The amendment was lost, and the report of the committee as originally presented was adopted, with a single dissenting voice.

THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

The PRESIDENT. While waiting for the report of the Committee on Resolutions the Secretary will call the roll of States for nomination of members of the National Executive Committee.

The Secretary then called the roll, with the following result:

Alabama .....	George E. Spencer.	Delaware .....	George Riddle.
Arkansas .....	Powell Clayton.	Florida.....	William H. Gleason.
California.....	George C. Gorham.	Georgia.....	Isham S. Fanning.
Connecticut .....	Marshall Jewell.	Illinois.....	J. Y. Scammon.

Indiana.....	O. P. Morton.	Pennsylvania.....	William H. Kemble.
Iowa.....	Greenville W. Dodge.	Rhode Island.....	William D. Brayton.
Kansas.....	John A. Martin.	South Carolina.....	Franklin J. Moses, Jr.
Kentucky.....	William C. Goodloe.	Tennessee.....	Horace Maynard.
Louisiana.....	G. Casanave.	Texas.....	E. J. Davis.
Maine.....	William P. Frye.	Vermont.....	George Nicholas.
Maryland.....	C. C. Fulton.	Virginia.....	H. H. Wells, Jr.
Massachusetts.....	William Claflin.	West Virginia.....	Hanson Criswell.
Michigan.....	William A. Howard.	Wisconsin.....	David Atwood.
Minnesota.....	John T. Averill.	Arizona.....	John Titus.
Mississippi.....	O. C. French.	Colorado.....	Edward M. McCook.
Missouri.....	R. T. Van Horn.	Dakota.....	William H. H. Beadle.
Nebraska.....	E. F. Cunningham.	District of Columbia.....	Henry D. Cooke.
Nevada.....	James W. Nye.	Idaho.....	John R. McBride.
New Hampshire.....	William E. Chandler.	Montana.....	Lucius B. Church.
New Jersey.....	Alexander G. Catell.	New Mexico.....	Joseph G. Palen.
New York.....	Edwin D. Morgan.	Utah.....	Alfred S. Gould.
North Carolina.....	Joseph C. Abbott.	Washington.....	L. B. Andrews.
Ohio.....	B. R. Cowen.	Wyoming.....	William T. Jones.
Oregon.....	Joseph G. Wilson.		

As the names were announced nearly all were received with hearty applause.

The nominations were unanimously confirmed.

#### RESOLUTIONS REFERRED.

Ex-Governor PARSONS, of Alabama. I offer the following resolutions, which I desire read:

*Resolved*, That we earnestly desire peace with all nations as the greatest earthly blessing, and the continuation of friendly relations with them, founded on principles of justice and right. To accomplish these great ends we are willing to make all proper concessions. The spirit has characterized our intercourse with the people and government of Great Britain.

*Resolved*, That in view of existing circumstances, we deem it proper to declare that, in our judgment, when these means fail, our "English cousins" will find the people of the United States of this day as firmly resolved and united in the maintenance of our rights and honor as our fathers were in 1776 and 1812; and that we will uphold the hands of our Government in asserting them, without distinction of party or section, as our fathers have taught us, "with our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor."

*Resolved*, That the "Trent affair" was settled at the time by the prompt action of our Government before the act complained of was made known by the British government, and that we commend this example to favorable consideration with respect to the "Alabama claims," which must also be settled, by peaceable means or otherwise.

Mr. STEVENS, of New Jersey. *Mr. President*: In order to save time and facilitate business, I desire to move that the remainder of the resolutions and all others be referred, without debate and without reading, to the committee on Resolutions.

A Delegate from Maryland moved that the resolutions lay on the table. Lost.

The motion of Mr. Stevens was adopted.

Mr. ROBINSON, of Louisiana. I have a resolution I desire to offer, and I ask that it be read without referring to the Committee on Resolutions.

The PRESIDENT. Under the order just adopted the resolution cannot be read.

Mr. Jones, of Alabama, offered a resolution, which was referred without reading or debate.

## RESOLUTIONS OF THE UNION LEAGUE OF AMERICA.

Mr. McMICHAEL, of Pennsylvania. I desire to present a communication from the Union League of America, and ask that it be read.

The Convention, on motion, granted leave, and the communication and accompanying resolutions were read, as follows:

PHILADELPHIA, June 5, 1872.

*To the President and Members  
of the National Republican Convention:*

Agreeably to the action of the National Council of the Union League of America, at its meeting in this city on the 4th instant, we have the honor to present to you the accompanying paper, expressive of the views and principles of the organization which we represent.

Respectfully,

JOHN W. GEARY, *President.*

T. G. BAKER, *Secretary.*

JAMES BUCHANAN, New Jersey,  
W. J. P. WHITE, Pennsylvania,  
T. L. CARDOZA, South Carolina,  
WILLIAM A. COOK, District of Columbia,  
C. C. PINCKNEY, New York,  
J. H. HARRIS, North Carolina,  
J. H. JOHNSON, Arkansas,

*Committee.*

The members of THE UNION LEAGUE OF AMERICA, IN NATIONAL COUNCIL assembled, do hereby affirm their adherence to the following sentiments and principles:

First. We reject, as utterly unfounded, the idea that the mission of the Republican party has been accomplished, and that no necessity exists for its continuance. By its principles and actions the nation was saved during the period of the late rebellion, and by them must it be preserved and exalted in coming time.

Second. Whatever may be its pretences, the Democratic party remains unchanged in character and ultimate purposes. What it was from April, 1861, to April, 1865, it still is, and will continue to be. Incapable of reform or improvement, it will always be unfit to direct or govern the nation.

Third. In the so-called Liberal Republican party we find no attractive political virtue and no important distinctive principle. It is manifestly an organization created by personal designs, and by feelings so embittered and intense that it is prepared and solicitous to form an alliance with the Democratic party, as the only possible method of accomplishing its narrow and unjustifiable purposes. This fact alone develops its true nature; and it requires no other to present it to the people, as inherently base and ignoble, and altogether undeserving of their approval and support.

Fourth. All American citizens, without distinction of race, color, or religion, are entitled to the same civil and political rights, and to equal and exact justice before the laws, subject only to the Constitution of the United States.

Fifth. The system of terrorism which so long infested, and still exists, in some portions of the South, must be put down at all hazards, and the guilty parties punished as other outlaws and murderers are punished.

Sixth. We earnestly urge the House of Representatives to pass the civil rights and enforcement bills pending before it; and it is our profound conviction that Congress should not adjourn until these bills shall become laws.

Seventh. The wisdom of the adoption of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth amendments to the Constitution has been fully demonstrated by their practical operation, and we will earnestly oppose any attempt, open or insidious, to either repeal them or weaken their force.

Eighth. We believe the national debt, contracted to save the life of the nation, should be paid to the uttermost farthing, according to the letter and spirit of the laws which authorized it. This payment should be steady but gradual, so as to avert oppressive taxation, and distribute a portion of the burden upon the vastly increased wealth and population of future years.

Ninth. All tariff and internal taxation needed for the reduction of the public debt and for the support of the Government should be so adjusted as to bear with least weight upon the laboring classes, and to foster and encourage the industries of the nation, which are the foundation of all national prosperity.

Tenth. We favor the reform of the civil service so that capacity and integrity, and not political influence alone, shall be the tests for office; and we have no faith in the accomplishment of that reform by the party which originated the maxim, "To the victor belongs the spoils," and which has faithfully observed the maxim whenever there were any spoils to divide.

Eleventh. The administration of President Grant is one which is approved by the calm, sober sense of the nation, and however much it may be misrepresented by those whose hatred of the man dates back to the times of his victories over the rebels in the field, or by others whose narrow jealousies or ambitious aspirations have led them to array themselves against him, the fact that during his administration three hundred and thirty-two millions of the public debt have been paid; the premium on gold has become nearly nominal; the revenue taxes have been greatly reduced and faithfully collected; civil service reform has been successfully inaugurated; and an acquiescence, real or pretended, in all the cardinal principles the Republican party has urged during the past years, been obtained, has strengthened his hold upon the confidence of the people no less than his splendid victories in the field had endeared him to their hearts.

The reading of the resolutions was received with demonstrations of approval by the Convention.

Mr. GEORGE B. LORING, of Massachusetts. *Mr. President:* The organization presenting these resolutions is entitled to the respect of every Republican in the United States. It has done more than almost any existing association that I know of to keep the Republican sentiment strong before the people from the opening of the war to this hour. The President of that association, with whose name every loyal American is familiar, and who has done so much for the State over whose councils he presides, is also entitled to the affection and regard of every Republican of every State. The name of Governor Geary is dear to every Republican, North and South. Now, sir, it is on this account that I desire to step out of our usual channel and to move that these resolutions be entered on the records of this Convention and be printed with the proceedings.

The Chairman put the motion to the Convention, and it was unanimously adopted.

Mr. WEBSTER FLANAGAN, of Texas. *Mr. President:* Yesterday this Convention was edified by orators from various portions of the Union. We heard only from those who were loyal during the war. We heard those who were opposed to secession. Texas feels that she has a right to be heard, and asks that she be heard in the person of General George W. Carter, who was the leader of one of the Southern brigades in the late rebellion. I had the honor, and I am glad to express it, of being an humble private in that soldier's corps, and I ask that he be heard on this occasion.

Cries for "Carter!" "Carter!" "Speech!" &c., were heard.

Colonel GEORGE W. CARTER then proceeded upon the platform and spoke as follows:

#### REMARKS OF COLONEL GEORGE W. CARTER.

*Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention:* I appreciate your desire to hear something of the Republican candidates from a Confederate, who believed he was right, although a speech from me at this time may not be very appropriate. I am an ex-Confederate soldier who needed reconstruction, and if I am any judge in the matter, I believe that I have been reconstructed. I came out of the war with only two planks in my platform. One was from the Democratic platform, which was, if I could not get what I wanted, to take what I could get. The other was a philosophical plank, to have no prejudices, and that a whipped man was not entitled to his prejudices. I think I am a type of the men who fought honestly and got whipped squarely on that question. We have come through the war, and have learned lessons which we think will be valuable. I think our people down there are learning. One of the lessons we have learned is this, that the will of the American people is to be respected. [Applause.]

The Hollander was our type of the revolutionist. We have now taken the French type, that when we get whipped, if the country won't follow us we will follow it. We came out of the war with that purpose, and you will find it in the South to-day in the Presidential election approaching, and if the issue is made between Grant and Greeley, the Southern people who were honest in their convictions, and have abandoned their abstractions as far as they entered into the fight, prefer an honest, practical man, who makes them behave themselves. [Applause.] They prefer a man who does not cry over them as they weep over their distresses, but tells them they must work if they would be happy; that the true remedy for the evils under which they labor is to go to work and adjust themselves to the condition of the country as they find it in their new relations. I believe to-day if the Democrats endorse Mr. Greeley, General Grant will get more straight Democratic votes than Greeley will in Louisiana. [Applause.]

In response to loud calls, Mr. STROBACH, of Alabama, took the stand and said:

#### SPEECH OF MR. PAUL STROBACH.

*Gentlemen of the Convention:* It is with great diffidence that I approach the stand this morning. I understood that yesterday I was called for, as great desire was expressed to hear from a naturalized citizen, but I was absent at the moment. I did not expect to speak to-day, because I thought there was no necessity. You already know how the naturalized citizen in his gratitude feels for this adopted country of his. I saw this morning in one of the papers a slur on the Convention, alleging that it did not allow the naturalized citizen to be heard. In presence of all, allow me to return my sincere



thanks to you for the honor conferred upon me in making me one of the Vice-Presidents of this Convention, which, in my opinion, represents the only true and unselfish patriots of this great country—the Republicans.

I will take the liberty of speaking to you first as a citizen of my adopted State, Alabama, and then as one of those who represent what is called the German element. We number twenty delegates from the Southern States, and I saw a newspaper this morning which called this Convention a convention of office-holders and office-seekers. None of the delegate from Alabama are office-holders under the Federal Government. None of us are office-seekers. We can have offices, if we want them, at home from the hands of our Republican friends. I had the honor to represent my county for four years in our legislature in that cradle of secession—Montgomery—and in the hall where William L. Yancey taught his pernicious doctrines. I was sent there by an overwhelming majority of Republicans, and at the last election they made me sheriff of my county. But I am no office-seeker. I am here, I trust, actuated by true, patriotic motives.

One of the distinguished orators said on yesterday that he came from the Ku-Klux region. I am not from that region, but I know something about it. Many outrages and terrible crimes have been committed in my adjacent neighborhoods by bands of disguised, midnight assassins, and, wherever that hell-born organization exists, it will need the strong arm of the Government to protect Republicans. I will mention one instance: in the jail of my county are confined 33 United State prisoners, a majority of them having been committed under the Ku-Klux law. One of the most terrible crimes which has ever disgraced the pages of history will be tried to-day in Montgomery, before Judge Busted. The case in one in which a colored man and his wife were burned alive, and the man's only crime was that he had married a white woman. I tell you that I consider that a matter of taste. It is nobody's business who a man marries. If that white woman desired to marry that colored man, no one else had anything to do with it. This band of assassins went at the hour of midnight, and destroyed their little cabin, and after killing the husband, *burned the wife alive*. This is one of the many instances to show you that the Ku-Klux are not as the Democratic papers represent them, a myth, for there are facts and accusations so plain that we must have the strong arm of the Government to protect us in the South. While if we should have the philosopher Greeley as our next ruler, I am confident that the Republicans of the South will suffer. I hope, therefore, that you will give us as our next ruler the man who is able and willing to make the people down there respect our rights for all time to come, *I mean Gen. Grant*. Among other arguments which I have heard sneeringly used against President Grant—not counting the abuse and calumny heaped upon him by the great Massachusetts Senator a few days since, which, by the way, gave Grant more sympathy and votes than Mr. Sumner dreamed of—is this: that he is not a great speaker. But we don't want a man of speech; we want a man of will and action. But yet I remember that Gen. Grant made three speeches, which are engraved with an iron pen in the book of history, and which will endear him forever to the Union-loving people of this country. The first was when he said, "I will fight it out on this line, if it takes all summer." The second was at Belmont, when he said, "We whipped them once, and I hope to God we will whip them again;" and the third and noblest speech of this great captain, who knew that every battle of the war had crowned his brow with laurels, was when he said, "LET US HAVE PEACE."

I ask if you do not find more force, more justice, and especially more patriotism, in those three little speeches, than in all the late oratorical displays of the renowned Senators from Massachusetts and Missouri?

And now, gentlemen, let me approach one subject, which I touch with almost bleeding heart, being compelled to arraign before you a countryman

and friend of mine; a man who has worked faithfully for the Republican party in the past, but who seems to be parting with his old love for unaccountable or ambitious reasons. Out of the many indictments preferred by the Republicans against him, I will arraign him before you to-day on one only. Gentlemen, I love my fatherland and am not ashamed of it. I know that every native-born American will respect me the more for it. But beyond this love for my mother country—which gave me only birth—I cherish a deep and undying love, mingled with eternal gratitude, for my adopted country, which gave me a home and fireside for my wife and children, and I would rather allow my tongue to cleave to the roof of my mouth before uttering one word of abuse against my home and government, to bring my adopted country into disgrace and difficulty with a foreign power, even though it be my mother country. I tell you, gentlemen, that were I to live to be as old as Methuselah, I could never atone for this crime. And yet that man upon whom the people, and especially Republicans, have bestowed the highest position with which the American people can honor an adopted citizen, has committed that crime under a frivolous pretext; but thanks to the wisdom of our government, and the man who controls the diplomacy of the old fatherland, it resulted in nothing but a little oratorical display and waste of precious time.

But, gentlemen, I am confident that the Republican party, like an affectionate, forbearing, and forgiving mother, will be willing to take back the erring son into its fold, when he is willing to acknowledge that the false Democratic prophets deceived him and a few of his followers for the accomplishment of their own aims and the destruction of the Republican party. But if he should insist, in his incomprehensible blindness and self delusion, in continuing this unholy war for the only purpose of delivering the Republican party, hand and foot, to its arch enemy, he will be left alone, deserted by his former allies, and the great Senator from Missouri will not have a corporal's guard of his Republican countrymen to attend his political funeral. An overwhelming majority of the adopted German sons of this great and free country will turn to the old flag in peace, as they did in war, and march on, as in 1868, to the great Republican victory in 1872.

Calls were next made for "Storrs of Illinois!" and in response thereto Mr. EMERY A. STORRS came to the platform.

SPEECH OF E. A. STORRS.

*Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Convention:* This magnificent assemblage of people doesn't look very much as if the mission of the Republican party was ended. I represent in part the greatest carpet-bag State in the Union—the State of Illinois—for in our delegation there is but one man born in the State. [Applause.] We came to that State without even a carpet-bag.

We came there with nothing but lessons of earnest work and resolute purpose, and high heart and strong will, that we had learned in our old Eastern and New England homes. In twenty-five years the carpet-baggers of Illinois have built a magnificent empire, and, on the shores of that great lake, one of the most magnificent cities that the world has ever seen. I say, then, that if the carpet-bag tree produces this kind of fruit, for God's sake plant it all over the nation. [Cheers.] As proud as I was of my great city a year or two ago, I was prouder still of it after the flames had swept over it, when, out of the still unextinguished fires, I saw the spirit of the carpet-bagger rising unconquered and unconquerable.

They claim that the mission of the Republican party is ended, and that its work is done. It has never made a promise it has not kept; it never made an engagement it has not performed; it never entered into any contract it has not executed, and therefore, I suppose, its mission has terminated! It

is one of those parties stronger than its leaders. I remember one day we discharged a whole cabinet of leaders, and it operated like a tonic, and we were stronger for the exercise the next morning. The pathway of the Republican party is strewn with the carcasses of its leaders. The party goes after its leaders when those leaders go to the place where the rank and file desire to go. It is stronger than platforms, for the platforms of the Republican party are written upon the hearts of the rank and file in a language above that inscribed in the records of our conventions. [Cheers.] And the conventions take their law from the rank and file; they do not give it to the rank and file. We know to-day what the platform of the Republican party is, and what the platform of the Republican party will be. We are told, however, that our great chieftain has been untrue to the cause which he represents and unfaithful to the principles upon which he was elected, and Mr. Sumner, in a recent speech, made these charges. Let me say that the Republican party has always been a party of deeds and not of words—a party of achievements and not merely a party of promises; and that so far as history is concerned, the record of what our great captain has done, and the deeds he has accomplished, will live in the pages of history long after the speeches of Sumner and his other defamers shall have gone into oblivion.

I will not detain you longer, my fellow-citizens, than to say that the people of this country cannot forget and will not forget the great achievements which Ulysses S. Grant has accomplished in the redemption of this land, nor the great deeds which he has written on the records of the nation's history; and when the hour shall come they will give voice to their gratitude by a larger majority than any President ever yet received, in the election of Ulysses S. Grant as his own successor. [Great applause.]

A DELEGATE from California. I desire to inquire whether the Committee on Resolutions is ready to report. We understand the order of business requires the platform to be adopted, and we desire that to be done so that we can proceed to the nomination of Grant. [Applause.]

THE PRESIDENT. I am informed that the committee will be ready to report in a half hour.

Hon. H. T. BLOW, of Missouri. *Mr. President:* The delegates of this State ask a favor of this Convention, if it is pleasant to grant it. We have in our midst a distinguished representative of Missouri, familiar with the politics of the nation, and especially of his own State of Missouri. We ask that you listen to John B. Henderson.

In response to general calls from the audience, Hon. JOHN B. HENDERSON rose in his place in the Convention, and spoke as follows:

#### SPEECH OF EX-SENATOR HENDERSON.

*Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention:* You want to hear something of Missouri politics. Well, Missouri politics for the last two years have been a little misty. We have so many great men in Missouri that it is exceedingly difficult to satisfy them all. [Laughter.] I cannot, my fellow-citizens, when you are so restless and weary, attempt to address you, and I have said to our delegation not to insist upon it. It is not well to press remarks upon a body when they are not inclined to listen. We came here for the purpose of making nominations. After these are made, I will, with your goodwill, select an opportunity of addressing a few words to this body. Wait till the resolutions are adopted, and I have a text to talk to you on. I might not talk in exactly the orthodox manner. I have my choice in regard to the selections to be made for the offices of President and Vice-President, but let

me tell you, however, that after you shall have made the nominations, I, for one, shall give them my most hearty support; and whatever you may think of Missouri, I am here to say that now the Republican party of that State is united. [Applause.] There will come up from the prairies and from the valleys of that State one universal shout for the nominations of this Convention. [Applause.] It has been a most unfortunate quarrel in our State, but it is healed now. There have been Liberals and regulars, but now they are upon the same platform. [Applause.] Some of us in the State favored the repeal of constitutional restrictions against those who had been engaged in the rebellion. I, for one, after the war was over, and we had secured everything we could, was in favor of the constitutional amendments adopted by the Republican party to enfranchise the rebels; not that they deserved it, but simply because it was dangerous in a Republican government to keep a part of her citizens excluded, and I therefore went for repealing the constitutional restrictions.

But, my fellow-citizens, the nominee in Missouri having received the support of the Democratic party (and it always seemed dangerous to receive it from that party,) after his re-election seemed to feel greater obligations to the Democracy of the day than to the Liberal portions of the Republican party. Unfortunately he left us, he went astray, and now we wish him all the success that he can possibly have except an election upon the tail of the Liberal Republican ticket. After that election was over, I, for one, supposed that all the elements of separation, and all that had kept us from harmoniously working together, had disappeared, and that there was no reason why the party should not unite. It is united, and we wish our friend Carl Schurz would be with us. But it seemed that this enfranchisement alone was not enough, and immediately after the election they brought on a new issue. They wanted free trade. Well, gentlemen, we are rather a free-trade State in Missouri. We should be for free trade if we had no debt. But we do not believe in running this great Government for our exclusive benefit. We realize the amenities of life, we are a clever people, and understand the various wants of this great nation.

Although our State is largely a farming State, and would be largely benefited by a low tariff, our people are not so wild that they do not recognize the rights of others, and in levying a tariff for revenue they could not overlook the great interests of the great industries of Pennsylvania and other States of the nation. [Applause.] Our friend Schurz went to Cincinnati and secured an equivocal platform, and the father of high tariff is the candidate that stands upon it. I understand that in a short time he is to visit Europe, and, I suppose, for the purpose of getting a large supply of "pretzel seed" for his candidate. [Laughter and applause.]

Mr. W. D. BICKHAM, of Ohio. *Mr. President:* I move a suspension of the rules, and that we proceed to ballot for President of the United States.

The PRESIDENT. There is a rule just reported and adopted that until the platform is adopted no ballot for President shall take place. We are informed that it will be some time before the committee can report. It is moved and seconded that the rule which prohibits a ballot for a candidate for President be suspended, and the Convention proceed to nominate a President. As many as are in favor of that motion will say aye.

The motion was lost.

Mr. HILL, of Mississippi. *Mr. President:* I desire to suggest that while the various delegations are presenting to this Convention, from different sections, eloquent orators, we propose to this Convention that it listen to the eloquent colored Secretary of State from Mississippi, Hon. James R. Lynch.

Mr. LYNCH was loudly called for, and advancing to the platform, said :

ADDRESS OF JAMES R. LYNCH, OF MISSISSIPPI.

*Mr. President:* Standing in this great presence, after the eloquent expression that was given to the feelings and opinions of the colored people of our country on yesterday, and appreciating the value of your time, I should be constrained to silence on this occasion, knowing that the 400,000 colored people of the State of Mississippi, and the Republicans of other color, are waiting with anxious hope to hear the announcement by telegraph that Gen. Grant has been renominated for President of the United States. [Great applause.]

I will not trespass on your valuable time by entering into any argument in favor of the Republican party. It needs no more argument to convince patriotism, justice, reason, and intelligence that it is the only party that can bless and save the country, and realize the hopes of its founders, than does the glorious sun, scattering his rays everywhere, bathing the world in glory, to make men believe that it is necessary to warm our air to make it capable of supporting human life. [Great applause.]

I heard gentlemen say here that we would kill the Democratic party. With all due deference to those who have superior political sagacity and knowledge to that which I possess, I beg leave to suggest that the Democratic party is dead. [Laughter.] Some may ask, then, why fulminate against it from the platform? why resolve against it? why invoke the Divine Master to retard its progress? Because a dead body lying on the ground in the summer time may do more harm than a living one. [Roars of laughter.] I behold this Democratic party dead; its hydra head in the waters of the Lakes, its great cloven feet stuck out in the waters of the Gulf, one of its cold, clammy, bony fingers grasps the Pacific and the other the Atlantic, and the stinking carcass emits an odor that breeds disease, and that disease threatens the Union soldier, one-armed and one-legged, and the widows and orphans, clothed in the habiliments of mourning, with national disgrace. That contagion threatens the nation with repudiation; threatens men who, in the field, in the Cabinet, and in the national councils, saved to the world the glorious heritage and the hope which made the victims of European despotism and tyranny smile amid their tears as in chains they were confined within the walls of the bastiles and dungeons all over Europe. It threatens them with disgrace, and we propose to turn out next November in the State of Mississippi, with the colored citizens all over our broad land, under the leadership of General Ulysses S. Grant, now President of the United States, and dig a grave for this corpse, so deep and so wide, and bury it so that it will never more be resuscitated. [Applause.]

Mr. President, I will not detain you. [Cries of "Go on!"] There are some reasons why the colored people of the United States cling to the Republican party. We look to the Republican party as our political parents. We are born of them. Have you any guarantee of the fidelity of colored men in the Republican party? You have the same guarantee that fathers all over the land, wherever civilization beams, have for the filial and faithful regard of their children. [Cheers.] We are, then, true to the Republican party; and while we love the people of the South, and while we ask for concord, for peace and harmony, while we recognize the fact of the identity of interest between white and black, that the ex-rebels of the South are identified and interwoven in all the interests of social life, of material wealth, and all that concerns it, yet we mean to walk in the pathway hewn out by the sword. Any concession we could make that would not sacrifice our political equality we would make.

But, Mr. President, we rejoice that the Republican party has made a sentiment, and gives expression to it in this great Union, that our Republic, like the rainbow, is not complete without its darkest color. [Laughter and applause.] We stand here asking no particular advantage, no special favor, but simply to be recognized as an equal in the body politic of this great land.

Opposition to General Grant means more than opposition to nepotism; more than opposition to the great soldier of Island No. 10 and the conqueror of the rebellion. It means opposition to the principles that triumphed during the war. [Applause.] Tell me not that because Mr. Greeley was the great apostle of liberty; tell me not because his gray hairs are associated with the noblest and grandest work for humanity, that the colored people will recognize any magic power in that name. Aye, sir, the name of Ulysses S. Grant was imprinted in their hearts and memories, revealed to them by the thunder of war, by the lightning flash of musketry, when their hearts were melted lava, burning with a desire for freedom. Then was Grant's name written.

Every regiment, every squad of United States forces that advanced upon the South under your Logans, under your Howards, under your Shermans and Gearys, that unfolded the star-spangled banner and dropped the boon of liberty at every cabin door, bound their hearts to President Grant by cords that cannot be separated. [Applause.] The colored people of the United States are gravitating toward the South. The semi-tropical and tropical portions of our great country—a vast untilled country and of undeveloped resources—our country, foremost in the family of nations, representing advanced intelligence, Christianity, and moral power, exceeding, in all these, any portion of the world—must soon make Mexico, the West Indies, and Central America part of ourselves, as is Alaska. [Cheers.] These new countries, with their wealth of centuries, with their mahogany wood, with their mines, their wonderful harbors, and their undeveloped resources, cannot be developed, cannot enrich the world, cannot subserve the purposes of American civilization without the black man's muscle. Without the black man the cotton States cannot be developed. They have tried to supplant the black man by the introduction of the Swedes, and Danes, and English, but it has been such a sad failure that the distinguished men who have attempted it are now ashamed to confess that they ever embarked in it. The Democrats in the political canvass of the South are now looking to the Southern black men and begging them for their votes. They cry out as did a certain warrior in the turbid waters of the Tiber, asking his companions to save him lest he sink. With their lands worn and barren, with their capital gone, with their houses dilapidated, with their industry gone, with their resources vanishing, they cry to the black man from a material stand-point, "Save us, or we sink!" [The applause was continued some time.] Is this an attempt to put down President Grant? [The applause was renewed.] The experience of the past has convinced me that applause admits of two interpretations, [laughter,] therefore I will have regard for time. No; if you do not nominate President Grant—which your Brick Pomeroyes are invoking God you will not—if they have any God—you cannot do him any harm. His fame is immortal; great names and deeds go not down to silence, but history embalms their memory with undying honors, and minstrels catch up the glowing theme, and send it echoing all along the archways of time.

Mr. President, Grant will be a strong candidate at the South. The name of Greeley inspires no heartfelt enthusiasm. That man who had the genius to command your armies when the nation was incredulous of success; that man who could stand reverses; who, disregarding alike the bickerings and jealousy of petty rivalry, could move on with grandeur and unswerving will to the conquest of the rebellion, understands the wants of this great country. I believe his heart to-day goes forth to the South, and he would, if he could, lift the disabilities from every one of its citizens and declare universal am-

nesty. Ah! our Southern people have much to learn. I tell them this at home: I tell them this everywhere. Instead of basking in the light of this great candle of liberty which is destined to dispel their darkness; instead of putting their fingers into it and burning them, or else blowing it out for fun, and complaining because we will not let them do this, they must say, No, you must stand still; you must let this candle burn.

Fellow-citizens, I thank you for this opportunity to express the sentiments of the colored people of the South. [Applause.]

A MEMBER OF THE OHIO DELEGATION. Ohio was not silent in the war, but we have been silent in this great Convention. Now, we desire to be heard through a crippled soldier, General E. F. Noyes. [Great cheering, and calls for "Noyes!"]

Governor E. F. NOYES, of Ohio, speaking from his seat, said:

REMARKS OF GOVERNOR NOYES, OF OHIO.

*Gentlemen of the Convention:* I am exceedingly obliged to my enthusiastic friends for mentioning my name in this Convention, but I am confident that the delegates are now in no temper to listen to political speeches. [Cries of "Go on! go on!" during which the General was pushed forward to the stand by his friends.]

General NOYES (resuming). I certainly did not come here with any purpose of saying anything upon political subjects, and I am quite certain the feeling of our delegation is to talk less and work more. We don't want to stay here for another day. Many of the delegates have made their arrangements to go home, and we feel it is time to proceed with business. I am told that the Committee on Resolutions will not be able to report under two or three hours. If that is true it will be impossible for us to get through with the business of the Convention, and yet start home to-night. I hope the rules may be suspended, so that we can make these nominations, and then, when they are ready, let the Committee on Resolutions come in with their report.

I want now to say one word about Ohio, and then I am done. As the Governor of that State, I have been brought into somewhat intimate contact with all her people, and now I want to say to you for the State of Ohio, we shall be content with whatever nomination you make for Vice-President. We have a candidate of our own, a tried patriot and excellent gentleman, who, finding himself in the Cabinet of a recreant President, shook off the dust of his feet against him, not being willing to compromise or destroy the party that had honored him. [Applause.] We honor him; but let me say for Ohio that whoever shall be nominated here, you can count upon us to give a bigger majority than we gave four years ago. [Cheers.]

There is absolutely no disaffection in our State. [Renewed cheering.] A few prominent and excellent gentlemen, who are among my personal friends, identified themselves with what was known as the liberal movement, but every one of them of any prominence has become so heartily disgusted that they will vote for Grant now, if they would not before. [Great applause.] I asked a member of the Illinois delegation, who is a leading statesman, how it happened that in Cincinnati the Illinois delegation was the first to go over to Greeley. Said he, "We had the best set of men from any State, representative, leading men, and we were about equally divided between Davis and Trumbull, and when they could not be nominated, our delegation was determined to make the thing just as ridiculous as possible, retire and go out." [Cheers and laughter.]

Now, we want to get at work. I hope the Convention will agree to go on and nominate our candidate for President, and if the committee are not ready, then the Vice-President; and then, if they are not ready, let us take a recess. [Cries of "Make the motion!"] I hardly like to do it. [Cries of "Make it!"] If the committee are ready after we have made the nomination, the report can come in. If, after we have done this, the committee are not ready, let us nominate our candidate for the Vice-Presidency, then, if need be, take a recess; but, for Heaven's sake, don't let us stay here and talk all day. [Cheers, and cries of "Make the motion!"]

Mr. President, I renew the motion to suspend the rules, and proceed first and only to the selection of our candidate for President. [Cheers.]

The motion was carried, amid great applause.

#### THE NOMINATION OF A CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT.

The Chairman announced the naming of candidates for President in order.

Mr. SHELBY M. CULLOM, of Illinois having ascended the platform, said:

*Gentlemen of the Convention:* On behalf of the great Republican party of Illinois and that of the Union—in the name of liberty, of loyalty, of justice, and of law—in the interest of economy, of good government, of peace, and of the equal rights of all—remembering with profound gratitude his glorious achievements in the field and his noble statesmanship as Chief Magistrate of this great nation—I NOMINATE AS PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, FOR A SECOND TERM, ULYSSES S. GRANT.

A scene of wildest excitement followed this speech. The spacious Academy was crowded with thousands of spectators in every part; and on the stage, in the parquet, and in tier upon tier of galleries, arose deafening, prolonged, tumultuous cheers, swelling from pit to dome. A perfect wilderness of hats, caps, and handkerchiefs waved to and fro in a surging mass as three times three reverberated from the thousands of voices.

The band appeared to catch the prevailing enthusiasm, and waved their instruments as though they had been flags. Amid cries of "Music!" "Music!" they struck up "Hail to the Chief."

As the majestic stream of this music came floating down from the balcony, a life-size equestrian portrait of Grant came down as if by magic, filling the entire space of the back scene, and the enthusiasm knew no bounds.

Governor STEWART L. WOODFORD, of New York, then ascended the platform, and made the following address:

#### ADDRESS OF GOVERNOR WOODFORD, OF NEW YORK.

*Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention:* New York, the home of the distinguished editor who has been placed in nomination for the Presidency at Cincinnati, asks you to pause one moment before you record the formal nomination that is the prophecy of election, that she may reach out across the continent, strike hands with Illinois, and second the nomination of Ulysses S. Grant. [Cheers.] Seated by the sea, at the great eastern gateway of the continent, imperial in resources and in wealth, New York has the largest interest in the wisdom of your platform, in the integrity, the stability, and the fitness of your candidate. [Applause.]



Four years ago she sustained General Grant, because she recognized and would express the great debt of gratitude that the nation owed to the brave heart, the strong arm, and the silent lips of our great chieftain. To-day she endorses that nomination, because he has been tried and found faithful. When we have passed by the little quarrellings and criticisms of the hour, which are as the motes that float in the sunbeam, impartial history will wonder that the great Republic, through one of its recognized Senators of a Republican State, could have attempted to stain the sword and impeach the honor of the one man to whom, under God, the nation owes more than to any other. In his place upon the Senate floor the Senator from Massachusetts said it, and, as I read it according to the gospel of *The Tribune*, the text is probably correct.

He said that Stanton, just before he passed from earth, spoke thus:

"I know General Grant better than any other person in the country can know him. It was my duty to study him, and I did it, night and day, when I saw him and when I did not see him, and now I tell you what I know—he cannot govern this country."

Let the history of those perilous days reply that the great War Secretary indeed knew Grant through and through; that until the hour when Grant assumed personal command in Virginia, Stanton had been compelled to discharge not only his ministerial duties as Secretary, but to watch and guide the action of the commanders in the field; that from that hour he and Lincoln alike trusted, leaned upon, and confided in Grant, and left him free, according to his own judgment, to fight the rebellion in his own resolute and sure way.

Let history record that when our gallant Sherman seemed, in the judgment of the War Secretary, to have erred in the terms proposed for Johnston's surrender, that Stanton knew Grant so well that he sent him, all untried in diplomacy and statesmanship, to arrange the surrender and prevent possible legal complications and political misunderstandings. Let history also record that this plain soldier, of whose autocratic, egotistic, and imperial will the same Senator made such frequent mention, was so little disposed to assert himself, was so generous to the feelings of the great Lieutenant, that, having conferred with Sherman and indicated the purpose of the Government, and so prevented further possible mistakes, he left Sherman to complete the negotiation in his own name and by his own means. I challenge the records of the war and memories of his old soldiers to find one single instance where Grant ever sought to appropriate one single laurel that his comrade had gained, or failed to recognize and reward a comrade's merit and worth.

But to return. Stanton indeed knew Grant through and through. He knew that when for an hour Andrew Johnson may have meditated the use of force against the will of the people in Congress assembled, he did not dare to whisper his dream to Grant, but sought, by the creation of brevet ranks, to find others who might do his will. To the honor of the man and true men who stood that day in the highest rank, Johnson offered the commission in vain. Aye! Stanton knew Grant well. He knew that when, by assignment to the War Department *ad interim*, Grant filled for a time that high civic trust, the only barrier between the passion of the President and the renewal of civil strife was this patient, silent, loyal man, who, sound in peace as in war, was forever on the side of constitutional law, unity, and peace. Aye! he knew him well—so well, that during that long struggle, when Mr. Stanton stood and fought out the bitter fight between Presidential usurpation and Congressional authority, he leaned on Grant constantly and completely, and this Cæsar, whose red hand is to stop our liberty, was true at every time and in every place—as true to the people and the law as is the needle to the pole. Aye! Stanton knew Grant well; so well, that when he had been placed in nomination for the Presidency, Mr. Stan-

ton pleaded for his election, endorsed his fitness, and labored for his success. These very walls still ring with the echo of that great speech, one of the last utterances of that great statesman in his own Pennsylvania—from the grave where he was killed from overwork in the Cabinet, as much a martyr to the war as though he had wasted in hospital or died on the field. His cold lips speak this day as in life. They spoke from this very platform. From the grave the dead Stanton rebukes the living Senator, and I hear his earnest and solemn approval of Ulysses S. Grant as soldier, man, and patriot.

In the name of millions of our loyal people, in the name of an enfranchised race, in the name of his old comrades, the living and the dead, in the name of the dead Secretary of War, New York endorses the nomination and asks God's blessing on the cause. [Tremendous enthusiasm.]

Mr. M. D. BORUCK, of California, followed, and said:

ADDRESS OF M. D. BORUCK, OF CALIFORNIA.

*Mr. President:* Illinois rightly, in nominating Grant for re-election, claims him as her citizen. But, sir, though I come from a long distance, from that land where the setting sun lights up the peaceful waters of the Pacific, we claim, too, a portion of that citizenship which does such honor to Illinois. California, Oregon, and a portion of the Pacific slope, claim Grant as their honored citizen.

We have come, sir, a long distance to perform, it is true, a self-imposed duty in casting our votes for the greatest leader and greatest chieftain the world ever saw. We come, sir, if you please, from the land of the earthquake; and though like the wondrous rocking-stone reared by the Druids, which the finger of a child might vibrate to the centre, but which the might of armies could not move, so we stand there under those great convulsions of the earth; and, Mr. President, when the great convulsion of treason and rebellion and antagonism to our great and beloved country washed in frightful waves against her base, we stood there like rocks of adamant, unmoved and immovable. Sir, to be very brief, I desire to call the attention of this vast body to what I consider a remarkable coincidence in the words I shall name, differing, if you please, in but one small letter of the alphabet.

We all recollect that when the first gun was fired upon Fort Sumter, the loyal hearts of the people of the nation moved to the old flag and hastened to support it; and now, sir, with the first gun from Sumner, the loyal hearts of a nation rallies again to that standard held aloft by Grant, and in the contest which approaches in November the same serried ranks will be presented, and a great victory will be achieved in his re-election. I promise you, sir, so far as the Pacific coast is concerned, to return a good account. [Long and continued applause.]

THE CALLING OF THE ROLL.

The PRESIDENT. The Secretary will call the roll of States, and each State will cast its vote.

The Secretary, Gen. H. H. BINGHAM, then called the list of States, and in response, the chairman of each State delegation announced the vote of his delegation, as follows:

ALABAMA.

F. M. KIELS, Chairman. I am instructed to cast the twenty votes of the Alabama delegation unanimously for that true, tried, great man, and model President, Ulysses S. Grant. [Applause.]

## ARKANSAS.

POWELL CLAYTON, Chairman. I shall occupy so much of your time as to announce that the State of Arkansas gives her twelve votes for Ulysses S. Grant.

## CALIFORNIA.

JAMES OTIS, Chairman. As chairman of the California delegation, I am instructed to cast her entire twelve votes for Ulysses S. Grant. [Applause.]

## CONNECTICUT.

BARTLETT BENT, Chairman. To-day, as four years ago, Connecticut gives her twelve votes for Ulysses S. Grant.

## DELAWARE.

J. R. LOFLAND, Chairman. I am instructed by the Delaware delegation to cast her six votes for Ulysses S. Grant.

## FLORIDA.

DENNIS EAGAN, Chairman. The land of flowers gives her eight votes unanimously for Ulysses S. Grant.

## GEORGIA.

J. S. BIGBY, Chairman. Georgia testifies her appreciation of a national Executive and her gratitude for an administration that commands the approval of her people, by casting for Ulysses S. Grant twenty-two votes.

## ILLINOIS.

S. M. CULLOM, Chairman. Illinois casts her forty-two votes for Ulysses S. Grant.

## INDIANA.

HENRY S. LANE, Chairman. Indiana casts her thirty votes for Ulysses S. Grant.

## IOWA.

GRENVILLE M. DODGE, Chairman. Iowa casts twenty-two votes for Ulysses S. Grant—all she has.

## KANSAS.

BENJAMIN F. SIMPSON, Chairman. Kansas, first-born of the Republican party, desirous of serving four years longer under the same great chieftain, casts her ten votes for Ulysses S. Grant.

## KENTUCKY.

WILLIAM C. GOODLOE, Chairman. Kentucky, that gave birth to Abraham Lincoln, casts twenty-four votes for his worthy successor, Ulysses S. Grant.

## LOUISIANA.

JAMES LEWIS, Chairman. I am instructed by the sixteen delegates from my State in this Convention, and by the Republican party of my State, to cast the solid vote of Louisiana—sixteen votes—for Ulysses S. Grant.

## MAINE.

ISAIAH STETSON, Chairman. Maine gives her grateful heart, and her fourteen votes, to Ulysses S. Grant.

## MARYLAND.

JACOB TOME, Chairman. In accordance with the unanimous wishes and instructions of the convention which sent us as its delegates, and in complete unison with the feelings of every delegate here, and every member of the Republican party of Maryland, we cast her sixteen votes solid for Ulysses S. Grant.

## MASSACHUSETTS.

GEORGE B. LORING, Chairman. Massachusetts casts her twenty-six votes for Ulysses S. Grant, and will give him thirteen votes in November next in the Electoral College.

## MICHIGAN.

WILLIAM A. HOWARD, Chairman. Michigan has twenty-two delegates, and not an office-holder among them. We were sent here without any dictation from office-holders; we represent the Republican party of that State; we cast twenty-two votes for Ulysses S. Grant, and only wish we had forty-four to cast.

## MINNESOTA.

D. M. SABIN, Chairman. The North Star proposes to spend all summer in fighting it out on this line. She gives her ten votes for Ulysses S. Grant.

## MISSISSIPPI.

JAMES LYNCH, Chairman. Sixteen delegates from Mississippi request me to put that great State on national record as appreciating the wants of all this great country, as gratefully recognizing heroic and patriotic services, as pledged to maintain the liberty and political equality of all men, without regard to race or color, by nominating one for the Presidency of the United States whose connection with national affairs constitutes one of the brightest pages of the history of the Republic—President Ulysses S. Grant—for whom we cast her sixteen votes in this Convention.

## NEBRASKA.

JOHN S. REDICK, Chairman. Nebraska gives her six votes for the tanner who will tan the hide of Horace in the vat of Democratic disunion, corruption, and damnation—Ulysses S. Grant.

## NEVADA.

C. C. STEVENSON, Chairman. Nevada, born during the rebellion, admitted in time of strife, the silver State of the Union, casts her six votes for Grant.

## NEW HAMPSHIRE.

FREDERICK SMYTH, Chairman. New Hampshire, one of the old thirteen States, and the birthplace of Horace Greeley [laughter], casts her vote for Ulysses S. Grant—ten votes, all she has—and she will give him her electoral vote in November.

## NEW JERSEY.

CORTLANDT PARKER, Chairman. Determined to ratify her nomination in November, New Jersey, in gratitude for what her people deem a wise and pure administration, gives her eighteen votes for Ulysses S. Grant.

## NEW YORK.

MARTIN I. TOWNSEND, Chairman. The Empire State, by the unanimous wish of her delegates, instructs me to cast her seventy votes for that man of whom it has been said by our distinguished fellow-citizen, Horace Greeley, he never has been beaten, and never will be—Ulysses S. Grant.

## NORTH CAROLINA.

JOSEPH C. ABBOTT, Chairman. I am instructed by the delegates of North Carolina to say that the State called the Tar-heel State intends to stick to Ulysses S. Grant with her twenty votes. [Applause.]

## OHIO.

SAMUEL CRAIGHEAD, Chairman. Ohio, the birthplace of Ulysses S. Grant [applause], presents her united front for this nomination to-day. Ohio, that never failed or faltered when Republican work was to be done—Ohio promises to this Convention and to the country 50,000 majority for the nominee. Ohio casts her united vote, forty-four in all, for Ulysses S. Grant.

## OREGON.

J. F. DEVORE, Chairman. We are from the Sunset Land. We are happy to claim General Grant as a citizen of our State, and hence we are bound to second his nomination with six votes from Oregon.

## PENNSYLVANIA.

MORTON McMICHAEL, Chairman. (The appearance of Mr. McMichael on the platform was greeted with overwhelming demonstrations of applause.) After such a greeting I am without words. Pennsylvania, with her whole great heart, casts her fifty-eight votes for Ulysses S. Grant.

## RHODE ISLAND.

AMBROSE E. BURNSIDE, Chairman. (The audience gave General Burnside three cheers as he rose to announce the vote of Rhode Island.) The Republican party of Rhode Island, the Republican convention of the State of Rhode Island, and all my brother delegates, have done me the honor of asking me to cast the entire vote of our State for my old comrade-in-arms, Ulysses S. Grant.

## SOUTH CAROLINA.

E. W. M. MACKEY, Chairman. South Carolina, whose first hostile gun made Grant a possibility, has designated me, through her Republican delegation, to cast her vote in this Convention. Gazing upon the battered walls of old Sumter, mindful of the man whose triumphant sword opened her gates, marshaling two races within her border, South Carolina to-day, standing redeemed, regenerated, disenthralled, a State of law and order, casts her fourteen votes for Ulysses S. Grant.

## TENNESSEE.

D. A. NUNN, Chairman. I am instructed by the delegates from the State of Tennessee, both white and colored, to cast her twenty-four votes for the most gallant soldier that the world ever saw, Ulysses S. Grant.

## TEXAS.

WEBSTER FLANAGAN, Chairman. Texas, unlike any other State, was not permitted to take part in the late contest. To-day Texas claims the privilege of casting sixteen votes, and would like to have the privilege of casting thirty-two votes, and would that it were thirty-two thousand, for Ulysses S. Grant.

## VERMONT.

J. GREGORY SMITH, Chairman. Vermont, as ever loyal, casts her ten votes for Ulysses S. Grant.

## VIRGINIA.

JOHN R. POPHAM, Chairman. Virginia casts her twenty-two votes for Ulysses S. Grant. She wishes she had as many hundreds to cast for him. As it is, she gives him all she has. It only remains for me to say that her patriotic, Republican people, inspired with the certain signs of approaching victory, marching under her proud banner, with her proud motto, "*Sic semper Tyrannis*," mean, in the approaching campaign, to put their iron heel upon the tyrant Democratic head. Our cause is just, and Virginia must and shall be redeemed.

## WEST VIRGINIA.

W. E. STEPHENSON, Chairman. West Virginia, following in the footsteps of her illustrious mother, casts her ten votes for Ulysses S. Grant.

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## WISCONSIN.

E. W. KEYES, Chairman. Wisconsin casts her twenty votes for Ulysses S. Grant.

## ARIZONA.

JOHN TITUS, Chairman. Arizona casts two votes for Ulysses S. Grant.

## COLORADO.

GEORGE M. CHILlicOTHE, Chairman. Colorado casts two votes for Ulysses S. Grant.

## DAKOTA.

Mr. CURTIS, Chairman. Dakota, ward of the Government, casts her votes in this Convention as the only opportunity she has of voting for President. She casts these votes for the patriotic soldier, the soldier President, Ulysses S. Grant.

## DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

JOHN F. COOKE, Chairman. The District of Columbia, the seat of the United States government, has a desirable house to rent, desirable for habitation and much sought after. She desires that it shall be relet to the same tenant for another four years, and casts her two votes for Ulysses S. Grant.

## IDAHO.

JOHN H. McBRIDE, Chairman. Idaho casts her vote in this Convention for Ulysses S. Grant, and only wishes she could vote for him in November.

## NEW MEXICO.

Mr. FREELAND, Chairman. New Mexico, occupying a humble position in this Convention, grateful for the privilege accorded to her, casts her two votes for Illinois' gifted son, wise in statesmanship, as he was gallant in war, Ulysses S. Grant.

## UTAH.

A. S. GOULD, Chairman. On behalf of the loyal people of Utah, the delegation from that Territory thank God and this Convention for the privilege of casting her two little votes for Ulysses S. Grant, of whom it may be said as it was of another great and good man, "First in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen."

## WASHINGTON.

LYMAN B. ANDREWS, Chairman. Washington Territory, which has just cast off her swaddling-clothes, but who hopes hereafter to go full grown with you into the contest, casts her two votes for Ulysses S. Grant.

## WYOMING.

J. W. DONNELLAN, Chairman. Wyoming, the last of the political organizations in America, is proud to cast its two votes for Ulysses S. Grant.

## THE BALLOT.

The ballot stood as follows:

	No. of Delegates.	For Grant.
Alabama .....	20	20
Arkansas .....	12	12
California .....	12	12
Connecticut .....	12	12
Delaware .....	6	6
Florida .....	8	8
Georgia .....	22	22
Illinois .....	42	42
Indiana .....	30	30
Iowa .....	22	22
Kansas .....	10	10
Kentucky .....	24	24
Louisiana .....	16	16
Maine .....	14	14
Maryland .....	16	16
Massachusetts .....	26	26
Michigan .....	22	22
Minnesota .....	10	10
Mississippi .....	16	16
Missouri .....	30	30
Nebraska .....	6	6
Nevada .....	6	6
New Hampshire .....	10	10
New Jersey .....	18	18
New York .....	70	70
North Carolina .....	20	20
Ohio .....	44	44
Oregon .....	6	6
Pennsylvania .....	58	58
Rhode Island .....	8	8
South Carolina .....	14	14
Tennessee .....	24	24
Texas .....	16	16
Vermont .....	10	10
Virginia .....	22	22
West Virginia .....	10	10
Wisconsin .....	20	20
Arizona .....	2	2
Colorado .....	2	2
Dakota .....	2	2
District of Columbia .....	2	2
Idaho .....	2	2
Montana .....	2	2
New Mexico .....	2	2
Utah .....	2	2
Washington .....	2	2
Wyoming .....	2	2
Total .....	752	752

## THE RESULT.

The PRESIDENT, rising in his place, said: "It is a pleasure to the Chair to announce that Ulysses S. Grant has received 752 votes—the entire vote of every State and Territory in the Union."

The most tumultuous and continued cheering again burst from the immense audience.

The band, at this announcement, played the air of a "Grant Campaign Song," the tenor of which was sung by a gentleman standing among the instruments, and the chorus by a large choir of gentlemen. The song was received with great enthusiasm, and is as follows:



## OFFICIAL PROCEEDINGS OF THE

Rally round our leaders, men,  
 We're arming for the fight,  
 We'll raise our glorious standard,  
 And battle for the right.  
 To swell our gallant army,  
 Come from hill and plain,  
 Grant shall win the victory  
 For President again.

Chorus.—Let the drum and bugle sound,  
 We'll march to meet the foe;  
 Let our joyous shouts resound  
 That all the land may know,  
 The sons of freedom in their might,  
 Have come from hill and plain,  
 To make the brave Ulysses  
 Our President again.

He's a gallant hero,  
 And noble statesman, too,  
 He's safely brought our Ship of State  
 The darkest dangers through;  
 Let every brave and true man  
 Join our loyal band,  
 Till loud resounds the victory  
 From mountain, vale, and strand.

Chorus.—Let the drum, &c.

And when the battle's over,  
 We homeward turn again,  
 We'll join the lovely lasses  
 To music's thrilling strain;  
 And loud the anthem swelling,  
 To Grant, our noble chief,  
 Who won our country's battles,  
 And saved the land from grief.

Chorus.—Let the drum, &c.

Then rally round our leaders, men,  
 We're arming for the fight,  
 We'll raise our glorious standard,  
 And battle for the right.  
 To swell our gallant army,  
 Come from hill and plain,  
 Grant shall win the victory  
 For President again.

Chorus.—Let the drum, &c.

When this was concluded, a cry went from the multitude, "John Brown!" The band struck up the familiar, electrifying strains which our soldiers used to sing when marching to the front. The whole concourse rose as one mass. From the parquet to the upper tier, the vast multitude stood up and rolled out the grand old hymn of freedom. Strong men wept with intensity of feeling. There was scarcely a dry eye in the great assemblage; not a heart was not thrilled with the sublimity of the moment. When this song was at last finished, the cry came for "Rally Round the Flag," and the air of that battle-song was given by the band, the whole audience singing the words with the same fervor with which the hymn had been rendered. This concluded, the band gave "Yankee Doodle," in the midst of tumultuous cheers.

LUCIUS B. CHURCH, of Montana, was then loudly called for, and in response ascended the platform. He said:

## REMARKS OF LUCIUS B. CHURCH.

*Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention:* Twelve years ago, in the wigwam at Chicago, preparatory to the nomination of Mr. Lincoln, I was

called upon for a patriotic song. My selection at that time was our army and navy song, "The Red, White, and Blue." If there are any here who were present at that time they will remember the spontaneous chorus we had. I will ask the indulgence of the band and of that choir to play the first stanzas of "The Red, White, and Blue," in order that we may get the key correctly, and then I will sing the solo, inviting you to join in the chorus.

The band then played the air as requested, and the song was rendered with great effect, the audience joining in the chorus.

Calls were then made, loud and continuous, for "Marching Through Georgia." Mr. CHURCH complied, and the audience, standing, again joined in the chorus.

When the song was completed, Mr. CHURCH said: "Now I ask for three cheers for those loyal black men who stood by us during that march through Georgia to the sea."

The cheers were given with great enthusiasm.

#### NOMINATION OF VICE-PRESIDENT.

Mr. CRAIGHEAD, of Ohio. *Mr. President:* Inasmuch as a very large number of the delegates who are here are anxious to discharge all the duties for which they have come together, and as I see no reason why we should not proceed to do those duties which remain to be discharged, I move you that the rules be suspended again, and that we proceed to the nomination of the candidate for the Vice-Presidency of the United States. [Great applause.]

The motion was agreed to.

The PRESIDENT. Nominations for Vice-President are now in order.

#### HENRY WILSON, OF MASSACHUSETTS, PROPOSED.

The Hon. MORTON McMICHAEL, of Pennsylvania, appeared upon the stage, and said:

*Mr. President:* I beg your indulgence, and the indulgence of the Convention, for a few moments, preparatory to making nomination of a candidate for Vice-President of the United States. I do not come here, sir, for the purpose of uttering needless complaint; but I do feel that there is a complaint for me to make. Sir, the Republican party had both its birth and its baptism on Pennsylvania soil. At Pittsburgh it was called into existence by voluntary gathering, and in Philadelphia it received the solemn sanction of the people, and from the hour of its organization to this, Pennsylvania has always steadfastly upheld the principles upon which it was founded. You, sir, and all who hear me, remember it, and when, because of the successes of those principles, the South plunged madly into revolt, and with formidable martial preparations challenged the North to mortal combat. Pennsylvania was the first in the field and foremost in the fight. [Great applause.]

God forbid, sir, that by even so much as a fragment of a syllable I should utter any sound derogatory to the gallant and noble spirits who at the signal-gun of the war, from rolling prairie and rushing river, from the silence of the forest and the depths of the mine, from the glow of the furnace, from the din of the factory, and from the bustle of the mart, from church and college, swarmed to the defence of the national capital. But ours was the border-land of the war. Hence, it was our distinction to be the first at the scene of peril and to bring glad tidings of the rescue. In all the troubled

hours that followed, Pennsylvania never grew weary or shirked her duty. By regiments, by brigades, by divisions, aye, sir, by armies of soldiers, she came to the rescue, and from her tax-burdened exchequer thousands, tens of thousands, hundreds of thousands, and millions, she gave to sustain the cause. In the supreme council of the nation foremost, she was heard among the earnest, the clearest, and the loudest in aid of that grandest of all grand Republican achievement—the emancipation of four million of human souls from a bondage worse than death.

I ask you, sir, how has Pennsylvania been requited? Four years ago she presented to the Convention at Chicago her famous war Governor as a candidate for Vice-President, and he was rejected. But, though disappointed, she never murmured. In the conflict that followed, she engaged with all her energies in behalf of the Republican nominees. They were elected, and from that time forward what State has stood so earnestly by the National Administration or the Republican party on all questions of distinctive policy? Her delegation in Congress—the Republican members, of course, I mean—have been their staunchest adherents; yet, when these same members have ventured to urge that her interests, in common with those of the whole country, shall not be overlooked, she is denounced as selfish, her people are maligned, and her motives are misrepresented. I trust that before this Convention adjourns it will declare, and that with no uncertain voice, its adherence to those cardinal, economic doctrines which are the very life of our life—our fidelity to the interests and the rights of all sections, North and South, East and West, alike.

I hesitate to continue the catalogue of complaint; but it is painful to acknowledge that this mighty Commonwealth for years has been imploring that her metropolis, second in population and first in industrial activities in this country, should be allowed some suitable arrangement for its postoffice, and it is only within a few days that her prayer has been grudgingly granted.

It is humiliating to be obliged to confess that for years she has been beseeching that the unrivalled naval station, which, as it now appears, with improvident generosity she bestowed on the nation, might be adequately improved, and that it still lies waste and neglected. Sir, when the great public offices of the country are to be filled, she is disregarded. In the Cabinet at Washington she has no voice; in the most important foreign missions she has no representatives. And yet, sir, when recently a journal dedicated to her service proposed that, for reasons similar to those I have mentioned, it might be expedient to select one of her citizens as Vice-President, the proposition was met with sneers, and in one conspicuous instance with worse than sneers—with the insolent declaration, "Pennsylvania, as usual, comes forward with the demand, looking as much like a threat as a demand, about Presidential candidates."

Now I say, sir, that it is utterly untrue that Pennsylvania ever made any demand on such a subject. It would have been, perhaps, far better for her had she done so. It would have been better for her had she insisted upon the position which her rank, her strength, and her influence entitled her to, but which she did not then and does not now demand. And for the purpose of showing how utterly unfounded are all imputations against her, as feeling jealousy or animosity toward her sister States, I will say that this offensive paragraph to which I have referred appeared in a paper printed and circulated in the city of Boston.

And now, as a fitting reply to the insinuations that that paper contained, I am here, under the unanimous instructions of the Pennsylvania delegation, to present the name of a statesman known to the country as an honest, upright, able man, who has labored, and is laboring still, earnestly in behalf of the laboring masses of the country, and for the good of the whole country: I mean Henry Wilson, of Massachusetts. [Mr. McMichael closed amid the wildest applause.]

Mr. LORING, of Massachusetts, came forward to the platform, and said:

SPEECH OF DR. LORING, OF MASSACHUSETTS.

*Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention:* I have but one word to say, gentlemen, upon this subject. Massachusetts has not occupied much of the time of the Convention in speech-making. She has sat here silently and quietly, ready that her voice should be heard whenever called for, and ready to do her duty in solid column when the occasion demands it. I desire to say to this Convention that there is no division in the Republican party in Massachusetts so far as the Administration of General Grant is concerned. [Applause.] I desire, in behalf of that Commonwealth, so true, so devoted to republican principles, to express the gratitude of the delegation from that State to the gentleman who has put in nomination her favorite Senator and son.

Mr. President, this is not the first time that Pennsylvania and Massachusetts have stood side by side. The gentleman who has addressed you said that republicanism found its birth and baptism in Pennsylvania. So they did; but in those days Massachusetts sent down here her John Adams, and Samuel Adams; the blood of Warren and General Hancock give birth to the cause of republicanism; and if it is true that in 1776 republicanism was baptized on this soil, it is also true that Massachusetts was here, and stood by the cradle on that occasion.

Now, I desire to second the nomination of the gentleman from Pennsylvania. In presenting the name of Henry Wilson as a candidate for the Vice-Presidency of the United States, he has not only paid a tribute to the fidelity of Massachusetts to republicanism, but he has paid a tribute to that spirit of genius, devotion, fidelity, honesty, and honor which will always pave the way to great success to the poor and toiling in this country. [Applause.]

Henry Wilson represents, in all his attributes, more than any man I know of, the power of high principles, of thorough devotion to overcome all the obstacles which fall in the path of childhood, and youth, and mature years. For more than a quarter of a century, he has adhered to the great principles of this party. He was devoted to them long before it was a party, and when Massachusetts stood almost alone in the great cause, it was Henry Wilson whose voice was early heard in the cause of freedom. I ask you to name to me the commonwealth in this Union where that voice has not been heard in the cause. I ask you to point me the down-trodden and oppressed citizens of the United States who have not been encouraged by Henry Wilson, and aided in lifting themselves above the oppressor. [Applause.] I ask, moreover, the successful politicians of this, and of almost every State, to tell me how many times Henry Wilson's voice has been heard speaking for them and their cause. [Applause.] Warm-hearted, generous, devoted to the Republican principles of brotherhood, this land over, he is ready to do his duty in season and out of season. And let me tell you, my friends, that as Henry Wilson stood by the cradle of the Republican party in his poverty and in his youth, he, if this party is to fall, will follow it to the grave, the saddest and most broken-hearted mourner in all that mournful procession. He is devoted to this cause, and I assure you that he will add strength to the ticket put in nomination to-day, representing as he does, the toiling people of this country. [Applause.]

Mr. OSSIAN RAY, of New Hampshire, spoke as follows:

SPEECH OF OSSIAN RAY.

*Gentlemen of the Convention:* Coming as I do from the State in which Henry Wilson was born, it gives me unbounded pleasure to announce that we are united on Massachusetts' favorite and great Senator, Henry Wilson.

[Applause.] We ought to nominate him as Vice-President because he is a good man and true, because he has always been the friend of the people, whose instincts and impulses are always right. It is peculiarly appropriate we should honor ourselves by honoring him with the nomination. It is as fitting a disapproval on the part of the Republican party of the course of his colleague as could be given. [Applause.]

Another reason why I think he should be nominated on this ticket is that I firmly believe if we were to call up the entire nation and have its vote taken throughout the land, he would receive the entire vote of the Republican party. If they could decide whether or not Henry Wilson should be nominated or some other man selected as a candidate, he would carry the day by a million majority. [Prolonged cheers.] We are here simply to register the choice of the people. The name of Henry Wilson is one which will add strength and fame even to that of the colossal name of the great Captain of the Western World. [Applause.]

Like General Grant, he has been the architect of his own fortunes. He commenced life poor, by graduating from a shoemaker's shop. It is the pride and glory of American civilization that by industry, honesty, and perseverance the highest offices within the nation's gift are within the possible reach of the humblest youth in the land. With a good tanner at the head of the ticket to tan the pelts of the enemy, and with a good shoemaker to sew them up, and drive the pegs, if need be, we shall win next November by a large majority. I pray you, gentlemen, to nominate the honest and noble Henry Wilson. [Cheers.]

#### NAME OF SCHUYLER COLFAX PRESENTED.

Mr. RICHARD W. THOMPSON, of Indiana, addressed the Convention as follows:

In behalf of the united Republican party of the State of Indiana, and in obedience to the unanimous instructions of our State convention, in behalf of the delegates of the State of Indiana, I am instructed to nominate the Hon. Schuyler Colfax. [Prolonged applause.] I do this with satisfaction, because it is a just reward of eminent ability and devoted public service [cheers], of devotion to the country and the integrity and honor of the Union; but that satisfaction is somewhat alloyed by the fact that we find our older and better sister of Massachusetts presenting one of her eminent and honored sons for whom we have the highest possible respect. [Cheers.]

If Mr. Colfax were a new man, I should be required to tell you who and what he was. He is not unknown to fame. Four years ago the names of Grant and Colfax were associated together. [Cheers.] They were the battle-cry which led to that great triumph, placing the principles of reconstruction prominently before the world, emblazoned on the flag of the Republican party. [Cheers.] We do not think they should be separated until another triumph has been won. [Cheers.] We do not think the partnership should be now dissolved, because the firm is not yet insolvent, and its assets are not yet ready to be turned over to the hands of a receiver. [Cheers.] We, however, desire to say upon this question, and to be distinctly understood, that we have no antagonism with our older sisters, Massachusetts and Pennsylvania.

For every man of the delegation which I represent, and for myself personally, I say that among the men of this country who have stood forth boldly in defence of the life of the nation, those who represent the purity of our national institutions, there is not one more worthy to be received with honor than Henry Wilson, of Massachusetts. [Applause.] And in that respect he is not unlike Schuyler Colfax. [Renewed applause.] Without the aid of adventitious wealth in early life, they have both carved their

way to eminence and distinction. They have been enabled to reach the highest positions of honor and distinction in the land, and whether the Republican party shall place the name of one or the other upon the standard which is to bear the name of Grant, it will have achieved a triumph. The honor of the nation may be trusted with them both.

But, while Massachusetts and Pennsylvania, elder sisters of ours, were true to the principles of liberty and of the Republican party, they should not forget that we in the West, younger than they, have followed their example; that when the tocsin of war was sounded, when the flag of rebellion was unfurled, the West was not behind its older sisters in pouring out its treasure and the blood of its sons for the maintenance of the integrity of the Union. [Applause.]

Feeling, therefore, as we do, that by joining the name of Colfax with that of Grant, we utter the same old battle-cry which has been repeated by every child in the land—"Grant and Colfax"—and that it will be the signal of victory, we present his name. [Applause.] We urge his name, believing, as we do, that with it upon our flag, our own State will be triumphant, our party throughout the Union will be triumphant, and the work of reconstruction finally completed, so that hereafter there shall be no more talk of compromise between the extremes of parties, no sugar-coated pills of liberalism and democracy to be administered to our people as the cure for all national ills, but that our nation, going forward in a grand career of glory, will become what she is destined to be, the great shining light of the world, from which shall go out the true principles of republicanism to lead other nations to triumph and victory with us. [Prolonged cheering.]

Mr. WILLIAM A. HOWARD, of Michigan, was then loudly called for, and upon taking the stand spoke as follows:

SPEECH OF WILLIAM A. HOWARD, OF MICHIGAN.

*Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention:* I represent that State which first perfected a Republican State organization—that State which first applied the name of a State organization, with all due deference to my friend from Pennsylvania. The oak tree still stands where that organization was made. No Senator from any State who is now living was there to receive the applause when the name was uttered. Whether there will be any Senator to follow the hearse remains to be seen. In the border of that State, before the State had a name, there came a stripling youth from the great Empire State of New York. He located within five miles of our border. In a little room he opened a printing office. He was compositor, pressman, and editor, and before he was of age, in that way he supported a mother and built up his business, developed his intellect, cultivated statesmanship, and is now the second officer in the great United States. [Applause.]

Eight years ago—yes, ten years ago—when the war was raging, he was made the presiding officer of the popular branch of this great government. So steadily did he hold the reins, with such exact justice did he administer parliamentary law, so firmly did he support the Union, that with his present associate, General Grant, in the field, the war proved a success. Four years ago his name was associated with that of General Grant on the Presidential ticket. Grant and Colfax became the rallying cry throughout the land. Both have proved eminently faithful and successful. In God's name, we ask, why should these names to-day be separated? We do not appeal to this Convention in behalf of our State. Thank God, she stands on her own Republican devotion, with our choice we will ring in a good old twenty thousand majority.

And in passing, let me say that I accord with all that has been said of the son of Massachusetts. I know him well. I have seen him in those days

that tried men's souls. I glory with Massachusetts in her honored son. But I pray to you, gentlemen, do not endanger a doubtful State by insulting her noble son. Insult, did I say? That is too strong an expression. There is not a man in this Convention who would willingly insult Schuyler Colfax. Not one; but it might imply censure. We feel more tenderly for him than if he were a citizen of our own State. Gather up all the good qualities of the candidate named from Massachusetts, and we concede them all, and Schuyler Colfax matches every one of them. He represents a State which may be doubtful, but in which success is certain with his name combined with that of the great leader.

Now, gentlemen of the Convention, I have just one word, and I will relieve your patience. I think the Republican party have a right to appeal to the work that has been done and to name the men who have done it. And, sir, if the good old Roman matron once made her name immortal by pointing to her children, when asked to show her jewels, I say that the Republican party occupies a prouder position to-day than any man or party has occupied since the world began. We present as our jewels four millions of people, whom we found with the shackles of slavery upon them. We found them in shackles, and we present them here before the American people as four millions of free, independent citizens, enjoying all the rights of any favored citizens.

These are the jewels, and therefore I say we have a right to appeal to justice in behalf of those men who have accomplished these great results. Gentlemen of the Convention, I beg leave to say in conclusion, without one word of detraction from any candidate who has been named here—I would take him to my heart of hearts if I deemed it a new question—yet I am constrained, in behalf of the united delegation from a State that never faltered one step from the beginning of the organization, to second the nomination of Schuyler Colfax, of Indiana.

Mr. LYNCH, of Mississippi, said:

SPEECH OF MR. LYNCH, OF MISSISSIPPI.

*Mr. President:* It seems to me that at this important moment the spirit of the martyred President, whose name is written in every heart, rests upon me, and I remember his words on one occasion, that "it was not safe to swap horses while crossing a stream." [Cheers.] I cannot forget the calamity we experienced once by making a swap similar to the one proposed. Now, the name of the gentleman (Mr. Wilson) who has been nominated by other friends is also great. His career, too, is noble. He will be remembered wherever unsullied patriotism and noble devotion to liberty and equality shall be cherished by the people of this country. But I rise to support the nomination of one who stands forth, also, one of the highest symbols of American patriotism and American virtue, whose greatness of mind and goodness of heart causes him to glow with that magnetic power which touches the heart of every man, woman, and child in this great land of ours—Schuyler Colfax. [Prolonged applause.]

SPEECH OF GERRITT SMITH.

Mr. GERRITT SMITH, of New York, next addressed the Convention. He spoke in high terms of Mr. Colfax, and also of General Hawley, who was prominently before them as a candidate. But his preference was for Henry Wilson, an old abolitionist, whose first vote for President was for James G. Birney, and who had ever been the faithful friend and able advocate of the laboring man. His own early life was one of poverty and toil. Mr. Col-

fax's living in a State adjoining General Grant's Mr. Smith regarded as no small objection to Mr. Colfax's nomination.

Mr. CORTLANDT PARKER, of New Jersey, succeeded Mr. Smith. He said, in substance:

In conformity with the wish of New Jersey, expressed by her convention, and speaking the unanimous voice of her delegation, and at their request, I trespass on the patience of the Convention with a few words in behalf of Schuyler Colfax. Not that either we or our people yield to any in appreciation of the distinguished merits of Henry Wilson. Between two such men it is hard to choose. The pride which, as Republicans, we have in possessing them, becomes almost sorrow when such a choice is necessary. Both are eminently representative men. They are each the product of Republican principles. Both are of the people, lovers of right, lovers, in all things, of their country. Both have dignified every office they have filled. Both will adorn any station to which they may be elevated. But the people of New Jersey ask why, when the country says to Ulysses S. Grant, "Well done, good and faithful servant," the same should not be said to Schuyler Colfax. Of him it may be truly said that not one of his official acts has even been criticised, much less reprehended, and if so untoward an event should occur as the death of the President, the world would still confide in the stability of our institutions, did their maintenance fall into the hands of Colfax as our Executive. Nor should locality be urged against him, for the man of Indiana is no longer a western man; the West lies hundreds of miles beyond. Indiana has become a central State. New Jersey clings, then, to her first choice—her choice of four years ago—Schuyler Colfax, of Indiana.

Mr. J. F. QUARLES, of Georgia, said:

REMARKS OF MR. QUARLES, OF GEORGIA.

*Gentlemen of the Convention:* I arise on behalf of a large portion of the Georgia delegation, and on behalf of a great majority of the Southern Republicans, to second the nomination of Henry Wilson, of Massachusetts. [Applause.] While much honor is due to Schuyler Colfax, after all, this great champion of human liberty and freedom in this country deserves something at the hands of the American people. [Applause.]

Sir, commencing his early life in poverty, he began almost with his manhood the battles of humanity in this country. Massachusetts has repeatedly honored him, as she ought to have done; but his reputation is broader than the State of Massachusetts. It reaches out further than any State line can extend, and embraces his whole country. [Applause.] He has labored for his country earnestly and long. He has fought long and well in behalf of human liberty, American honor and dignity, and we think the time has come when the people of this country should give him a recognition for his services. [Applause.] We of the South have an especial interest in this matter. We remember the fiery ordeal through which we have passed, and we remember that while bold and true men stood by us in that ordeal Henry Wilson was among the foremost.

With all due deference to the gentleman who has spoken upon the opposite side of this question, we say that it is always safe to swap horses anywhere if we get one equally as good. [Applause.] Sir, we hold that this is due, not only to the services of Henry Wilson, but that it is due especially to Massachusetts and to the East. [Applause. Cries of "Good!" "good!"] We have taken our President again and again from the West. The Republican party has never selected a candidate for the Presidency from the East. We have taken our Vice-President at the last election from the West, and we



hold that some recognition is due to the East for its devotion to the country. [Cries of "Good!"]

Mr. Chairman, then, in behalf of much the larger portion of the Georgia delegation, in behalf of the great loyal heart of the people of the South, it gives me inexpressible pleasure to second the nomination of the Hon. Henry Wilson, of Massachusetts. [Great applause.]

THE NAME OF JOHN F. LEWIS, OF VIRGINIA, PRESENTED.

Mr. JAMES B. SENER, of Virginia, next addressed the Convention. He said:

I ask ten minutes for Virginia, not for myself, but for others. We come here today, a representative delegation from Virginia, to express the preference of the Republican party in that State in this Convention. We are here by the grace of God and the Republican party of Virginia, and I tell you, men of all sections, men of the North, men of the South, men of the East, and men of the West, that we who in the South endured the fires of the rebellion have the right to be heard.

Mr. President, if God has taught me anything in the history of the civil war it is this: that the North and the South, although divided for awhile, like the waters of the Mississippi may again mingle and flow on in harmony. The Republican party, representing all these diverse channels of human freedom and civil liberty, is yet a unit. Whoever speaks the principles of that party speaks for Virginia.

So great confusion now prevailed as to make the voice of the speaker wholly inaudible. He closed by placing in nomination, in behalf of the Virginia delegation, John F. Lewis, of that State, as a suitable candidate for Vice-President of the United States; a man who, when the fires of rebellion stirred all hearts, was true in his patriotism and devotion to the Union; a man on whose skirts there rest none of the taints of civil war; a man who has been true to the Constitution. "I ask you," said the speaker, "now, men of the North and men of the South, in the name of constitutional liberty and of constitutional law, to rise equal to this great occasion and endorse the nomination I make of John F. Lewis, of Virginia."

THE NAME OF E. J. DAVIS, OF TEXAS, PRESENTED.

Mr. FLANNAGAN, of Texas, next spoke from a portion of the hall distant from the platform, and was nearly inaudible.

He said that while paying due respect to the great names presented to this Convention for the second office in the gift of the American people, endorsing them all as fit and proper men, he presented one whose name stands high in all the States of this Union among all those who love right and justice, a man known and honored among all loyal men of his own State—in the name of the hundred thousand loyal, true-hearted men of Texas—the name of Governor E. J. Davis, of that State.

THE NAME OF HORACE MAYNARD, OF TENNESSEE, PRESENTED.

Mr. DAVID A. NUNN, of Tennessee, also speaking from the audience, was heard indistinctly.

He said he was instructed by the delegation from Tennessee to place in nomination a name not unknown to the people of this nation, the name of a man whose reputation is co-extensive with the Union; eminent in the councils of the nation; a son of the noble and proud old Commonwealth of Massachusetts by birth and education, a citizen of the gallant State of Tennessee by adoption and forty years' residence, combining the elements of both North and South; a man who, in the dark hour of the nation's trouble, never faltered, but stood unmovable as the granite hills. He was at the head of the party in Tennessee that crushed out Andrew Johnson when he proved false to that party, that crushed out the Democracy and struck the death-blow to Ku-Kluxism. That man was Horace Maynard.

#### THE PLATFORM.

The PRESIDENT announced that the Committee on Resolutions were now ready to report, and asked whether the business in which the Convention was engaged should be suspended for that purpose.

General assent was expressed by the Convention.

Mr. SCOTFIELD, of Pennsylvania, chairman of the Committee on Resolutions, then said:

The Committee on Resolutions are now prepared to report a platform. Governor Hawley, of Connecticut, who acted as secretary to the committee, will read the report. I beg gentlemen to remember, as it is read, that the committee had but a very short time to consider a great number of subjects which were presented; and that while every gentleman may not find in our report everything he may desire, it will be observed that the committee have shown no disposition to avoid any question which is agitating the country at the present time. The committee have not been content to repose, as perhaps they might have done, upon the laurels of the party, and refer simply to its past record, but have made expression upon all the great questions of the day. I will not detain the Convention, because you are all anxious to hear what has been done. We submit it now, from the lips of Governor Hawley, to your judgment.

Governor HAWLEY then read the resolutions, as follows:

The Republican party of the United States, assembled in National Convention in the city of Philadelphia, on the 5th and 6th days of June, 1872, again declares its faith, appeals to its history, and announces its position upon the questions before the country.

First. During eleven years of supremacy it has accepted with grand courage the solemn duties of the time. It suppressed a gigantic rebellion, emancipated four millions of slaves, decreed the equal citizenship of all, and established universal suffrage. Exhibiting unparalleled magnanimity, it criminally punished no man for political offences, and warmly welcomed all who proved loyalty by obeying the laws and dealing justly with their neighbors. It has steadily decreased with a firm hand the resultant disorders of a great war, and initiated a wise and humane policy toward the Indians. The Pacific railroad and similar vast enterprises have been generously aided and successfully conducted, the public lands freely given to actual settlers, immigration protected and encouraged, and a full acknowledgment of the naturalized citizen's rights secured from European Powers. A uniform national currency has been provided, repudiation frowned down, the national credit sustained under the most extraordinary burdens, and new bonds negotiated at lower rates. The revenues have been carefully collected and honestly applied. Despite large an-

nual reductions of the rates of taxation, the public debt has been reduced during General Grant's Presidency at the rate of a hundred millions a year, great financial crises have been avoided, and peace and plenty prevail throughout the land. Menacing foreign difficulties have been peacefully and honorably composed, and the honor and power of the nation kept in high respect throughout the world. This glorious record of the past is the party's best pledge for the future. We believe the people will not entrust the Government to any party or combination of men composed chiefly of those who have resisted every step of this beneficent progress.

Second. The recent amendments to the national Constitution should be cordially sustained because they are right, not merely tolerated because they are laws, and should be carried out according to their spirit by appropriate legislation, the enforcement of which can safely be entrusted only to the party that secured those amendments.

Third. Complete liberty and exact equality in the enjoyment of all civil, political, and public rights should be established and effectually maintained throughout the Union by efficient and appropriate State and Federal legislation. Neither the law nor its administration should admit any discrimination in respect of citizens by reason of race, creed, color, or previous condition of servitude.

Fourth. The National Government should seek to maintain honorable peace with all nations, protecting its citizens everywhere, and sympathizing with all peoples who strive for greater liberty.

Fifth. Any system of the civil service under which the subordinate positions of the Government are considered rewards for mere party zeal is fatally demoralizing, and we therefore favor a reform of the system by laws which shall abolish the evils of patronage, and make honesty, efficiency, and fidelity the essential qualifications for public positions, without practically creating a life-tenure of office.

Sixth. We are opposed to further grants of the public lands to corporations and monopolies, and demand that the national domain be set apart for free homes for the people.

Seventh. The annual revenue, after paying current expenditures, pensions, and the interest on the public debt, should furnish a moderate balance for the reduction of the principal and that revenue, except so much as may be derived from a tax upon tobacco and liquors, should be raised by duties upon importations, the details of which should be so adjusted as to aid in securing remunerative wages to labor, and to promote the industries, prosperity, and growth of the whole country.

Eighth. We hold in undying honor the soldiers and sailors whose valor saved the Union. Their pensions are a sacred debt of the nation, and the widows and orphans of those who died for their country are entitled to the care of a generous and grateful people. We favor such additional legislation as will extend the bounty of the Government to all our soldiers and sailors who were honorably discharged, and who, in the line of duty, became disabled, without regard to the length of service or the cause of such discharge.

Ninth. The doctrine of Great Britain and other European powers concerning allegiance—"once a subject always a subject"—having at last, through the efforts of the Republican party, been abandoned, and the American idea of the individual's right to transfer allegiance having been accepted by European nations, it is the duty of our Government to guard with jealous care the rights of adopted citizens against the assumption of unauthorized claims by their former governments; and we urge continued careful encouragement and protection of voluntary immigration.

Tenth. The franking privilege ought to be abolished, and the way prepared for a speedy reduction in the rates of postage.

Eleventh. Among the questions which press for attention is that which concerns the relations of capital and labor, and the Republican party recognizes the duty of so shaping legislation as to secure full protection and the amplest field for capital, and for labor—the creator of capital—the largest opportunities and a just share of the mutual profits of these two great servants of civilization.

Twelfth. We hold that Congress and the President have only fulfilled an imperative duty in their measures for the suppression of violent and treasonable organizations in certain lately rebellious regions, and for the protection of the ballot-box, and therefore they are entitled to the thanks of the nation.

Thirteenth. We denounce repudiation of the public debt, in any form or disguise, as a national crime. We witness with pride the reduction of the principal of the debt, and of the rates of interest upon the balance, and confidently expect that our excellent national currency will be perfected by a speedy resumption of specie payment.

Fourteenth. The Republican party is mindful of its obligations to the loyal women of America for their noble devotion to the cause of freedom. Their admission to wider fields of usefulness is viewed with satisfaction, and the honest demand of any class of citizens for additional rights should be treated with respectful consideration.

Fifteenth. We heartily approve the action of Congress in extending amnesty to those lately in rebellion, and rejoice in the growth of peace and fraternal feeling throughout the land.

Sixteenth. The Republican party proposes to respect the rights reserved by the people to themselves as carefully as the powers delegated by them to the State and to the Federal Government. It disapproves of the resort to unconstitutional laws for the purpose of removing evils, by interference with rights not surrendered by the people to either the State or National Government.

Seventeenth. It is the duty of the general Government to adopt such measures as may tend to encourage and restore American commerce and ship-building.

Eighteenth. We believe that the modest patriotism, the earnest purpose, the sound judgment, the practical wisdom, the incorruptible integrity, and the illustrious services of Ulysses S. Grant have commended him to the heart of the American people, and with him at our head we start to-day upon a new march to victory.

Nineteenth. Henry Wilson, nominated for the Vice-Presidency, known to the whole land from the early days of the great struggle for liberty as an indefatigable laborer in all campaigns, an incorruptible legislator and representative man of American institutions, is worthy to associate with our great leader and share the honors which we pledge our best efforts to bestow upon them.

The nineteenth resolution was adopted after the nomination of Vice-President.

General BURNSIDE, of Rhode Island. *Mr. President:* I move the adoption of the platform as a whole.

The motion was put and unanimously carried.

#### NOMINATION OF VICE-PRESIDENT.

The Convention then resumed the business which was suspended to receive the report of the Committee on Resolutions, it being the execution of

the order that the Convention now proceed to nominate a candidate for Vice-President.

A DELEGATE from Virginia. *Mr. President:* It is with reluctance that I am compelled to ask the attention of the Convention for a moment, but the instructions which the delegates from Virginia have received from an honest constituency impel me to ask your attention. An honorable gentleman, a representative of the Virginia delegation, took the stand a few minutes ago, and claimed that there was not due courtesy paid him while placing in nomination John F. Lewis. For this reason I am compelled to say to this Convention that while I am individually in favor of Henry Wilson, of Massachusetts, I desire now under instructions also to propose the name of Mr. John F. Lewis for the Vice-Presidency.

Governor NOYES, of Ohio, then being called upon, took the stand, and said:

#### SPEECH OF GOVERNOR NOYES.

*Mr. President:* On behalf of a large majority of the Ohio delegation; on behalf of a large Republican constituency which they represent; on behalf of the colored people, whose best friend I shall shortly name—the best friend in those days when there were few; in the name of our living soldiers, and in the name of my dead comrades who sleep upon the Southern battle-fields, I should fail in my duty if I did not second the nomination of the Hon. Henry Wilson, of Massachusetts. [Great applause.]

#### REMARKS OF MR. BICKHAM OF OHIO.

Mr. BICKHAM, of Ohio. *Mr. President:* In behalf of a very large and very respectable minority of the Ohio delegation, who have just as many claims upon the soldiers and the negroes as the majority, I would fail in my duty if I did not present the claims of the Hon. Schuyler Colfax. [Applause.]

#### REMARKS OF MR. HILL, OF MISSISSIPPI.

Mr. HILL, of Mississippi. *Mr. President:* In behalf of a majority of my delegation I wish to state to this Convention that we are in favor of Henry Wilson, of Massachusetts. While I regret that Mr. Colfax wrote his letter withdrawing from the candidacy for Vice-President, I cannot change with him, now that he is running for the nomination, or with anybody else.

#### REMARKS OF GOVERNOR CLAYTON.

Governor POWELL CLAYTON, of Arkansas. *Mr. President:* Four years ago, at Chicago, the Republican delegation from Arkansas threw a unanimous vote for Henry Wilson, of Massachusetts, as candidate for Vice-President, and time has only strengthened the devotion of the Republicans of our State for that great and good man. The name of Henry Wilson is as common as a household word in every hamlet throughout the South, and will be supported by our delegation with the solid vote of Arkansas in this Convention. In saying this I am not to be understood as detracting in any word or syllable from the bright and glorious record of that great statesman now occupying the chair of the Vice-President. [Cries of "Vote, vote!"]

The PRESIDENT. If there are no more nominations to be made, the Secretary will call the roll.

The roll of the States was then called by the Secretary, and at the conclusion of the roll-call the vote stood as follows:

THE BALLOT FOR VICE-PRESIDENT.

At the conclusion of the roll-call the vote stood as follows:

	No. of Delegates	Henry Wilson, of Massachusetts	Schuyler Colfax, of Indiana	Horace Maynard, of Tennessee	John F. Lewis, of Virginia	Edmund J. Davis, of Texas	Joseph R. Hawley, of Connecticut	R. F. Noyes, of Ohio
Alabama	20	12	7	1				
Arkansas	12	12						
California	12	12						
Connecticut	12	6	6					
Delaware	6		6					
Florida	8	5	3					
Georgia	22	16	6					
Illinois	42	25	17					
Indiana	30		30					
Iowa	22	19	3					
Kansas	10	10						
Kentucky	24	4	20					
Louisiana	16	5	11					
Maine	14	4	10					
Maryland	16		16					
Massachusetts	26	26						
Michigan	22		22					
Minnesota	10		10					
Mississippi	16	11	4	1				
Missouri	30	27	2				1	
Nebraska	6	2	4					
Nevada	6	6						
New Hampshire	10	10						
New Jersey	18		18					
New York	70	16	53					1
North Carolina	20	20						
Ohio	44	30	14					
Oregon	6		6					
Pennsylvania	58	58						
Rhode Island	8		8					
South Carolina	14	9	5					
Tennessee	24			24				
Texas	16					16		
Vermont	10		10					
Virginia	22				22			
West Virginia	10		10					
Wisconsin	20	16	5					
Arizona	2		2					
Colorado	2	1	1					
Dakota	2	1½	1½					
District of Columbia	2		2					
Idaho	2		2					
Montana	2		2					
New Mexico	2	2						
Utah	2		2					
Washington	2		2					
Wyoming	2	1	1					
Total	752	364½	321½	26	22	16	1	1

Mr. JOHN R. POPHAM, of Virginia. *Mr. President:* Twenty delegates of Virginia desire to change their votes to that man who, in the opinion of those delegates, is by far the strongest of all others with every Republican, of whatever form, condition, or complexion; a man who is all the stronger for the reason that they respect him and reverence him for his outspoken fearlessness,

his patriotism and his integrity. I am instructed to change twenty votes to Henry Wilson and two votes for Schuyler Colfax.

Mr. STEVENSON, of West Virginia. *Mr. President:* I am instructed to change the vote of West Virginia to nine for Wilson and one for Colfax.

Mr. JOHN S. BIGBY, of Georgia. *Mr. President:* I am instructed to change the vote of Georgia so as to make it unanimous for Wilson.

The vote now stood—

Whole number .....	752
Necessary to a choice .....	377
Henry Wilson, of Massachusetts, had .....	399½
Schuyler Colfax, of Indiana, had .....	308½
Horace Maynard, of Tennessee, had .....	26
Edmund J. Davis, of Texas, had .....	10
Joseph R. Hawley, of Connecticut, had .....	1
Edward F. Noyes, of Ohio, had .....	2

At this point, although the result of the ballot had not been announced, it was apparent to all that the Hon. HENRY WILSON, of Massachusetts, had received a majority of the votes of the Convention, and the wildest demonstrations of satisfaction broke out in every part of the house. The enthusiasm was a repetition of that which was manifested when the nomination of President Grant was announced. Chairmen of delegations in different parts of the floor were, amidst all the commotion, struggling to obtain recognition by the Chair to change the votes of their States, when the floor was awarded to the chairman of the Indiana delegation.

Hon. HENRY S. LANE, of Indiana. *Mr. President:* I am instructed by the united delegation from Indiana to move that the nomination of that distinguished patriot and son of Massachusetts, Henry Wilson, be made unanimous.

The motion was put, and, the entire Convention rising *en masse*, was adopted with one swelling *aye!*

The President then announced officially the nomination of Ulysses S. Grant and Henry Wilson as candidates of the Republican party of the United States respectively for the offices of President and Vice-President in the coming election, and that the officers of the Convention would notify them officially at the close of the Convention.

#### DISPATCH FROM MR. COLFAX.

The President then read the following telegraphic dispatch from Schuyler Colfax to Colonel J. W. Foster, of Indiana:

WASHINGTON, June 6, 1872.

JOHN W. FOSTER, *Indiana:*

Accept for yourself and delegation my sincere gratitude for your gallant contest. I support the ticket cheerfully. Men are nothing, principles everything. Nothing must arrest Republican triumph until equality under law, like liberty, from which it springs, is universally acknowledged, and the citizenship of the humblest becomes a sure protection against outrage and wrong, as was Roman citizenship of old.

SCHUYLER COLFAX.

The reading of the dispatch was received with warm applause.

## THANKS OF THE CONVENTION.

Mr. CHARLES S. SPENCER, of New York, offered the following, which was applauded and adopted:

*Resolved*, That the thanks of this Convention are hereby heartily given to the generous citizens of Philadelphia, from whom its delegates have received the kindest treatment and the greatest courtesy.

A DELEGATE also offered a resolution of thanks to the President of the Convention for the dignity, impartiality, and ability with which he had discharged his arduous duties as presiding officer, and to the officers of the Convention; which was unanimously adopted, with cheers.

The PRESIDENT. There remains for me but one more official act to perform; which is to declare, as I now do, this Convention adjourned *sine die*.





**APPENDIX.**

**ROLL OF DELEGATES AND ALTERNATES**  
**TO THE**  
**NATIONAL UNION REPUBLICAN CONVENTION**  
**HELD AT**  
**PHILADELPHIA, JUNE 5 AND 6, 1872.**

**With Post Office Address of Each.**

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**TOGETHER WITH A STATEMENT OF NUMBER OF DELEGATES TO WHICH EACH  
STATE WAS ENTITLED; NAMES OF OFFICERS OF THE STATE  
COMMITTEES, AND THE CALLS AND  
PLATFORMS OF ALL THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTIONS  
SINCE 1856.**

# NAMES AND POST OFFICE ADDRESS OF DELEGATES AND ALTERNATES TO THE NATIONAL RE- PUBLICAN CONVENTION OF 1872.

[Those whose names are marked with an asterisk (\*) were alternates, who attended the Convention in place of the delegates chosen.]

ALABAMA.	
DELEGATES.	ALTERNATES.
AT LARGE.	
R. M. Reynolds..Camden, Wilcox co.	....AW.Jones, Evergreen, Conecuh co.
N. B. Cloud*.....	.....
.....Montgomery, Montgomery co.	.....
Lewis E. Parsons.....	....W. B. Bowen, Tuskegee, Macon co.
.....Talladega, Talladega co.	.....
P. G. Clark.....Marion, Perry co.	....Joseph H. Speed..Marion, Perry co.
J. W. Burke*.....	.....
.....Jacksonville, Calhoun co.	.....
George E. Spencer*.....	.....
.....Decatur, Morgan co.	.....
James P. Stowe, Chairman.....	....William Miller, Jr.....
.....Montgomery	.....Greenville, Butler co.
Paul Strobach .....Montgomery	....Alexander White.Selma, Dallas co.

## DISTRICTS—(old apportionment).

1.—D. E. Coon ....Selma, Dallas co.	....James M. Jackson.....
Phillip Joseph..Mobile, Mobile co.	.....Gainestown, Clarke co.
.....	....Jerre Harralson.....
2.—J. V. McDuffie.....	.....Selma, Dallas co.
.....Hayneville, Lowndes co.	....D. C. Whiting.....
E. M. Klels..Eufaula, Barbour co.	.....Montgomery, Montgomery co.
.....	....B. F. Royal.....
3.—Isaac Heyman....Opelika, Lee co.	.....Union Springs, Bullock co.
.....	....Robert S. Keflin.....
Wm. V. Turner.....	.....Wedowee, Randolph co.
.....Wetumpka, Elmore co.	....Lisbon Cherry.....
4.—W. B. Jones.....	.....Bluffton, Chambers co.
.....Demopolis, Marengo co.	....George M. Duskln.....
W. G. M. Gholson.....	.....Greenborough, Hale co.
.....Prattville, Autauga co.	....A. H. Curtis.....
5.—William Gaston*.....	.....Marion, Perry co.
.....Huntsville, Madison co.	.....
P. J. Smith.....Attalla, Etowah co.	....J. A. De Armon.....
6.—C. C. Sheets*..Decatur, Morgan co.	.....Calhoun co.
.....	....Thomas Oliver.....
S. Bynum* ..... ———	.....Elyton, Jefferson co.

## ARKANSAS.

### AT LARGE.

Powell Clayton, Chairman.....	.....
.....Little Rock Pulaski co.	.....
O. A. Hadley..Little Rock, Pulaski co.	.....
William H. Grey..Helena, Phillips co.	.....

ARKANSAS—*Cont.*

DELEGATES.	DISTRICTS—(old apportionment.	ALTERNATES.
1.—Elisha Baxter .....	.....	.....
.....Batesville, Independence co.	.....	.....
Stephen Wheeler .....	.....	.....
.....De Vall's Bluff, Prairie co.	.....	.....
J. H. Johnson .....	.....	.....
.....Augusta, Woodruff co.	.....	.....
2.—Oliver P Snyder .....	.....	.....
.....Pine Bluff, Jefferson co.	.....	.....
H. A. Millen .....	.....	V. V. Smith, proxy.....
.....Camden, Ouachita co.	.....	.....Lewisville, Lafayette co.
Thomas V. Rankin .....	.....	.....
.....Monticello, Drew co.	.....	.....
3.—J. M. Johnson .....	.....	.....
.....Huntsville, Madison co.	.....	.....
H. H. White .....	.....	.....
.....Little Rock, Pulaski co.	.....	.....
E. J. Searle.Arkadelphia, Clark co.	.....	Geo. A. Kingston, proxy.....
		.....Arkadelphia, Clark co.

CALIFORNIA.

DISTRICTS.
1.—J. B. Southard*.....San Francisco .....
James Otis, Chairman.....
.....San Francisco .....
James H. Withington.....
.....San Francisco .....
2.—F. K. Shattuck.....
.....Oakland, Alameda co. ....
J. W. B. Dickson.....
.....Placerville, El Dorado co. ....
H. S. Sargent.....
.....Stockton, San Joaquin co. ....
3.—Charles M. Patterson, Secretary .....
.....Marysville, Yuba co. ....
E. Wadsworth .....
.....Yreka, Siskiyou co. ....
A. D. Starr.....
.....Vallejo, Solano co. ....
4.—M. D. Boruck*.....
C. S. Abbott.....
.....San Juan, Monterey co. ....
Thomas Fallon .....
.....San Jose, Santa Clara co. ....

CONNECTICUT.

AT LARGE.
Joseph R. Hawley, Chairman....
.....Hartford, Hartford co. ....
Bartlett Bent .....
.....Middletown, Middlesex co. ....
Sabin L. Sayles.....
.....Killingly, Winham co. ....
John Tweedy....Danbury, Fairfield co. ....
DISTRICTS.
1.—James D. Frary.....
.....New Britain, Hartford co. ....
Lucius S. Fuller .....
.....Tolland, Tolland co. ....
2.—Charles Parker .....
.....Meriden, New Haven co. ....
Jared E. Redfield .....
.....Essex, Middlesex co. ....
3.—Daniel Chadwick.....
.....Lyme, New London co. ....
George S. Moulton .....
.....Windham, Windham co. ....
4.—Joseph F. Calhoun .....
.....Torrington, Litchfield co. ....
Israel M. Bullock.....
.....Bridgeport, Fairfield co. ....



ILLINOIS.

DELEGATES.

**Emery** A. Storrs....Chicago, Cook co.  
**Leonard** F. Ross.....Lewiston, Fulton co.  
**Erasmus** N. Bates\*.....Springfield, Sangamon co.  
**George** F. Dick\*.....Bloomington, McLean co.

ALTERNATES.

....A. McIntosh.....Wilmington, Will co.  
 ....J. C. Sheldon.....Urbana, Champaign co.  
 .... ———— ———— ———— ————

DISTRICTS.

1. ——— J. Y. Scammon, Chairman...Chicago, Cook co.  
 ....Louis Ellsworth.....Naperville, DuPage co.  
 2. ——— Herman Raster.....Chicago, Cook co.  
 ....James L. Campbell.....Chicago, Cook co.  
 3. ——— Clark W. Upton.....Waukeegan, Lake co.  
 ....William Vocke.....Chicago, Cook co.  
 4. ——— J. H. Mayburn.....Elgin, Kane co.  
 ....A. B. Coon.....Marengo, McHenry co.  
 5. ——— John C. Smith.....Galena, Jo Daviess co.  
 ....S. S. Patterson\*.....Geneseo, Henry co.  
 6. ——— Andrew Crawford.....Princeton, Bureau co.  
 ....J. W. Templeton.....Lyman B. Ray, Morris, Grundy co.  
 7. ——— Warren M. Sweetland.....Newark, Kendall co.  
 8. ——— Warren R. Hickox.....Kankakee, Kankakee co.  
 ....N. S. Stevens.....Paxton, Ford co.  
 9. ——— Enoch Emery...Peoria, Peoria co.  
 ....George V. Deltrich\*.....Galesburg, Knox co.  
 10. ——— John McKinney, Sr.....Oquawka, Henderson co.  
 ....Henry Tubbs.....Young America, Warren co.  
 11. ——— George W. Burns.....Quincy, Adams co.  
 ....David Pierson.....Carrollton, Greene co.  
 12. ——— Shelby M. Cullom.....Springfield, Sangamon co.  
 ....John Moses.....Winchester, Scott co.  
 13. ——— Frank Hoblett\*.....Logan co.  
 ....Thomas Snell.....Clinton, DeWitt co.  
 14. ——— Joseph R. Mosser.....Decatur, Macon co.  
 ....James Knight.....Danville, Vermillion co.  
 15. ——— Thomas A. Apperson.....Aetna, Cumberland co.  
 ....James Steele.....Paris, Edgar co.  
 16. ——— Henry C. Goodnow.....Salem, Marion co.  
 ....J. F. Alexander.....Greenville, Bond co.  
 17. ——— Russell Hinckley.....Bellville, St. Clair co.

....C. H. Dalton.....Thornton, Cook co.  
 ....H. D. King.....Chicago, Cook co.  
 ....M. Periolet.....Chicago, Cook co.  
 ....John McArthur.....Chicago, Cook co.  
 ....W. N. Brainard.....Evanston, Cook co.  
 ....Edward S. Taylor.....Evanston, Cook co.  
 ....Ralph Emerson.....Rockford, Winnebago co.  
 ....L. O. Gillman.....Belvidere, Boone co.  
 ....Giles F. Van Vechten.....Lanark, Carroll co.  
 ....D. B. Fife.....Magnolia, Putnam co.  
 ....C. Lynde, Jr.....Rock Island, Rock Island co.  
 ....George W. Lane.....Morris, Grundy co.  
 ....Colguhan Grant.....Morris, Grundy co.  
 ....Winfield S. Campbell.....Manteno, Kankakee co.  
 ....J. R. Parsons.....Livingston co.  
 ....William J. Phelps.....Elmwood, Peoria co.  
 ....Thomas Logan.....Hancock co.  
 ....E. K. Westfall.....McDonough co.  
 ....Joseph B. Gilpin.....Quincy, Adams co.  
 ....George W. Ware.....Jerseyville, Jersey co.  
 ....A. C. Vandewater.....Pana, Christian co.  
 ....J. C. Conkling.....Springfield, Sangamon co.  
 ....Jacob Copples.....Mason co.  
 ....Wood M. Townsend.....Danville, Vermillion co.  
 ....M. L. Dunlap.....Champaign City, Champaign co.  
 ....Samuel W. Moulton.....Shelbyville, Shelby co.  
 ....Thomas A. Stewart.....Lawrence co.  
 ....John Cunningham.....Marion co.  
 ....Joseph T. Eccles.....Hillsboro', Montgomery co.  
 ....John Thomas.....Bellville, St. Clair co.

ILLINOIS—*Cont.*

## DELEGATES.

- A. W. Metcalf.....  
.....Edwardsville, Madison co.  
18.—Robert Harmer\*.....  
.....Thomas H. Burgess.....  
.....Duquoin, Perry co.  
19.—Geo. R. Edwards\*.....  
Israel A. Powell.....  
.....Olney, Richland co.

## ALTERNATES.

- ....Henry M. Kimball.....  
.....Carlinville, Macoupin co.  
....D. L. Davis....., Alexander co.  
....D. R. McMasters....., Randolph co.  
....Amos B. Barrett.....  
.....Mt. Vernon, Jefferson co.  
....David W. Barclay.....  
.....Fairfield, Wayne co.

## INDIANA.

## AT LARGE.

- Henry S. Lane, Chairman.....  
.....Crawfordsville, Montgomery co.  
Richard W. Thompson\*.....  
George K. Steele..Rockville, Parke co.  
T. C. Slaughter.....  
.....Corydon, Harrison co.  
C. W. Chapman.....  
.....Warsaw, Kosciusko co.  
Sol. Meredith.....  
.....Cambridge City, Wayne co.  
Robert McCary.....Indianapolis  
W. H. Russell\*.....
- ....C. W. Cathcart.....  
.....La Porte, La Porte co.  
....H. C. Newcomb.....  
.....Indianapolis, Marion co.  
....Thomas C. Jacques.....  
.....Poseyville, Posey co.  
....Ira G. Grover.....  
.....Greensburg, Decatur co.  
....John Beard.....  
.....Crawfordsville, Montgomery co.  
....W. W. Carter.....  
.....Bowling Green, Clay co.  
.....  
.....

## DISTRICTS.

- 1.—James C. Denny.....  
.....Vincennes, Knox co.  
Levi Ferguson.....  
.....Petersburg, Pike co.  
2.—Jesse J. Brown.....  
.....New Albany, Floyd co.  
W. S. Ferrier.....  
.....Charlestown, Clark co.  
3.—Joseph I. Irwin.....  
.....Columbus, Bartholomew co.  
H. C. Vincent.....  
.....Gilford, Dearborn co.  
4.—J. C. McIntosh.....  
.....Connersville, Fayette co.  
C. C. Binkley.....  
.....Richmond, Wayne co.  
5.—D. E. Williamson.....  
.....Greencastle, Putnam co.  
W. C. Sandefur.....  
.....Franklin, Johnson co.  
6.—Chas. Cruft.....  
.....Terre Haute, Vigo co.  
J. B. Mulky.....  
.....Bloomington, Monroe co.  
7.—John H. Gould.....  
.....Delphi, Carroll co.  
George Nebeker.....  
.....Covington, Fountain co.  
8.—Thomas Jay..Kokomo, Howard co.  
M. S. Robinson.....  
.....Anderson, Madison co.  
9.—M. L. Bundy.....  
.....Newcastle, Henry co.  
George A. Dent.....  
.....Decatur, Adams co.  
10.—Frank Macartney.....  
.....Angola, Steuben co.  
W. H. Trammel.....  
.....Huntington, Huntington co.  
11.—William G. George.....  
.....South Bend, St. Joseph co.  
E. P. Hammond.....  
.....Rensselaer, Jasper co.
- ....Roan Clark.....Rome, Perry co.  
....J. W. Burton.....  
.....Washington, Daviess co.  
....J. H. McCampbell.....  
.....Jeffersonville, Clark co.  
....R. M. Wellman..Jasper, Dubois co.  
....R. L. Davis..Rising Sun, Ohio co.  
....Thomas C. Batchelor.....  
.....Vernon, Jennings co.  
....D. M. Stewart..Rushville, Rush co.  
....W. R. Hough.....  
.....Greenfield, Hancock co.  
.....  
.....  
....W. W. Carter.....  
.....Bowling Green, Clay co.  
....Wm. A. Montgomery.....  
.....Gosport, Owen co.  
....David B. Carter.....  
.....Frankfort, Clinton co.  
....Thomas Underwood.....  
.....La Fayette, Tippecanoe co.  
....M. E. Tingley..Marion, Grant co.  
....G. I. Reed.....Peru, Miami co.  
....J. J. Todd.....Bluffton, Wells co.  
....John W. Heddlington.....  
.....Portland, Jay co.  
....C. O. Myers.....  
.....Kendallville, Noble co.  
....R. Wes. McBride.....  
.....Waterloo, DeKalb co.  
....M. L. McClelland.....  
.....Valparaiso, Porter co.  
....L. C. Rose.....  
.....La Porte, La Porte co.

IOWA.	
DELEGATES.	ALTERNATES.
AT LARGE.	
Grenville M. Dodge, Chairman..	.....J. S. Hurley..Wapello, Louisa co.
.....Council Bluffs, Pottawattomie co.	.....J. E. Burke..Waverly, Bremer co.
W. H. Seevers..Oskaloosa, Mahaska co.	.....John Bersheim.....Council Bluffs.
I. W. Card.....Mason City, Cerro Gordo co.	.....J. W. Havens.....
Alexander Clark.....Muscatine, Muscatine co.	.....Sigourney, Keokuk co.
DISTRICTS—(old apportionment).	
1.—C. W. Slagle.....	.....E. W. Tatlock.....
.....Fairfield, Jefferson co.	.....J. M. Shaffer.....Wapello, Louisa co.
Samuel M. Clark..Keokuk, Lee co.	.....E. S. Bailey.....Clinton, Clinton co.
Norman Everson .....	.....John McKean..Anamosa, Jones co.
2.—Washington, Washington co.	.....J. S. McClure.....Fairfax, Linn co.
John W. Green.....	.....E. S. Fonda.....Osage, Mitchell co.
.....Davenport, Scott co.	.....Danford Eddy..Luana, Clayton co.
Sylvanus Yates..Tipton, Cedar co.	.....H. C. Bulls.....Decorah, Winneshiek co.
3.—S. L. Baker..Andrew, Jackson co.	.....S. T. Caldwell.....Eddyville, Wapello co.
William Vandever .....	.....N. B. Vineyard..Marengo, Iowa co.
Dubuque, Dubuque co.	.....A. B. Cornell.....
Andy J. Felt.....	.....Iowa City, Johnson co.
Nashua, Chickasaw co.	.....D. F. Sellards.....
John H. Gear*.....	.....Mount Ayr, Ringgold co.
4.—Burlington, Des Moines co.	.....B. F. Murray.....
H. S. Winslow.....	.....Winterset, Madison co.
F. M. Drake.....	.....Lewis Todhunter .....
Centerville, Appanoose co.	.....Indianola, Warren co.
H. G. Little.....	.....A. C. Call.....Algona, Kossuth co.
5.—Grinnell, Poweshiek co.	.....D. Carr Early...Sac City, Sac co.
A. R. Anderson.....	.....J. M. Berry.....
Sidney, Fremont co.	.....Webster City, Hamilton co.
W. S. Dungan..Chariton, Lucas co.	
J. S. McIntyre..Clarinda, Page co.	
6.—Isaac Pendleton .....	
.....Sloux City, Woodbury co.	
P. H. Conger.....	
Waterloo, Blackhawk co.	
J. L. Williams.....	
.....Marshalltown, Marshall co.	
KANSAS.	
Benjamin F. Simpson, Chairman	.....R. E. Stephenson.....
.....Paola, Miami co.	.....Olathe, Johnson co.
Henry Buckingham .....	.....A. A. Thomas.....
.....Concordia, Cloud co.	.....Cawker City, Mitchell co.
John A. Martin..Atchison, Atchison co.	.....Frederick Close .....
H. C. Cross.....Emporia, Lyon co.	.....Highland, Doniphan co.
George Noble, Secretary.....	.....E. S. Nichols.....
.....Lawrence, Douglas co.	.....Garnett, Anderson co.
Josiah Kellogg .....	.....M. S. Thomson.....
.....Leavenworth, Leavenworth co.	.....Wyandotte, Wyandotte co.
Charles A. Morris.....	.....Oskaloosa, Jefferson co.
Fort Scott, Bourbon co.	.....Percy Daniels..Girard, Crawford co.
William Baldwin .....	.....J. V. Fairbanks.....
Wichita, Sedgwick co.	.....Winfield, Cowley co.
Thomas Newton*.....	
.....Leavenworth, Leavenworth co.	
John C. Carpenter.....	.....S. J. Smith.....
.....New Chicago, Neosho co.	.....Independence, Montgomery co.
KENTUCKY.	
AT LARGE.	
James Speed .....	.....Geo. H. Griffith.....
.....Louisville, Jefferson co.	.....Louisville, Jefferson co.
William Cassius Goodloe, Chairman	.....John F. Thomas.....
.....Lexington, Fayette co.	.....Paducah, McClacken co.



## OFFICIAL PROCEEDINGS OF THE

KENTUCKY—*Cont.*

## DELEGATES.

Walter Evans.....Hopkinsville, Christian co.  
 John G. Eve.....Barboursville, Knox co.  
 Peter Smith\*.....Frankfort, Franklin co.  
 R. M. Kelly.....Louisville, Jefferson co.

## ALTERNATES.

.....S. Casey.....Caseyville, Union co.  
 .....  
 .....  
 .....  
 .....

## DISTRICTS—(old apportionment).

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1.—Geo. H. Dobyns*.....<br>.....Lancaster, Garrard co.<br>Samuel L. Casey.....<br>.....Caseyville, Union co.         | .....W. Waller....Benton, Marshall co.<br>.....John F. Thomas.....<br>.....Paducah, McCracken co.                         |
| 2.—John B. Bruner.....<br>.....Hardinsburg, Breckenridge co.<br>Eli H. Murray.....<br>.....Louisville, Jefferson co. | .....Thos. Randall.....<br>.....Madisonville, Hopkins co.<br>.....Malcolm McIntire.....<br>.....Hartford, Ohio co.        |
| 3.—W. B. Craddock.....<br>.....Munfordville, Hart co.<br>R. A. Green.....<br>.....Bowling Green, Warren co.          | .....F. H. Richardson.....<br>.....Bowling Green, Warren co.<br>.....J. P. Coleman.....<br>.....Bowling Green, Warren co. |
| 4.—W. H. Hays*.....<br>.....Springfield, Washington co.<br>T. E. Burns, Secretary.....<br>.....Lebanon, Marion co.   | .....A. H. Churchill.....<br>.....Elizabethtown, Hardin co.<br>Thos. G. Griffith.....<br>.....Louisville, Jefferson co.   |
| 5.—Lewis Buckner.....<br>.....Louisville, Jefferson co.<br>W. H. Gibson.....<br>.....Louisville, Jefferson co.       | .....Henry Myers.....<br>.....Covington, Kenton co.<br>E. W. Hawkins.....<br>.....Newport, Campbell co.                   |
| 6.—J. W. Robbins.....<br>.....Falmouth, Pendleton co.<br>Ben. P. Gray*.....<br>.....New Castle, Henry co.            | .....G. J. Doran.....Danville, Boyle co.<br>T. R. Jackson.....<br>.....Lexington, Fayette co.                             |
| 7.—A. H. Adams.....<br>.....Lexington, Fayette co.<br>William R. Fleming.....<br>.....Lexington, Fayette co.         | .....<br>.....<br>.....<br>.....  |
| 8.—J. W. Caperton.....<br>.....Richmond, Madison co.<br>William Berkley*.....<br>.....Bryantsville, Garrard co.      | .....<br>.....<br>.....<br>.....  |
| 9.—Thos. A. Davis.....<br>.....Maysville, Mason co.<br>John Means.....<br>.....Ashland, Boyd co.                     | .....W. W. Culbertson.....<br>.....Catlettsburg, Boyd co.<br>James Howard.....<br>.....Mt. Sterling, Montgomery co.       |

## LOUISIANA.

## AT LARGE.

Jas. Lewis, Chairman.....New Orleans	.....P. B. S. Pinchback.....New Orleans
Louis Trager..... .....Black Hawk Point, Concordia Parish	.....E. Joubert.....New Orleans
E. C. Billings.....New Orleans	.....B. J. Kennedy.....New Orleans
John Ray.....Monroe, Outchita Parish	.....O. C. Blandin.....New Orleans
George W. Carter.....New Orleans	.....
G. Casanave.....New Orleans	.....

## DISTRICTS.

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1.—Jas. B. Wands.....<br>.....Amite City, Tangipahoa Parish<br>C. J. Adolph.....New Orleans                                   | .....E. E. Norton.....New Orleans<br>.....P. Leonard.....<br>.....St. Sophie P. O., Plaquemines<br>.....Parish.                           |
| 2.—W. G. Elliott.....New Orleans<br>Mortimer F. Smith, Edgard<br>P. O. St. John the Baptist Parish                            | .....T. B. Stamps.....<br>.....Carrollton, Jefferson Parish<br>A. Jay Smith.....New Orleans   |
| 3.—C. B. Darrall.....<br>.....Brashear City, St. Mary's Parish<br>J. Henri Burch, Baton Rouge<br>.....East Baton Rouge Parish | .....G. H. Hill.....<br>.....Donaldsonville, Ascension Parish<br>Geo. Williams.....<br>.....Baton Rouge, East Baton Rouge<br>.....Parish. |

LOUISIANA—*Cont.*

DELEGATES.	ALTERNATES.
4.— <b>E. L. Weber</b> ..... St. Francisville, West Feliciana Parish.	....J. H. Hall.....— —
<b>Harry Lott</b> ..... Alexandria, Rapides Parish	....J. H. McVea.....— —
5.— <b>E. W. Robinson</b> ..... Waterproof P. O., Tensas Parish	....— —.....— —
<b>W. F. Southard</b> ..... Monroe, Outchita Parish	....— —.....— —

MAINE.

AT LARGE.	
<b>Isaiah Stetson</b> , Chairman.....	....John Hall.....
.....Bangor, Penobscot co.	.....South Berwick, York co.
<b>Seth Tisdale</b> .....	.....— —.....
.....Ellsworth, Hancock co.	.....Edmund Flye.....
<b>Frederick Robie</b> .....	.....New Castle, Lincoln co.
.....Gorham, Cumberland co.	....Fred C. Perkins.....
<b>Enoch C. Farrington</b> .....	.....Farmington, Franklin co.
.....Fryeburgh, Oxford co.	

DISTRICTS.

1.— <b>Stanley T. Pullen</b> .....	....Luther Billings.....
.....Portland, Cumberland co.	.....Bridgton, Cumberland co.
<b>John E. Butler</b> , Biddeford, York co.	....Seth E. Bryant.....
2.— <b>Frederic E. Shaw</b> .....	....William A. Bradley.....
.....Paris, Oxford co.	.....Fryeburgh, Oxford co.
<b>Alexander H. S. Davis</b> .....	....Seward Dill.....
.....Farmington, Franklin co.	.....Phillips, Franklin co.
3.— <b>Hiram Bliss, Jr.</b> .....	
.....Washington, Knox co.	....Arnold S. Richmond.....
<b>Joseph F. Sanborn</b> .....	.....Monmouth, Kennebec co.
.....Readfield, Kennebec co.	....Russell Kittredge.....
4.— <b>Sylvanus H. Hussey</b> .....	.....Dover, Piscataquis co.
.....Houlton, Aroostook co.	....Charles A. Boutelle.....
<b>Ezra C. Brett</b> .....	.....Bangor, Penobscot co.
5.— <b>Albert G. Jewett</b> .....	....John S. Case.....
.....Belfast, Waldo co.	.....Rockland, Knox co.
<b>Joseph T. Grant</b> .....	....Parker Tuck.....
.....Ellsworth, Hancock co.	.....Bucksport, Hancock co.

MARYLAND.

AT LARGE.

<b>Jacob Tome</b> .....	Port Deposit, Cecil co.	....— —.....
<b>Thomas A. Spence</b> .....	Princess Ann, Somerset co.	....— —.....
<b>Daniel Wiesel</b> .....	Hagerstown, Washington co.	....— —.....
<b>Charles C. Fulton</b> .....	Baltimore city	....— —.....

DISTRICTS.

1.— <b>William H. Barton</b> .....	Cambridge, Dorchester co.	....William H. H. Farrow.....
<b>William Perkins</b> .....	Chestertown, Kent co.	....Snow Hill, Worcester co.
2.— <b>John T. Ensor</b> .....	Towson town, Baltimore co.	....Samuel T. Hopkins.....
<b>William L. W. Seabrook</b> .....	Westminster, Carroll co.	....Easton, Talbot co.
3.— <b>Robert Turner</b> .....	Baltimore city	....A. M. Hancock.....
<b>Thomas Kelso</b> .....	Baltimore city	....Creswell, Harford co.
4.— <b>Samuel M. Shoemaker</b> .....	Baltimore city	....D. K. Ralston.....
<b>John M. McClintock</b> .....	Baltimore city	....Port Deposit, Cecil co.
5.— <b>James A. Gary</b> , Chairman.....	Baltimore city	....Jacob Seaton.....
<b>Alexander Randall</b> .....	Annapolis, Anne Arundel co.	....Augustus Roberts.....
6.— <b>Hopewell Hebb</b> .....	Cumberland, Allegany co.	....Walter Sorrell.....
<b>John L. Linthicum</b> .....	Middletown, Frederick co.	....Baltimore city
		....Samuel W. Chase.....
		....W. G. Tuck, Secretary.....
		....Annapolis, Anne Arundel co.
		....A. A. Lawrence.....
		....Leonardtown, St. Mary's co.
		....A. R. Appleman.....
		....Hagerstown, Washington co.
		....Henry C. England.....
		....Rockville, Montgomery co.

## OFFICIAL PROCEEDINGS OF THE

## MASSACHUSETTS.

## DELEGATES.

## AT LARGE.

## ALTERNATES.

Alexander H. Rice.....	Boston	.....Edward W. Kinsley .....	Boston
George B. Loring, Chairman....	Salem	.....Charles E. Whiting..	Northbridge
P. Emory Aldrich .....	Worcester	.....Amasa Norcross.....	Fitchburg
William Claflin .....	Newton	.....Thomas Talbot .....	North Billerica
Oliver Ames .....	Easton	.....Cyrus Wakefield .....	Wakefield
Sylvander Johnson.....	North Adams	.....Henry S. Briggs .....	Pittsfield

## DISTRICTS—(old apportionment).

1.—Jonathan Bourne, Jr.....	New Bedford	.....John S. Brayton.....	Fall River
John B. D. Coggsell .....	Yarmouth	.....William T. Davis.....	Plymouth
2.—Seth Turner .....	Randolph	.....Hawkes Fearing, Jr.....	Hingham
C. C. Bixby .....	No. Bridgewater	.....J. S. Anthony.....	Taunton
3.—Robert K. Potter.....	Boston	.....W. W. Doherty .....	Boston
Solomon B. Stebbins.....	Boston	.....J. Otis Wetherbee.....	Boston
4.—Joshua B. Smith .....	Cambridge	.....John J. Smith.....	Boston
Richard Beeching.....	East Boston	.....Richard Couch.....	Newburyport
5.—Edwin Patch.....	Lynn	.....Daniel Allen .....	Wakefield
John F. Harris .....	Marblehead	.....Jacob Emerson.....	Methuen
6.—Eugene L. Norton.....	Charlestown	.....J. A. Harwood .....	Littleton
William E. Blunt.....	Haverhill	.....George K. Daniel .....	Needham
7.—Joshua N. Marshall.....	Lowell	.....George C. Brigham.....	Westboro
Edwin C. Morse.....	Natick	.....F. D. Brown .....	Webster
8.—E. B. Stoddard.....	Worcester	.....Elisha Brimhall .....	Clinton
Daniel W. Taft.....	Uxbridge	.....William B. Hale.....	Northampton
9.—Otis T. Ruggles.....	Fitchburg	.....L. H. Taylor .....	Springfield
Horatio G. Knight.....	East Hampton	.....John Branning .....	Lee
10.—Henry J. Bush.....	Westfield		
H. H. Richardson.....	Pittsfield		

## MICHIGAN.

## AT LARGE.

E. B. Ward .....	Detroit, Wayne co	.....F. C. Beaman .....	
George Willard .....		.....Adrian, Lenawee co.	
.....Battle Creek, Calhoun co		.....H. G. Wells .....	
Wm. A. Howard, Chairman.....		.....Kalamazoo, Kalamazoo co.	
.....Grand Rapids, Kent co		.....Alonzo Sessions.....	Ionia, Ionia co.
Perry Hannah .....		.....J. G. Ramsdell .....	
Traverse City, Grand Traverse co		.....Grand Haven, Ottawa co.	

## DISTRICTS.

1.—Newell Avery.....	Detroit, Wayne co	.....E. W. Meddaugh .....	
John Greusel.....	Detroit, Wayne co	.....Detroit, Wayne co.	
2.—Nathan N. Kendall .....		.....John Gibson.....	Detroit, Wayne co
.....Monroe, Monroe co		.....Lucius Lilley .....	
R. A. Beal .....		.....Tecumseh, Lenawee co.	
.....Ann Arbor, Washtenaw co		.....H. D. Farnham .....	
3.—Harvey Bush.....	Jackson, Jackson co	.....Hillsdale, Hillsdale co.	
J. C. Fitzgerald .....		.....D. R. Cooley .....	
.....Marshall, Calhoun co		.....Union City, Branch co.	
4.—George S. Clapp .....		.....E. S. Lacey.....	Charlotte, Eaton co.
.....St. Joseph, Berrien co		.....C. A. Harrison .....	
James H. Stone.....		.....Paw Paw, Van Buren co.	
.....Kalamazoo, Kalamazoo co.		.....J. G. Wait.....	Sturgis, St. Joseph co.
5.—B. D. Pritchard .....		.....J. W. Stone.....	Allegan, Allegan co.
.....Allegan, Allegan co		.....M. B. Beers.....	Ionia, Ionia co.
H. A. Norton .....		.....Fred J. Lee.....	
6.—J. W. Begole.....	Berlin, Ottawa co	.....Howell, Livingston co.	
.....Flint, Genesee co		.....C. F. Kimball.....	
D. L. Crossman .....		.....Pontiac, Oakland co	
.....Williamston, Ingham co		.....E. F. Mead.....	Romeo, Macomb co.
7.—Ezra Hazen.....	Memphis, St. Clair co		

MICHIGAN—*Cont.*

DELEGATES.	ALTERNATES.
B. W. Huston..Vassar, Tuscola co.	....John Divine .....
8.—C. S. Draper .....	....Lexington, Sanilac co.
.....East Saginaw, Saginaw co	....W. R. Burt.....
James Birney .....	.....East Saginaw, Saginaw co.
.....Bay City, Bay co	....N. B. Bradley..Bay City, Bay co.
9.—B. F. Rogers .....	....W. L. Wetmore .....
.....Ontonagon, Ontonagon co	.....Marquette, Marquette co.
J. F. Brown .....	....D. L. Benton.....
.....Big Rapids, Mecosta co	.....Big Rapids, Mecosta co.

MINNESOTA.

AT LARGE.

C. T. Benedict..Rochester,Olmsted co	....G. B. Cooley .....
A. E. Rice.....Wilmar, Kandiyohi co	.....Mantorville, Dodge co.
D. M. Sabin, Chairman.....	....Asa B. Hutchinson .....
Otto Wallmark .....	.....Hutchinson, McLeod co.
.....Stillwater, Washington co	....H. B. Prince .....
.....Chisago City, Chisago co.	.....Stillwater, Washington co.
	....Oscar Ross .....
	.....Taylor's Falls, Chisago co

DISTRICTS.

1.—J. T. Williams .....	....W. D. Rice.....
.....Mankato, Blue Earth co	.....St. James, Watonwan co
A. C. Dodge, Secretary .....	....A. C. Woolfolk.....
.....Owatonna Steel co	.....Mankato, Blue Earth co.
2.—R. F. Crowell* .....	....William Bickell .....
.....St. Paul, Ramsey co.	.....St. Peter, Nicollet co.
C. H. Goodsell* .....	....— ———— .....
.....Northfield, Rice co.	....— ———— .....
3.—W. E. Hicks .....	....— ———— .....
.....Alexandria, Douglass co.	....I. C. Walters .....
William S. King .....	.....Brainerd, Crow Wing co.
.....Minneapolis, Hennepin co.	

MISSISSIPPI.

AT LARGE.

O. C. French, Secretary .....	....M. Howard..Fayette, Jefferson co.
.....Natchez, Adams co.	....G. W. Wells .....
A. Warner .....	.....Holly Springs, Marshall co.
.....Canton, Madison co.	....B. A. Lee..Vicksburg, Warren co.
B. K. Bruce.....Beulah, Bolivar co.	....A. Henderson .....
A. T. Morgan .....	.....Palo Alto, Chickasaw co.
.....Yazoo, Yazoo co.	

DISTRICTS.

1.—R. W. Flourney.....	....— ———— .....
.....Pontotoc, Pontotoc co.	....— ———— .....
L. J. Seurlock .....	....— ———— .....
.....Water Valley, Yallabusha co.	....— ———— .....
2.—B. Harrington.....	....L. C. Abbott .....
.....Friar's Point, Coahoma co.	.....Holly Springs, Marshall co.
James Hill .....	....J. H. Johnson .....
.....Holly Springs, Marshall co.	.....Hernando, De Soto co.
3.—F. M. Abbott .....	....H. C. Powers .....
.....West Point, Colfax co.	.....Starkville, Oktibbeha co.
A. K. Davis..Macon, Noxubee co.	....J. W. Chandler .....
	.....Macon, Noxubee co.
4.—J. H. Sumner .....	....J. J. Spellman .....
.....Lexington, Holmes co.	.....Canton, Madison co.
William Breck .....	....W. W. Chisholm .....
.....Canton, Madison co.	.....DeKalb, Kemper co.
5.—Edwin Hill .....	....— ———— .....
.....Vicksburg, Warren co.	....— ———— .....
James Lynch, Chairman .....	....— ———— .....
.....Jackson, Hinds co.	....— ———— .....
6.—J. R. Lynch.....Natchez, Adams co.	....— ———— .....
A. Parker .....	....— ———— .....
.....Liberty, Amite co.	

## MISSOURI.

DELEGATES.	AT LARGE.	ALTERNATES.
John B. Henderson ..... St. Louis	..... S. S. Burdett	..... Osceola, St. Clair co.
John F. Benjamin ..... Shelby co.	..... P. L. Kelley	..... Mt. Vernon, Lawrence co.
George B. Wedley ..... St. Louis	..... Moses Dixon	..... Kansas City
DISTRICTS—(old apportionment).		
1.—Chauncey I. Filley ..... St. Louis	..... J. H. Johnson	..... St. Louis
Henry A. Clover ..... St. Louis	..... William Kretler	..... St. Louis
John C. Orrick ..... St. Louis	..... Otto C. Ladermann	..... St. Louis
2.—Gustavus A. Finkelnburg ..... St. Louis	..... E. W. Bishop	..... Rolla, Phelps co.
Henry T. Blow, Chairman ..... St. Louis	..... John S. Cavender	..... St. Louis
E. O. Stanard ..... St. Louis	..... D. Q. Gale	..... Washington, Franklin co.
3.—George A. Moser ..... Iron ton, Iron co.	..... A. H. Adams	..... Cape Girardeau, Cape Girardeau co.
Gustave St. Gem ..... St. Genevieve co.	..... G. I. Van Allen	..... Potosi, Washington co.
B. B. Cahoon ..... Fredericktown, Madison co.	..... William T. Stepp	..... Salem, Linn co.
4.—W. F. Cloud ..... Carthage, Jasper co.	..... W. E. Conner	..... Stockton, Cedar co.
J. M. Filler ..... Mt. Vernon, Lawrence co.	..... J. N. Moore	..... Long's Mill, Stone co.
J. P. Ellis ..... Springfield, Greene co.	..... A. F. Lewis	..... Lebanon, Laclede co.
5.—John H. Stover ..... Versailles, Morgan co.	..... W. J. Terrell	..... H. B. Johnson
M. McMillan ..... Boonville, Cooper co.	..... George R. Smith	..... Jefferson City, Cole co.
W. Q. Dallmeyer ..... Jefferson City, Cole co.	..... M. L. Demotte	..... Sedalia, Pettis co.
6.—William Warner ..... Kansas City, Jackson co.	..... M. L. Laughlin	..... Lexington, La Fayette co.
R. T. Van Horn ..... Kansas City, Jackson co.	..... M. A. Lowe	..... Marshall, Saline co.
J. J. Heisel ..... ———	..... A. H. Vandever	..... Hamilton, Caldwell co.
7.—P. A. Thompson ..... Phelps City, Atchison co.	..... J. J. Clark	..... Gallatin, Davis co.
N. A. Winters ..... Trenton, Grundy co.	..... B. F. Marshall	..... St. Joseph, Buchanan co.
John L. Blittinger ..... St. Joseph, Buchanan co.	..... I. V. Pratt	..... Linneus, Linn co.
8.—A. F. Denny ..... Huntsville, Randolph co.	..... J. R. Winchell	..... Hannibal, Marion co.
J. R. Peters ..... Memphis, Scotland co.	..... J. M. London	..... Macon City, Macon co.
William Bishop ..... Clark City, Clark co.	..... C. W. Selfridge	..... ———
9.—Edwin Draper ..... Louisiana, Pike co.	..... G. R. Reich	..... St. Charles, St. Charles co.
D. P. Dyer ..... Louisiana, Pike co.	..... E. Kenpinsky	..... Warrenton, Warren co.
Theodore Bruere ..... St. Charles, St. Charles co.		

## NEBRASKA.

John I. Redick, Chairman ..... Omaha, Douglas co.	..... Joseph Fox	..... Omaha, Douglas co.
John Roberts ..... Nebraska City, Otoe co.	..... Isaac Wills	..... ———, Cass co.
John S. Bowen ..... Blair, Washington co.	..... A. H. Bowen	..... ———, Adams co.
J. B. Weston ..... Beatrice, Gage co.	..... W. F. Chapin	..... Lincoln, Lancaster co.
John D. Nellig ..... West Point, Cuming co.	..... G. W. Dorsey	..... Fremont, Dodge co.
Henry M. Atkinson ..... Brownville, Nemaha co.	..... T. P. Kennard	..... Lincoln, Lancaster co.

NEVADA.

DELEGATES.

L. H. Head....Ruby Valley, Elko co.  
George M. Sabin..Pioche, Lincoln co.  
John G. Grier..Silver City, Lyon co.  
J. W. Haines....Genoa, Douglass co.  
C. H. Eastman....Reno, Washoe co.  
C. C. Stevenson, Chairman.....  
.....Virginia City, Storey co.

ALTERNATES.

T. H. McGrath.....  
.....Virginia City, Storey co.  
W. B. Morse.....  
.....Hamilton, White Pine co.  
R. L. Horton..Austin, Lander co.  
J. D. Minor.....  
.....Carson City, Ormsby co.  
Wm. L. Flagler..Belmont, Nye co.  
J. G. McClinton .....  
.....Aurora, Esmeralda co.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

AT LARGE.

William H. Y. Hackett..Portsmouth  
Frederick Smyth, Chairman.....  
.....Manchester  
James W. Johnson.....Enfield  
Ossian Ray .....Lancaster  
George W. Marston....Portsmouth  
Samuel Upton .....Manchester  
Samuel D. Quarles.....Ossipee  
Charles W. Rand.....Littleton

DISTRICTS.

1.—Charles S. Whitehouse .....  
.....Rochester  
Albert G. Folsom .....Laconia  
2.—Oren C. Moore, Secretary .....  
.....Nashua  
Daniel Barnard .....Franklin  
3.—Dexter Richards .....Newport  
George B. Twitcheil.....Keene  
Samuel G. Fisher.....Dover  
Martin A. Haynes .....Gillford  
Nathan P. Kidder.....Manchester  
A. M. Stuart.....Franklin  
E. H. Cheney.....Lebanon  
Edmund Brown.....Lancaster

NEW JERSEY.

AT LARGE.

Cortlandt Parker, Chairman.....  
.....Newark, Essex co.  
Alexander G. Cattell .....  
.....Merchantville, Camden co.  
Levi D. Jarrard .....  
.....New Brunswick, Middlesex co.  
J. Wyman Jones .....  
.....Englewood, Bergen co.  
John S. Irick .....  
.....Vincentown, Burlington co.  
Jonathan Dixon .....Jersey City  
A. S. Livingston .....  
.....Trenton, Mercer co.  
Joseph Coult..Newton, Sussex co.

DISTRICTS.

1.—John W. Newlin .....  
.....Millville, Cumberland co.  
Augustus S. Barber .....  
.....Woodbury, Gloucester co.  
2.—Charles Hewitt .....  
.....Trenton, Mercer co.  
Isaac W. Carmichael .....  
.....Tom's River, Ocean co.  
3.—Amos Clark, Jr.....  
.....Elizabeth, Union co.  
John W. Herbert.....  
.....Marlborough, Monmouth co.  
4.—David Vickers .....  
.....Deckertown, Sussex co.  
F. A. Potts.....  
.....Pittstown, Hunterdon co.  
5.—George Wurts .....  
.....Paterson, Passaic co.  
Columbus Beach\* .....  
.....Rockaway, Morris co.  
6.—Frederick H. Harris .....  
.....Newark, Essex co.  
Daniel Dodd.....Newark, Essex co.  
7.—James Gopsill .....Jersey City  
D. S. Gregory .....Jersey City  
Coleman F. Leaming .....  
.....Cape May, Cape May co.  
B. F. Archer .....  
William Moon .....  
.....May's Landing, Atlantic co.  
James Buchanan .....  
.....Trenton, Mercer co.  
P. Cortelyou .....  
.....Mattewan, Monmouth co.  
John N. Edgar .....  
.....Summit, Union co.  
Hugh M. Gaston .....  
.....Somerville, Somerset co.  
Samuel S. Clark .....  
.....Belvidere, Warren co.  
Adam Carr..Paterson, Passaic co.  
D. W. Baker..Newark, Essex co.  
A. P. Condit....Orange, Essex co.  
J. M. Corneison.....Jersey City  
B. F. Hart..Hoboken, Hudson co.

## OFFICIAL PROCEEDINGS OF THE

## NEW YORK.

## DELEGATES.

## AT LARGE.

## ALTERNATES.

Gerrit Smith..Peterboro, Madison co.	....Andrew D. White .....	....Ithaca, Tompkins co.
William Orton.....New York city..	....William J. Bacon.....	....Utica, Onieda co.
James N. Matthews..Buffalo, Erie co.	....Freeman Clarke .....	....Rochester, Monroe co.
William F. Butler..New York city	....James W. Booth ..	....New York city
Horace B. Claflin .....	....John C. Robinson ..	....Brooklyn
Stephen B. Moffitt .....	....John A. Griswold.....	....Binghamton, Broome co.
.... Plattsburg, St. Lawrence co.	....Troy, Rensselaer co.	

## DISTRICTS.

1.—John A. King .....	....Morgan Morgans .....	....Cutchogue, Suffolk co.
.... Great Neck, Queens co.	....D. H. Cortelyou .....	....Richmond, Richmond co.
Stephen B. French.....	....George Thomas .....	....Brooklyn
2.—Henry C. Bowen .....	....Lorin Palmer .....	....Brooklyn
Nelson Shaurman .....	....Frederick Cocheu .....	....Brooklyn
3.—Stewart L. Woodford.....	....Albert Ammerman.....	....Brooklyn
Abram B. Baylis.....	....Mathias J. Petre .....	....Brooklyn
4.—Charles Jones.....	....John Davies .....	....Brooklyn
David Williams .....	....Pierre C. Van Wyck .....	....New York city
5.—Henry A. Hurlbut..New York City	....Henry V. Crawford .....	....New York city
James Winterbottom.....	....Henry Theobald.....	....New York city
6.—William Laimbeer..New York city	....H. E. Crampton.....	....New York city
William E. Dodge..New York city	....Solon B. Smith.....	....New York city
7.—Augustus Welsmann .....	....C. D. Van Wagenen.....	....New York city
.... New York city	....John H. White.....	....New York city
Jacob M. Patterson, Jr.....	....James W. Farr.....	....New York city
8.—Charles S. Spencer..New York city	....J. Schoenhoff .....	....New York city
John D. Lawson.....	....Joseph Cudlipp.....	....New York city
9.—H. D. Lapaugh.....	....William A. Wheelock .....	....New York city
Joel W. Mason.....	....Louis Naumann .....	....New York city
10.—William Haw, Jr..New York city	....Seth B. Coles .....	....Nyack, Rockland co.
Salem H. Wales.....New York city	....Robert R. Morris .....	....Westchester Westchester co.
11.—D. Ogden Bradley.....	....Cyrus B. Martin .....	....Newburgh, Orange co.
.... Dobbs' Ferry, Westchester co.	....Gideon Wales .....	....Pike Pond, Sullivan co.
David Robinson .....	....Lemuel Sisson .....	....Mabetttsville, Dutchess co.
12.—Ambrose S. Murray .....	....Nelson P. Aiken .....	....Philmont, Columbia co.
.... Cold Spring, Putnam co.	....Joseph M. Boles .....	....Saugerties, Ulster co.
.... Goshen, Orange co.	....Thaddeus Halt .....	....Modena, Ulster co.
Clinton V. R. Luddington .....	....Charles P. Easton .....	....Albany, Albany co.
13.—B. Platt Carpenter .....	....Charles C. Kromer .....	....Schoharie, Schoharie co.
.... Poughkeepsie, Dutchess co.	....William H. Tefft .....	....Whitehall, Washington co.
Lewis F. Payne.....	....John H. Whiteside .....	....Champlain, Clinton co.
14.—William S. Kenyon .....	....Robert Waddell .....	....Wevertown, Warren co.
.... Kingston, Ulster co.	....Howard M. King .....	....Malone, Franklin co.
Samuel Harris .....	....George M. Gleason.....	....Gouverneur, St. Lawrence co.
15.—Charles H. Adams .....		
.... Catskill, Greene co.		
.... Cohoes, Albany co.		
Henry Smith..Albany, Albany co.		
16.—Martin I. Townsend, Chairman.		
.... Troy, Rensselaer co.		
James Harper .....		
.... Cambridge, Washington, co.		
17.—John Hammond .....		
.... Crown Point, Essex co.		
N. Edson Sheldon .....		
.... Glen's Falls, Warren co.		
18.—William Andrus .....		
.... Malone, Franklin co.		
Edward W. Foster .....		
.... Potsdam, St. Lawrence co.		

NEW YORK—*Cont.*

DELEGATES.

- 19.—Richard Franchot .....  
     Schenectady, Schenectady co.  
     Charles S. Lester .....  
     Saratoga Springs, Saratogo co.  
 20.—Leroy E. Bowe .....  
     Otsego, Otsego co.  
     Robert Barnard .....  
     Greene, Chenango co.  
 21.—Warner Miller .....  
     Herkimer, Herkimer co.  
     Alexander Campell .....  
     Watertown, Jefferson co.  
 22.—Daniel Walker .....  
     North Gage, Oneida co.  
     M. D. Barnett.....Rome, Oneida co.  
 23.—Andrew S. Warner .....  
     Pulaski, Oswego co.  
     Alexander M. Holmes .....  
     Morrisville, Madison co.  
 24.—R. Nelson Gere .....  
     Syracuse, Onondaga co.  
     David Allen Munro .....  
     Camillus, Onondaga co.  
 25.—George I. Post .....  
     Fairhaven, Cayuga co.  
     George W. Jones.....Ovid, Seneca co.  
 26.—Jonathan B. Morey .....  
     Dansville, Livingston co.  
     Daniel Morris .....  
     Penn Yan, Yates co...  
 27.—William L. Bostwick .....  
     Ithaca, Tompkins co.  
     Gurdon G. Manning .....  
     Factoryville, Tioga co.  
 28.—John N. Hungerford .....  
     Corning, Steuben co.  
     Abijah J. Wellman.....  
     Friendsap, Allegany co.  
 29.—A. Carter Wilder .....  
     Rochester, Monroe co.  
     Dan H. Cole.....Albion, Orleans co.  
 30.—Elbert E. Farman .....  
     Warsaw, Wyoming co.  
     William Tyrrell .....  
     Batavia, Genesee co.  
 31.—John Allen.....Buffalo, Erie co.  
     John Greiner.....Buffalo, Erie co.  
 32.—H. O. Lakin .....  
     Jamestown, Chautauqua co.  
     Henry Van Aernam .....  
     Franklinville, Cattaraugus co.

ALTERNATES.

- ....D. V. Berry .....  
     Fonda, Montgomery co.  
     David A. Wells .....  
     Gloversville, Fulton co.  
     William H. Ruggles .....  
     Cooperstown, Otsego co.  
     B. Gage Berry .....  
     Norwich, Chenango co.  
     John C. Wright .....  
     Copenhagen, Lewis co.  
     H. S. Hendee .....  
     Carthage, Jefferson co.  
     C. P. Hayes .....  
     Forestport, Oneida co.  
     A. J. Coggeshall .....  
     Waterville, Oneida co.  
     De Witt Gardner .....  
     Fulton, Oswego co.  
     William H. Brand .....  
     Leonardsville, Madison co.  
     Abram P. Smith .....  
     Cortlandville, Cortland co.  
     Carroll E. Smith .....  
     Syracuse, Onondaga co.  
     T. G. Yeomans .....  
     Walworth, Wayne co.  
     John H. Camp.....Lyons, Wayne co.  
     F. O. Mason.....Geneva, Ontario co.  
     Farley Holmes .....  
     Penn Yan, Yates co.  
     Theodore L. Minier .....  
     Havana, Schuyler co.  
     Alexander E. Andrews .....  
     Binghamton, Broome co.  
     Samuel C. Hoskin.....  
     Avoca, Steuben co.  
     Washington Moses .....  
     Granger, Allegany co.  
     Herman Mutchler .....  
     Rochester, Monroe co.  
     John Berry.....Holley, Orleans co.  
     John Fisher.....Batavia, Genesee co.  
     Russell C. Mordoff .....  
     Perry, Wyoming co.  
     Garrett B. Hunt .....  
     Clarence, Erie co.  
     Benjamin Baker.....  
     East Hamburg, Erie co.  
     B. F. Brewer .....  
     Westfield, Chautauqua co.  
     John Manley .....  
     Little Valley, Cattaraugus co.

NORTH CAROLINA.

AT LARGE.

- Thomas Settle .....  
     Douglas, Rockingham co.  
 Joseph C. Abbott, Chairman.....  
     Abbottsburg, Bladen co.  
 Thomas Powers, \*Secretary.....  
     Newberne, Craven co.  
 James W. Hood .....  
     Charlotte, Mecklenburg co.  
     R. L. Patterson .....  
     Salem, Forsythe co.  
     J. A. Hyman .....  
     Warrenton, Warren co.  
     W. W. Rollins .....  
     Asheville, Buncombe co.

DISTRICTS.

- 1.—Louis Hilliard .....  
     Greenville, Pitt co  
     T. A. Sykes .....  
     Elizabeth City, Pasquotank co.



NORTH CAROLINA—*Cont.*

## DELEGATES.

- 2.—George W. Nason, Jr. ....  
..... Newberne, Craven co.
- ..... L. G. Estes .... Enfield, Halifax co.
- 3.—Edward Cantwell .....  
..... Wilmington, New Hanover co.
- ..... George W. Price, Jr. ....  
..... Wilmington, New Hanover co.
- 4.—James H. Harris .....  
..... Raleigh, Wake co.
- ..... J. H. Williamson .....  
..... Loulsburg, Franklin co.
- 5.—Thomas B. Keogh .....  
..... Greensboro', Guilford co.
- ..... James E. Boyd .....  
..... Graham, Alamance co.
- 6.—John McDonald .....  
..... Concord, Cabarrus co.
- ..... James Sinclair .....  
..... Lumberton, Robeson co.
- 7.—J. J. Mott .....  
..... Catawba Station, Catawba co.
- ..... George H. Brown .....  
..... Wilkesboro', Wilkes co.
- 8.—Pinkney Rollins .....  
..... Asheville, Buncombe co.
- ..... E. R. Hampton .....  
..... Webster, Jackson co.

## ALTERNATES.

- ..... John Robinson .....  
..... Goldsboro', Wayne co.
- ..... Henry Epps .... Halifax, Halifax co.
- ..... W. H. Barker .....  
..... Pelletier's Mills, Cartaret co.
- ..... R. N. Maulsby .....  
..... Whitesville, Columbus co.
- ..... T. F. Lee ..... Raleigh, Wake co.
- ..... Isaac R. Strayhorne .....  
..... Hillsboro, Orange co.
- ..... J. Thromorton .....  
..... Dobson, Surry co.
- ..... George M. Arnold .....  
..... Greensboro, Guilford co.
- ..... ———— ———— ———— ———— ————
- ..... D. L. Pringle .....  
..... Salisbury, Rowan co.
- ..... ———— ———— ———— ———— ————
- ..... V. S. Lusk .....  
..... Asheville, Buncombe co.
- ..... C. S. Moring .....  
..... Old Fort, McDowell co.

## OHIO.

## AT LARGE.

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| Jacob Mueller .....<br>..... Cleveland, Cuyahoga co.            | ..... S. N. Titus .... Pomeroy, Meigs co.                     |
| Samuel Craighead, Chairman ....<br>..... Dayton, Montgomery co. | ..... W. A. Walden .....<br>..... Steubenville, Jefferson co. |
| J. Madison Bell .... Toledo, Lucas co.                          | ..... S. I. Everett .....<br>..... Cleveland, Cuyahoga co.    |
| Henry Kessler ..... Cincinnati                                  | ..... Jos. Bruff .....<br>..... Damascusville, Mahoning co.   |
| R. B. Hayes ..... Cincinnati                                    | ..... Robt. Harlan ..... Cincinnati                           |
| T. W. Sanderson .....<br>..... Youngstown, Mahoning co.         | ..... H. S. Bundy .....<br>..... Reed's Mills, Vinton co.     |

## DISTRICTS—(old apportionment).

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1.—James W. Sands ..... Cincinnati                          | ..... Gustav Wahle ..... Cincinnati                         |
| ..... Henry B. Eckelman .... Cincinnati                     | ..... Charles Kahn ..... Cincinnati                         |
| 2.—Josiah L. Keck ..... Cincinnati                          | ..... A. McGill ..... Cincinnati                            |
| ..... W. F. Tibballs ..... Cincinnati                       | ..... W. E. Davis ..... Cincinnati                          |
| 3.—W. D. Bickham .....<br>..... Dayton, Montgomery co.      | ..... Jas. Saylor ..... Eaton, Preble co.                   |
| ..... J. Kelly O'Neil .....<br>..... Lebanon, Warren co.    | ..... John L. Martin .....<br>..... Dayton, Montgomery co.  |
| 4.—Griffith Ellis .....<br>..... Urbana, Champaign co.      | ..... H. H. Darst .....<br>..... Tippecanoe, Harrison co.   |
| ..... A. G. Conover ..... Piqua, Miami co.                  | ..... I. Gardner .....<br>..... Bellefontaine, Logan co.    |
| 5.—David Harpster .....<br>..... Findley, Hancock co.       | ..... S. H. Hunt .....<br>..... Upper Sandusky, Wyandot co. |
| ..... James L. Price .....<br>..... Van Wert, Van Wert co.  | ..... ———— ———— ———— ———— ————                              |
| 6.—Jeff. Hildebrant .....<br>..... Wilmington, Clinton co.  | ..... B. Sells, Sr. ....<br>..... Georgetown, Brown co.     |
| ..... A. J. Wright* .....<br>..... Greenfield, Highland co. | ..... ———— ———— ———— ———— ————                              |
| 7.—Perry Stewart .....<br>..... Springfield, Clark co.      | ..... C. C. Walcutt .....<br>..... Columbus, Franklin co.   |
| ..... E. F. Noyes .....<br>..... Columbus, Franklin co.     | ..... Dan McMillen .....<br>..... Xenia, Greene co.         |
| 8.—John W. Myers .....<br>..... Mansfield, Richland co.     | ..... J. M. Briggs .....<br>..... Mt. Gilead, Morrow co.    |
| ..... S. E. DeWolf ..... Marion, Marion co.                 | ..... ———— ———— ———— ———— ————                              |

OHIO—*Cont.*

DELEGATES.

- 9.—J. G. Sherman ..... Wakeman, Huron co.  
J. S. York.....Tiffin, Seneca co.
- 10.—Wm. Crouse....Toledo, Lucas co.  
P. C. Hayes..Bryan, Williams co.
- 11.—John B. Gregory ..... Portsmouth, Scioto co.  
W. H. Enoch\* ..... Ironton, Lawrence co.
- 12.—N. J. Turney ..... Circleville, Pickaway co.  
John S. Brasee ..... Lancaster, Fairfield co.
- 13.—Daniel Applegate ..... Zanesville, Muskingum co.  
W. C. Cooper ..... Mt. Vernon, Knox co.
- 14.—Aaron Pardee ..... Wadsworth, Medina co.  
L. J. Sprengle ..... Ashland, Ashland co.
- 15.—N. H. Van Vorhes ..... Athens, Athens co.  
S. S. Knowles ..... Marietta, Washington co
- 16.—Isaac Welch\* ..... ————  
W. H. Gooderel ..... Cambridge, Guernsey co.
- 17.—Wash. Butler ..... Carrollton, Carroll co.  
A. W. Williams.Canton, Stark co.
- 18.—John Huntington ..... Cleveland, Cuyahoga co.  
Jos. Turney\* ..... Newburgh, Cuyahoga co.
- 19.—F. G. Servis ..... Canfield, Mahoning co.  
William M. Eames ..... Ashtabula, Ashtabula co.

ALTERNATES.

- .....John R. Miner ..... Sandusky, Erie co.
- .....A. H. Balsley ..... Fremont, Sandusky co.
- .....W. D. Beckham ..... Napoleon, Henry co.
- .....Asher Cook ..... Perrysburgh, Wood co.
- .....Jno. G. Peeples ..... Portsmouth, Scioto co.
- .....George D. Cole ..... Waverley, Pike co.
- .....John H. Kelly ..... New Lexington, Perry co.
- .....W. C. Fullerton ..... Newark, Licking co.
- .....Jos. Devin ..... Mt. Vernon, Knox co.
- .....H. Horton.....Pomeroy, Meigs co.
- .....F. B. Pond ..... McConnellsville, Morgan co.
- .....J. L. McIlvaine ..... New Philadelphia, Tuscarawas co.
- .....S. B. Philpot ..... Summerfield, Noble co.
- .....Wm. Robinson ..... Steubenville, Jefferson co.
- .....Col. Morris ..... New Lisbon, Columbiana co.
- .....Amos Townsend ..... Cleveland, Cuyahoga co.
- .....C. O. Ridsen ..... Ravenna, Portage co
- .....T. M. Scott ..... Chardon, Geauga co..

OREGON.

- Hiram Smith ..... Harrisburg, Linn co.
- George P. Holman ..... Salem, Marion co.
- Thomas Charman ..... Oregon City, Clackamas co.
- B. F. Dowell ..... Jacksonville, Jackson co.
- J. P. Booth.....Dallas, Polk co.
- M. Peterson ..... Portland, Multnomah co.
- .....Proxy.—H. W. Corbett.....
- .....Proxy.—Myer Hirsch .....
- .....Proxy.—H. R. Kincaid ..... Washington, D. C.
- .....Proxy.—J. F. Devore.....

PENNSYLVANIA.

AT LARGE.

- Morton McMichael, Chairman .. Philadelphia
- J. W. F. White ..... Montrose, Susquehanna co.
- Henry H. Bingham.....Philadelphia
- M. S. Quay ..... Beaver, Beaver co.
- A. H. Gross ..... Byberry P. O., Philadelphia co.
- David F. Houston.....Philadelphia
- .....William H. Jessup .....
- .....Robert Furvis .....
- .....William H. Koontz ..... Somerset, Somerset co.
- .....Samuel B. Dick ..... Meadville, Crawford co.
- .....Sanderson R. Martin..Philadelphia
- .....William D. Fortin .....Philadelphia

PENNSYLVANIA—*Cont.*

DELEGATES.	DISTRICTS	ALTERNATES.
1.—James N. Kerns ..... Philadelphia	..... William Zane..... Philadelphia.	..... William Zane..... Philadelphia.
James Gillingham ..... Philadelphia	..... William Pidgeon..... Philadelphia.	..... William Pidgeon..... Philadelphia.
2.—George H. Smith* ..... Philadelphia	..... William Calhoran..... Philadelphia.	..... William Calhoran..... Philadelphia.
John A. Shermer ..... Philadelphia	..... Frank Gwynn..... Philadelphia.	..... Frank Gwynn..... Philadelphia.
3.—George Truman, Jr. .... Philadelphia	..... James C. Kelch..... Philadelphia.	..... James C. Kelch..... Philadelphia.
William M. Bunn ..... Philadelphia	..... Edward H. Fidler..... Philadelphia.	..... Edward H. Fidler..... Philadelphia.
4.—P. A. B. Widener ..... Philadelphia	..... Thomas Dolan..... Philadelphia.	..... Thomas Dolan..... Philadelphia.
Charles Thompson Jones ..... Philadelphia	..... William Leacock..... Philadelphia.	..... William Leacock..... Philadelphia.
5.—John Barlow ..... Philadelphia	..... Samuel Sidebotham..... Philadelphia.	..... Samuel Sidebotham..... Philadelphia.
Joseph C. Ferguson*..... Philadelphia	..... John Bromley..... Philadelphia.	..... John Bromley..... Philadelphia.
6.—Josiah Jackson ..... Kennett Square, Chester co.	..... H. E. Steele..... Coatesville, Chester co.	..... H. E. Steele..... Coatesville, Chester co.
William Ward ..... Chester, Delaware co.	..... James T. Temple..... Darby, Delaware co.	..... James T. Temple..... Darby, Delaware co.
7.—Amos Henderson ..... Lancaster, Lancaster co.	..... William G. Case..... Columbia, Lancaster co.	..... William G. Case..... Columbia, Lancaster co.
John Strohm ..... Lancaster, Lancaster co.	..... R. W. Shenck..... Lancaster, Lancaster co.	..... R. W. Shenck..... Lancaster, Lancaster co.
8.—Samuel Frees..... Reading, Berks co.	..... Harrison Maltzberger..... Reading, Berks co.	..... Harrison Maltzberger..... Reading, Berks co.
William G. Moore ..... Womelsdorf, Berks co.	..... William D. Shomo..... Hamburg, Berks co.	..... William D. Shomo..... Hamburg, Berks co.
9.—D. O. Hitner ..... Norristown, Montgomery co.	..... James L. Selfridge..... Bethlehem, Northampton co.	..... James L. Selfridge..... Bethlehem, Northampton co.
John C. Pennington..... New Hope, Bucks co.	..... Jacob Van Buskirk..... Milford, Bucks co.	..... Jacob Van Buskirk..... Milford, Bucks co.
10.—Charles Albright ..... Mauch Chunk, Carbon co.	..... John W. Stokes..... Stroudsburg, Monroe co.	..... John W. Stokes..... Stroudsburg, Monroe co.
John Williamson ..... Allentown, Lehigh co.	..... John L. Schreiber..... Allentown, Lehigh co.	..... John L. Schreiber..... Allentown, Lehigh co.
11.—W. R. Smith..... Pottsville, Schuylkill co.	..... C. F. Shindle..... Tamaqua, Schuylkill co.	..... C. F. Shindle..... Tamaqua, Schuylkill co.
M. Whitmoyer ..... Bloomsburg, Columbia co.	..... D. A. Beckley..... Bloomsburg, Columbia co.	..... D. A. Beckley..... Bloomsburg, Columbia co.
12.—S. F. Barr..... Harrisburg, Dauphin co.	..... C. M. Brown..... Harrisburg, Dauphin co.	..... C. M. Brown..... Harrisburg, Dauphin co.
George Melley ..... Lebanon, Lebanon co.	..... P. Hoopes..... Cornwall, Lebanon co.	..... P. Hoopes..... Cornwall, Lebanon co.
13.—Joseph A. Scranton..... Scranton, Luzerne co.	..... O. F. Gaines..... Pittston, Luzerne co.	..... O. F. Gaines..... Pittston, Luzerne co.
L. D. Shoemaker..... Wilkesbarre, Luzerne co.	..... John McNish..... Wilkesbarre, Luzerne co.	..... John McNish..... Wilkesbarre, Luzerne co.
14.—N. C. Ellsbra..... Towanda, Bradford co.	..... L. F. Fitch..... Montrose, Susquehanna co.	..... L. F. Fitch..... Montrose, Susquehanna co.
P. M. Osterhout ..... Tunkhannock, Wyoming co.	..... M. A. Rogers..... Dushore, Sullivan co.	..... M. A. Rogers..... Dushore, Sullivan co.
15.—Robert W. Foresman ..... Williamsport, Lycoming co.	..... L. H. Kinney..... Coudersport, Potter co.	..... L. H. Kinney..... Coudersport, Potter co.
Jerome B. Potter ..... Wellsboro, Tioga co.	..... John W. Phelps..... Coudersport, Potter co.	..... John W. Phelps..... Coudersport, Potter co.
16.—Edmund Blanchard ..... Bellefonte, Centre co.	..... A. Wilcox..... Benzinger, Elk co.	..... A. Wilcox..... Benzinger, Elk co.
David W. Woods ..... Lewistown, Mifflin co.	..... James K. Davis..... Selingsgrove, Snyder co.	..... James K. Davis..... Selingsgrove, Snyder co.
17.—Samuel McCamant ..... Tyrone, Blair co.	..... George W. Johnson..... Huntingdon, Huntingdon co.	..... George W. Johnson..... Huntingdon, Huntingdon co.
C. T. Roberts ..... Ebensboro, Cambria co.	..... William C. Roller..... Hollidaysburg, Blair co.	..... William C. Roller..... Hollidaysburg, Blair co.
18.—George B. Weistling..... Chambersburg, Franklin co.	..... John J. Cromer..... McConnellsburg, Fulton co.	..... John J. Cromer..... McConnellsburg, Fulton co.
Joseph Pomeroy ..... Academia, Juniata co.	..... John M. Krauth..... Gettysburg, Adams co.	..... John M. Krauth..... Gettysburg, Adams co.
19.—W. D. Rogers ..... Waynesburg, Green co.	..... John J. Worley..... Waynesburg, Green co.	..... John J. Worley..... Waynesburg, Green co.
Thomas F. Gallagher..... Latrobe, Westmoreland co.	..... W. J. Hitchman..... Westmoreland co.	..... W. J. Hitchman..... Westmoreland co.
20.—E. B. Brandt..... Mechanicsburg, Cumberland co.	..... Peter Ritner..... Kerrsville, Cumberland co.	..... Peter Ritner..... Kerrsville, Cumberland co.
W. H. Shibley ..... New Bloomfield, Perry co.	..... John T. Miller..... Newport, Perry co.	..... John T. Miller..... Newport, Perry co.
21.—J. K. Thompson ..... Indiana, Indiana co.	..... T. S. Wilson..... Clarion, Clarion co.	..... T. S. Wilson..... Clarion, Clarion co.

PENNSYLVANIA—*Cont.*

DELEGATES.

A. G. Henry.....  
 22.—M. S. Humphries.....Kittanning, Armstrong co.  
       H. W. Oliver.....Pittsburgh, Allegheny co.  
 23.—James L. Graham.....Pittsburgh, Allegheny co.  
       H. M. Long.....Allegheny, Allegheny co.  
       Pittsburgh, Allegheny co.  
 24.—C. McCandless.....Butler, Butler co.  
       David M. Boyd\*.....Washington, Washington co.  
 25.—A. B. McCartney.....Mercer, Mercer co.  
       George K. Anderson.....Titusville, Crawford co.  
 26.—C. W. Gillfillan.....Franklin, Venango co.  
       G. W. Scofield.....Warren, Warren co.

ALTERNATES.

John P. Norman.....  
       J. M. Brush.....Clarion, Clarion co.  
       P. C. Shannon.....Pittsburgh, Allegheny co.  
       S. A. Neal.....Pittsburgh, Allegheny co.  
       W. J. Gilmore.....Allegheny, Allegheny co.  
       Pittsburgh, Allegheny co.  
       Henry Pillow.....Butler, Butler co.  
       John Hall.....Washington, Washington co.  
       S. H. Miller.....Mercer, Mercer co.  
       James A. Stone.....Meadville, Crawford co.  
       S. V. Holliday.....Erie, Erie co.  
       John A. Dale.....Tionesta, Venango co.

RHODE ISLAND.

Ambrose E. Burnside, chairman	.....	.....	.....	.....
Thomas M. Seabury*	.....	.....	.....	.....
William Goddard*	.....	.....	.....	.....
Edward L. Freeman	.....	.....	.....	.....
Nelson W. Aldrich	.....	.....	.....	.....
Latimer W. Ballou	.....	.....	.....	.....
William D. Brayton	.....	.....	.....	.....
Allanson Steere	.....	.....	.....	.....

SOUTH CAROLINA.

AT LARGE.

Franklin J. Moses, Jr.	.....	R. A. Cain.....	Charleston.
A. J. Ransier	.....	R. H. Gleaves.....	Beaufort, Beaufort co.

DISTRICTS—(old apportionment).

1.—H. J. Maxwell	.....	J. P. Greene	.....
Bennettsville, Marlboro' co.	.....	Bennettsville, Marlboro' co.	.....
S. A. Swails	.....	B. F. Whittemore	.....
Kingstree, Williamsburg co.	.....	Darlington C. H., Darlington co.	.....
F. H. Frost*	.....	J. N. Hayne	.....
2.—E. W. M. Mackey, chairman	.....	Aiken, Barnwell co.	.....
Robert Smalls	.....	C. D. Hayne	.....
Beaufort, Beaufort co.	.....	Aiken, Barnwell co.	.....
George F. McIntyre	.....	P. P. Hedges	.....
Walterboro, Colleton co.	.....	Charleston.	.....
3.—R. B. Elliott	.....	S. J. Lee	.....
Columbia, Richland co.	.....	Hamburg, Edgefield co.	.....
W. B. Nash	.....	C. M. Wilder	.....
Columbia, Richland co.	.....	Columbia, Richland co.	.....
James L. Orr	.....	Lawrence Cain	.....
Anderson C. H., Anderson co.	.....	Edgefield C. H., Edgefield co.	.....
4.—T. J. Mackey	.....	J. S. Mobley	.....
Chester C. H., Chester co.	.....	Union C. H., Union co.	.....
J. M. Allen	.....	Fort Mill, York Co.	.....
Greenville, Greenville co.	.....		
Joseph Crews*	.....		
Laurens C. H., Laurens co.	.....		

## TENNESSEE.

## DELEGATES.

## AT LARGE.

## ALTERNATES.

David A. Nunn, Chairman.....	.....Edward Shaw, Memphis, Shelby co.
.....Brownsville, Haywood co.	.....J. C. Stanton.....
Henry G. Smith.....	.....Chattanooga, Hamilton co.
.....Memphis, Shelby co.	.....G. W. Blackburn.....
William Y. Elliott.....	.....Columbia, Maury co.
.....Murfreesboro', Rutherford co.	.....J. A. Dewey.....
E. C. Camp*.....	.....Dandridge, Jefferson co.
.....Knoxville, Knox co.	.....W. A. Newland.....
J. A. Hatcher.....	.....Bolivar, Hardeman co.
.....Somerville, Fayette co.	.....A. Boyd.....
J. M. Broadnax.....	.....Covington, Tipton co.

## DISTRICTS.

1.—R. R. Butler.....	.....
.....Taylorsville, Johnson co.	.....C. P. Toncray.....
Max. L. Mayer.....	.....Elizabethtown, Carter co.
.....Jonesborough, Washington co.	.....A. S. Prosser.....
2.—A. J. Ricks.....	.....Knoxville, Knox co.
T. M. Schlier.....	.....
.....Knoxville, Knox co.	.....W. B. Staley, Kingston, Roane co.
3.—Samuel Bard*.....	.....A. J. Flowers.....
Henry Deutsch.....	.....Chattanooga, Hamilton co.
.....Chattanooga, Hamilton co.	.....William Houston.....
4.—W. H. Wisener.....	.....Shelbyville, Bedford co.
.....Shelbyville, Bedford co.	.....S. D. Mather.....
George E. Grisham*.....	.....Winchester, Franklin co.
.....Jonesborough, Washington co.	.....
5.—Thomas A. Kercheval*.....	.....
.....Nashville, Davidson co.	.....Columbus Johnson.....
Moses R. Johnson.....	.....Nashville, Davidson co.
.....Nashville, Davidson co.	.....R. P. Clark.....
6.—J. M. Hill.....	.....Pulaski, Giles co.
.....Memphis, Shelby co.	.....A. W. Moss.....
D. B. Cliffe.....	.....Franklin, Williamson co.
.....Franklin, Williamson co.	.....Benj. Adkinson.....
7.—N. F. Hood.....	.....Clarksville, Montgomery co.
.....Clarksville, Montgomery co.	.....James C. Wheeler.....
R. M. Thompson.....	.....Dover, Stewart co.
.....Huntingdon, Carroll co.	.....
8.—W. A. Mabrey.....	.....
.....Brownsville, Haywood co.	.....James Lott.....
A. S. Mitchell*.....	.....Memphis, Shelby co.
9.—Barbour Lewis.....	.....L. E. Dyer.....
.....Memphis, Shelby co.	.....Memphis, Shelby co.
Joseph A. Gronauer.....	.....
.....Somerville, Fayette co.	.....

## TEXAS.

## AT LARGE.

Webster Flanagan, Chairman.....	.....William V. Tunstall.....
.....Henderson Rusk co.	.....Creswell, Houston co.
A. M. Bryant.....	.....A. G. Malloy.....
.....Kentuckytown, Grayson co.	.....Marion co.
G. T. Ruby, Secretary.....	.....C. L. Abbott.....
.....Galveston, Galveston co.	.....Hempstead, Austin co.
James P. Newcomb.....	.....Robert Kerr.....
.....San Antonio, Bexar co.	.....Victoria, Victoria co.

## DISTRICTS—(old apportionment).

1.—J. B. Williamson.....	.....S. H. Russell.....
.....Marshall, Harrison co.	.....Marshall, Harrison co.
William Chambers.....	.....William H. Reynolds.....
.....Liberty, Liberty co.	.....Liberty, Liberty co.
Thomas Younger.....	.....
.....Tyler, Smith co.	.....
2.—W. A. Ellett.....	.....
.....Clarksville, Red River co.	.....
Richard Walker*.....	.....
.....Dallas, Dallas co.	.....
F. W. Sumner.....	.....
.....Sherman, Grayson co.	.....

TEXAS—*Cont.*

DELEGATES.

W. A. Saylor.....  
 Richard Allen.....Bryan, Brazos co.  
 M. V. McMahan.....Houston, Harris co.  
 J. W. Talbot.....Galveston, Galveston co.  
 T. C. Barden.....Georgetown, Williamson co.  
 B. F. Williams.....Victoria, Victoria co.  
 .....Columbus, Colorado co.

ALTERNATES.

W. M. Burton.....  
 .....Richmond, Fort Bend co.  
 A. Zadeck.....Corsicana, Navarro co.  
 N. W. Curry.....  
 .....Galveston, Galveston co.  
 A. Siemering.....  
 .....San Antonio, Bexar co.  
 L. D. Camp.....  
 .....Rockport, Refugio co.  
 J. L. Haynes.....  
 .....Brownsville, Cameron co.

VERMONT.

AT LARGE.

John Gregory Smith, Chairman.....  
 .....St. Albans.  
 George Fairbanks.....St. Johnsbury  
 J. H. Steele.....Hartland  
 W. Grandey.....Vergennes

Wheelock G. Veazey.....Rutland.  
 John B. Meade.....Randolph  
 Asa S. French.....St. Johnsbury.  
 Zadock H. Canfield.....Arlington.

DISTRICTS.

1.—Geo. A. Tuttle.....Rutland.  
 George Nichols, Secretary.....  
 .....Northfield.  
 2.—James Hutchinson, Jr.....Randolph  
 William Harris, Jr.....Windham.  
 3.—George Wilkins.....Stowe.  
 Lawrence Barnes.....Burlington.

N. T. Sprague, Jr.....Brandon.  
 M. S. Colburn.....Manchester.  
 H. R. Stoughton.....Randolph.  
 Clark H. Chapman.....Proctorsville.  
 John W. Hartshorn.....Lunenburg.  
 Jed. P. Clark.....Milton.

VIRGINIA.

AT LARGE.

Edward Daniels.....Richmond.  
 H. H. Wells, Jr.....Richmond.  
 Charles T. Malord.....Gloucester, C. H.  
 L. H. Chandler.....Washington, D. C.  
 Lewis McKenzie.....Alexandria  
 John A. Harman.....Staunton.

C. Y. Thomas.....  
 .....Martinsville, Henry co.  
 P. G. Thomas.....Portsmouth.  
 Rufus S. Jones.....Hampton.  
 John Freeman.....Clover, Halifax co.  
 Hector Davis.....Goochland C. H.  
 John S. Millson.....Norfolk.

DISTRICTS—(old apportionment).

1.—Robert Norton.....Yorktown.  
 P. J. Carter.....Northampton C. H.  
 2.—J. H. Van Auken.....  
 .....Stony Creek, Sussex co.  
 R. G. L. Paige.....Norfolk.  
 3.—John R. Popham, Chairman.....  
 .....Richmond.  
 John Robinson.....  
 .....Deatonville, Amelia co.  
 4.—Ross Hamilton.....  
 .....Boynton, Mecklenburg co.  
 M. R. Lloyd.....Pittsylvania C. H.  
 5.—John Boisseau.....Lynchburg.  
 Caesar Perkins.....Lynchburg.  
 6.—Randolph Martin.....Winchester.  
 C. D. Gray.....Harrisonburg.  
 7.—James B. Sener.....Fredericksburg.  
 Richard H. Lee.....  
 .....Warrenton, Fauquier co.  
 8.—J. B. Frier.....  
 .....Salem, Roanoke co.  
 G. G. Goodell.....Marion, Smyth co.

Rufus S. Jones.....Hampton.  
 F. S. Norton.....Williamsburg.  
 Miles Conner.....Portsmouth.  
 C. W. Tinsley.....Norfolk.  
 W. H. Lester.....Richmond.  
 R. G. W. Jones.....  
 Wilcox Wharf, Elizabeth City co.  
 Joseph Davis.....Pittsylvania C. H.  
 Joseph C. Russell.....  
 .....Lawrenceville, Brunswick co.  
 J. W. Porter.....Charlottesville.  
 P. A. Davis.....Buckingham C. H.  
 George H. Haines.....Winchester.  
 James Cochran.....Staunton.  
 C. H. Bramhall.....  
 .....Falls Church, Fairfax co.  
 George L. Seaton.....Alexandria.  
 John W. Woltz.....Richmond.  
 Geo. H. Smith.....  
 .....Marion, Smyth co.

## OFFICIAL PROCEEDINGS OF THE

## WEST VIRGINIA.

DELEGATES.	DISTRICTS.	ALTERNATES.
1.—W. E. Stevenson, Chairman..	.....J. W. Allison.....	Hancock co.
.....Parkersburg, Wood co.	.....W. L. Cole.....	.....West Union, Doddridge co.
R. W. Simmons.....	.....J. M. Pipes.....	.....Moundsville, Marshall co.
George Edwards.....	.....R. S. Northcott.....	.....Clarksburg, Harrison co.
C. F. Scott.....	.....A. C. Moore.....	.....Clarksburg, Harrison co.
.....Harrisville, Ritchie co.	.....J. T. Hoke.....	.....New Creek, Mineral co.
2.—D. D. T. Farnsworth.....	.....Wm. Smith.....	.....Martinsburg, Berkeley co.
.....Buckannon, Upshur co.	.....George Koonce.....	.....Harper's Ferry, Jefferson co.
J. M. Hagans, Secretary.....	.....William O. Wright.....	.....Cabell Court-House, Cabell co.
.....Morgantown, Monongalia co.	.....George W. Moredock.....	.....Point Pleasant, Mason co.
Charles Hooton.....		
.....Rowlesburg, Preston co.		
3.—T. B. Swann.....		
.....Charleston, Kanawha co.		
R. A. Burnap.....		
.....Point Pleasant, Mason co.		
John E. Schley.....		
.....Sheperdstown, Jefferson co.		

## WISCONSIN.

AT LARGE.
Lucius Fairchild...Madison, Dane co.
C. J. L. Meyer.....
.....Fond du Lac, Fond du Lac co.
Thomas S. Allen.....
.....Oshkosh, Winnebago co.
James Bintliff.....
.....Janesville, Rock co.

## DISTRICTS.

1.—L. S. Blake....Racine, Racine co.	.....A. E. Gilbert.....
Frank Leland.....	.....Waukesha, Waukesha co.
.....Elkhorn, Walworth co.	.....Mark Dresser.....
2.—N. S. Green.....	.....Kenosha, Kenosha co.
.....Milford, Jefferson co.	.....C. H. Phillips.....
E. W. Keyes, Chairman.....	.....Lake Mills, Jefferson co.
.....Madison, Dane co.	.....George Griswold.....
3.—G. W. Ryland.....	.....Columbus, Columbia co.
.....Lancaster, Grant co.	.....W. H. Brisbane.....
A. Ludlow.....	.....Arena, Iowa co.
.....Monroe, Greene co.	.....Wilson Ladue.....
4.—Asahel Finch.....	.....La Fayette, La Fayette co.
.....Milwaukee, Milwaukee co.	.....L. A. Proctor.....
L. F. Frisby.....	.....Milwaukee, Milwaukee co.
.....West Bend, Washington co.	.....E. S. Turner.....
5.—John H. Jones, Secretary....	.....Port Washington, Ozaukee co.
.....Sheboygan, Sheboygan co.	.....Conrad Krez.....
Otto Trocmels.....	.....Sheboygan, Sheboygan co.
.....Manitowoc, Manitowoc co.	.....J. B. Perry.....
6.—George M. Paine.....	.....Fond du Lac, Fond du Lac co.
.....Oshkosh, Winnebago co.	.....C. S. Ogden.....
W. H. H. Wroe.....	.....Wauapaca, Wauapaca co.
.....Medina, Outagamie co.	.....George Grimmer.....
7.—J. G. Thorpe.....	.....Ahnapee, Kewaunee co.
.....Eau Claire, Eau Claire co.	.....R. May.....
John Comstock.....	.....Springville, Vernon co.
.....Hudson, St. Croix co.	.....O. S. Powell.....
8.—Walter D. McIndoe.....	.....River Falls, Pierce co.
.....Wausan, Marathon co.	.....George A. Newes.....
Thaddeus C. Pound.....	.....Grand Rapids, Wood co.
.....Chippewa Falls, Chippewa co.	.....M. H. McCord.....
	.....Shawanaw, Shawanaw co.

# TERRITORIES.

## ARIZONA.

DELEGATES.		ALTERNATES.	
John Titus.....	Tucson.	.....	.....
James H. Toole.....	Tucson.	.....	.....

## COLORADO.

Jerome B. Chaffee.....	Central City.	.....	William Hardin.....	Denver.
George M. Chillicothe.....	Denver.	.....	C. J. Martin.....	Burlington.

## DAKOTA.

[Entitled to two votes; four delegates admitted.]

J. H. Burdick.....	Yankton.	.....	Newton Clark.....	Sioux Falls.
Alexander Hughes.....	Elk Point.	.....	John L. Taylor.....	Vermillion.
Leban H. Litchfield.....	Yankton.	.....	N. E. Phillips.....	Sioux Falls.
John G. Meade.....	Bonhomie.	.....	J. P. Kidder.....	Vermillion.

## DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

Alexander R. Sheperd....	Washington.	.....	F. A. Boswell.....	Washington.
John F. Cooke.....	Washington.	.....	A. M. Green.....	Washington.

## IDAHO.

E. J. Curtis.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
John R. McBride*.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

## MONTANA.

Wilbur F. Sanders.....	Helena.	.....	Jasper A. Viall.....	Helena.
Lucius B. Church.....	Helena.	.....	Lester S. Wilson.....	Bozeman.

## NEW MEXICO.

Marth Giddings.....	Santa Fe.	.....	.....	.....
J. G. Palen.....	Santa Fe.	.....	Proxy.—William Breeden.....	Santa Fe.

## UTAH.

[Elected at the Republican Convention holden at Salt Lake, April 5,  
and rejected by the Convention.]

Thomas Fitch.....	Salt Lake.	.....	George Smith.....	Salt Lake.
Frank Fuller.....	Salt Lake.	.....	William Jennings.....	Salt Lake.

[Elected at the Republican Convention holden at Corrinne, May 16,  
and admitted by the Convention]

A. S. Gould.....	Salt Lake.	.....	Dennis J. Toohy.....	Corrinne.
O. J. Hollister.....	Corrinne.	.....	Oscar G. Sawyer.....	Salt Lake.

## WASHINGTON.

James McNaught*.....	Seattle.	.....	.....	.....
Lynnan B. Andrews.....	Seattle.	.....	.....	.....

## WYOMING.

G. W. Corey*.....	Cheyenne, Laramie co.	.....	J. A. Campbell.....	.....
J. W. Donnellan.....	.....	.....	.....	Cheyenne, Laramie co.
.....	Laramie City, Albany co.	.....	J. W. Hugus.....	.....
.....	.....	.....	.....	Fort Steele, Cabon co.





OFFICIAL NOTIFICATION  
OF  
President Grant and Senator Wilson,  
BY THE  
OFFICERS OF THE CONVENTION,

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 10, 1872.

The President and Vice-Presidents of the National Republican Convention at half past one o'clock to-day, proceeded in a body to the Executive Mansion to formally and officially notify the President of his nomination by the Republican party for the office of President of the United States for the term ending March 4, 1877.

On reaching the Executive Mansion, they were shown into the President's private parlor. The President immediately came in, and was personally introduced to each member of the official party by Hon. Thomas Settle, who presided over the Convention.

The ceremony of introduction over, Mr. Settle addressed the President as follows:

*Mr. President:* We visit you to-day for the purpose of performing a very agreeable duty. We come to officially inform you of your unanimous nomination for the Presidency by the National Republican Convention assembled in Philadelphia on the 6th instant. Beyond making this formal announcement, I do not know that we have anything to add.

Mr. Settle then handed the President the following official letter, signed by the officers of the Convention:

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 10, 1872.

*To the President:*

SIR: In pursuance of our instructions, we, the undersigned, President and Vice-Presidents of the National Republican Convention held in Philadelphia on the 5th and 6th instant, have the honor to inform you of your nomination for re-election to the office of President of the United States.

As it is impossible to give an adequate idea of the enthusiasm which prevailed, or the unanimity which hailed you as the choice of the people, we can only add that you received the entire vote of every State and Territory.

Regarding your re-election as necessary to the peace and continued prosperity of the country, we ask your acceptance of the nomination.

THOMAS SETTLE,

*President National Republican Convention.*

## VICE-PRESIDENTS.

PAUL STROBACH, Alabama.  
 ELISHA BAXTER, Arkansas.  
 H. S. SARGENT, California.  
 SABIN L. SAYLES, Connecticut.  
 ISAAC JUMP, Delaware.  
 BENJAMIN CONLEY, Georgia.  
 EMERY A. STORRS, Illinois.  
 SOL. D. MEREDITH, Indiana.  
 W. H. SEEVERS, Iowa.  
 JOHN C. CARPENTER, Kansas.  
 R. M. KELLY, Kentucky.  
 LEWIS TRAGER, Louisiana.  
 FREDERICK ROBIE, Maine.  
 THOMAS KELSO, Maryland.  
 A. H. RICE, Massachusetts.  
 E. B. WARD, Michigan.  
 C. T. BENEDICT, Minnesota.  
 R. W. FLOURNEY, Mississippi.  
 J. F. BENJAMIN, Missouri.  
 JOHN S. BOWEN, Nebraska.  
 WM. H. Y. HACKETT, New Hampshire  
 DOUGLASS S. GREGORY, New Jersey.

H. B. CLAFLIN, New York.  
 EDWARD CANTWELL, North Carolina  
 JACOB C. MUEHLER, Ohio.  
 JOHN P. BOOTH, Oregon.  
 H. W. OLIVER, Pennsylvania.  
 A. E. BURNSIDE, Rhode Island.  
 A. J. RANSIER, South Carolina.  
 WM. H. WISENER, Tennessee.  
 A. B. NORTON, Texas.  
 H. FAIRBANKS, Vermont.  
 CHAS. T. MALORD, Virginia.  
 CHAS. HOOTON, West Virginia.  
 LUCIUS FAIRCHILD, Wisconsin.  
 DENNIS EGAN, Florida.  
 GEO. M. CHILLICOTHE, Colorado.  
 JOHN F. COOK, District of Columbia.  
 JOHN R. MCBRIDE, Idaho.  
 JOHN W. DONNELLAN, Wyoming.  
 O. J. HOLLISTER, Utah.  
 WM. BREEDEN, New Mexico.  
 L. B. CHURCH, Montana.

The President received the latter, and bowing, said:

Well, gentlemen, at present I am not prepared to fully respond to your letter, but will do so soon.

Judge SETTLE. Thank you, sir.

Mr. STORRS, of Illinois. I wish the President of the Convention would tell President Grant what a superb Convention we had, and how we have never seen anything that equalled it.

Judge SETTLE. My friend is aware that it is not my habit to make a speech, and I confess I do not feel equal to the task he suggests.

THE PRESIDENT. That is a speech I like. I can respond to that. It is short and to the point. [Laughter.]

Judge SETTLE. Nothing is more certain than that I should fail if I attempted anything like a description of the Convention. Mere words cannot do the subject justice. The enthusiasm, the unanimity, the solid vote of every State, the good feeling pervading the entire Convention, cannot be adequately described, and has not been, even in the public prints. In order to fully appreciate the Convention, the President himself should have been present. What we now desire especially to do is to tell the President what we mean to accomplish in November.

Mr. STROBACH, of Alabama. As a representative of the Germans of America, I not only pledge the State of Alabama for you in November by a handsome majority, but I pledge you the overwhelming vote of 800,000 Germans in the United States.

THE PRESIDENT. It is sincerely gratifying to me to know that after holding for three years the exalted office I now occupy, and without any political training whatever, I am again endorsed by kind friends and former supporters. I am, of course, deeply grateful.

General SOLOMON D. MEREDITH. A single word here is appropriate. The nomination of President Grant is unprecedented in all the history of the United States. Every congressional district in Pennsylvania was represented in the Convention, and every vote was cast for you, Mr. President. Never have I seen before in a nominating convention such unanimity as was exhibited at Philadelphia. It is very flattering to you, sir; and now let me say for Indiana that she will give you her fifteen electoral votes. I'll say nothing now as to the precise majority, but of the State you may be sure.

The PRESIDENT. At any rate, General, don't let your people vote but once each. [Laughter.]

General MEREDITH. No; we shall give you the State by a handsome majority by allowing each man to vote once only.

Similar assurances were made to the President by different members of the delegation assenting in a word or two to what General Meredith had said.

Mr. STORRS. The endorsement of General Grant at Philadelphia is the endorsement of a man with good and honest purposes, and my State of Illinois proposes to give him a majority next November of from 30,000 to 50,000.

General JOHN F. BENJAMIN, of Missouri. You are as well aware, Mr. President, as I am, that disaffection has existed in the ranks of the Republican party in Missouri, but we hope to give its electoral vote for Grant and Wilson.

Governor Fairchild, of Wisconsin, followed General Benjamin, pledging the State of Wisconsin, and similar pledges were made by the representative from Michigan and by Mr. Malord, of Virginia.

Mr. A. B. NORRIS, of Texas. *Mr. President:* Every true and loyal man in Texas will give you a cordial support, and for the reason that no loyal man can live in Texas unless he has about him the strong, protecting arm of the Government. We propose to do now what we did in 1868, and our whole duty will be done at the polls. If Horace Greeley is nominated at Baltimore, Texas will give her electoral vote to President Grant.

Mr. W. H. WISENER, of Tennessee. *Mr. President:* It is a great pleasure to me to promise you that we will make in your behalf a gallant fight in Tennessee. There are many Democrats in my State who, if called upon to give up their organization to Greeley and Brown, will prefer to capitulate to you, as they did in 1865.

This closed the congratulatory speech-making. The President then again informed the committee that he would read their letter, and respond in writing.

The delegation then withdrew.

Subsequently the President's letter was received, as follows:

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, D. C., June 10, 1872.

Hon. THOMAS SETTLE, *President National Republican Convention*; PAUL STROBACH, ELISHA A. BAXTER, H. S. SARGENT, and others, *Vice-Presidents*:

GENTLEMEN: Your letter of this date, advising me of the action of the Convention held in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, on the 5th and 6th of this

month, and of my unanimous nomination for the Presidency by it, is received.

I accept the nomination, and through you return my heartfelt thanks to your constituents for this mark of their confidence and support.

If elected in November and protected by a kind Providence in health and strength to perform the duties of the high trust conferred, I promise the same zeal and devotion to the good of the whole people for the future of my official life as shown in the past.

Past experience may guide me in avoiding mistakes inevitable with novices in all professions and in all occupations.

When relieved from the responsibilities of my present trust, by the election of a successor, whether it be at the end of this term or the next, I hope to leave to him, as Executive, a country at peace within its own borders, at peace with outside nations, with a credit at home and abroad, and without embarrassing questions to threaten its future prosperity.

With the expression of a desire to see a speedy healing of all bitterness of feeling between sections, parties, or races of citizens, and the time when the title of *citizen* carries with it all the protection and privileges to the humblest that it does to the most exalted, I subscribe myself, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

U. S. GRANT.

After the delegation left the Executive Mansion they proceeded to the Capitol, and assembled in the room of the Committee on Military Affairs. Senator Wilson having entered, Mr. Settle said that they had a pleasing duty to perform in acquainting him with his nomination for the Vice-Presidency of the United States, and also in presenting him with the official letter of the Convention.

Senator WILSON made the following impromptu reply :

#### SENATOR WILSON'S REPLY.

I will in a day or two give you an answer in writing to this communication. I take this occasion, however, to thank you and the members of the Convention you represent for this manifestation of your confidence. As I neither asked nor wrote to any member of the Convention to give me a vote, I am the more grateful for their generous support. I am grateful, too, for the friendly tone of the Republican press of the country. For thirty years, in public and in private life, I have striven to maintain the distinguishing idea of the Republican party—the freedom and equality of all men. I have striven to be true to my country, and to the rights of our common humanity; to know no sectional interest, nor race, nor color. In the future, as in the past, I shall unfalteringly adhere to the principles which are the convictions of my judgment, heart, and conscience.

I am clearly of the opinion that the great soldier who rendered such illustrious services to the country in the great civil war will be re-elected President of the United States. His humanity to the vanquished, his firmness in vindicating the rights of the humble and defenceless, and his devotion to the leading ideas of the Republican party, cannot be questioned. I esteem it a high honor to be associated with him in the coming contest.

While I am grateful to the friends who gave me such generous support, I honor those who adhere with so much devotion to Mr. Colfax. We have been personal and political friends for nearly twenty years, and it is a source of profound satisfaction to me that our personal relations have not been disturbed by the recent contest. While I shall never cease to feel grateful to friends who honored me by their support, I shall ever entertain sincere respect for those who deemed it to be their duty to give their support to

others. I hope we shall all strive to win to our support every honest and patriotic man in the country; every man true to the rights of humanity; every man who would elevate the condition of the toiling millions and have our Republic become a great Christian nation, an example to the world.

Let it be understood that our ranks are wide open to receive all devoted to the country, and who would advance the happiness and general well-being of all sections of the land and all conditions of the people. We Republicans should offer the hand of reconciliation to all fair-minded and honorable men, and use all legitimate means to achieve success for the honor and salvation of the country, as well as for that of the party which saved the Union and established freedom in every part of the land.

## SENATOR WILSON'S LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE.

WASHINGTON, June 14.

HON. THOMAS SETTLE, *President of the National Republican Convention*;  
PAUL STROBACH, ELISHA BAXTER, H. S. SARGENT, and others, *Vice-Presidents*:

GENTLEMEN: Your note of the 10th instant, conveying to me the action of the Convention in placing my name in nomination for the office of Vice-President of the United States, is before me. I need not give you an assurance of my grateful appreciation of the high honor conferred on me by this action of the fifth National Convention of the Republican party.

Sixteen years ago, in the same city, was held the first meeting of men who, amid the darkness and doubts of that hour of slave-holding ascendancy and aggression, had assembled in national convention to confer with each other on the exigencies to which that fearful domination had brought their country. After a full conference, the highest point of resolve they could reach, the most they dared to recommend, was the avowed purpose to prohibit the existence of slavery in the Territories.

Last week the same party met by its representatives from thirty-seven States and ten Territories, at the same great centre of wealth, intelligence, and power, to review the past, take note of the present, and indicate its line of action for the future. As typical facts of the headlands of the nation's recent history, there sat on its platform, taking a prominent and honorable part in its proceedings, admitted on terms of perfect equality to the leading hotels of the city, not only colored representatives of the race which was ten years before in abject slavery, but one of the oldest and most prominent of the once despised abolitionists, to whom was accorded, as to no other, the warmest demonstration of popular regard and esteem, an ovation not to him alone, but to the cause he had for so many years represented, and to the men and women, living and dead, who had toiled through long years of obliquity and self-sacrifice for the glorious fruition of that hour. It hardly needed a brilliant summary of its platform to set forth its illustrious achievements. The very presence of those men was alone significant of victories already achieved, the progress already made, and the great distance which the nation had travelled between the years 1856 and 1872.

But grand as had been its record, the Republican party rests not on its past alone; it looks to the future and grapples with its problems of duty and danger. It proposes, as objects of its immediate accomplishment, complete liberty and exact equality for all, the enforcement of the recent amendments to the National Constitution, reform in the civil service, the national domain to be set apart for homes for the people, the adjustment of duties on imports as to secure remunerative wages to labor, the extension of bounties to all soldiers and sailors who, in the line of duty, become disabled, continued and careful encouragement and protection to voluntary immigration, and guarding with zealous care the rights of the adopted citizens, the abolition

of the franking privilege, and the speedy reduction of the national debt and the rates of interest, and the resumption of specie payment, the encouragement of American commerce and of ship-building, the suppression of violence, and protection of the ballot-box. It also placed on record the opinion and purposes of the party in favor of amnesty, against all forms of repudiation, and endorsed the humane and peaceful policy of the Administration in regard to the Indians.

But while clearly defining and distinctly announcing the policy of the Republican party on these questions of practical legislation and administration, the Convention did not ignore the great social problems which are pressing their claims for solution, and which demand the most careful and wise consideration. Foremost stands the labor question, concerning the relations of capital and labor. The Republican party accepts the duty of so shaping legislation as to secure a full protection and amplest field for capital, and for labor, the creation of capital, the largest opportunities and a just share of the mutual profits of these two great servants of civilization. To woman, too, and her new demands, it extends the hand of grateful recognition, and proffers its most respectful inquiry. It recognizes her noble devotion to the country and freedom, welcomes her admission to wider fields of usefulness, and commends her demands for additional rights to the calm and careful consideration of the nation. To guard well what has already been secured, to work out faithfully and wisely what is now in hand, and to consider questions which are looming up to view but a little way before us, the Republican party is to-day what it was in the gloomy years of slavery, rebellion, and reconstruction—a national necessity.

It appeals, therefore, for support to the patriotic and liberty-loving, to the just and humane, to all who would dignify labor, to all who would educate, elevate, and lighten the burdens of the sons and daughters of toil. With its great record, the work still to be done under the great soldier whose historic renown and whose successful administration for the last three years begot such popular confidence, the Republican party may confidently, in the language of the Convention you represent, start on a new march to victory.

Having accepted for thirty-six years of life the distinguishing doctrines of the Republican party of to-day; having, during years of that period, for their advancement subordinated all other issues, acting in and co-operating with political organizations with whose leading doctrines I sometimes had neither sympathy nor belief; having labored incessantly for many years to found and build up the Republican party, and having during its existence taken an humble part in the grand work, I gratefully accept the nomination thus tendered, and shall endeavor, if it shall be ratified by the people, faithfully to perform the duties it imposes. Respectfully yours,

HENRY WILSON.

# National Union Republican Conventions.

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## CALLS AND PLATFORMS.

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### PLATFORM ADOPTED AT PHILADELPHIA, 1856.

This convention of delegates, assembled in pursuance of a call addressed to the people of the United States, without regard to past political differences or divisions, who are opposed to the repeal of the Missouri compromise, to the policy of the present Administration, to the extension of slavery into free territory, in favor of admitting Kansas as a free State, of restoring the action of the Federal Government to the principles of Washington and Jefferson, and who purpose to unite in presenting candidates for the offices of President and Vice-President, do resolve as follows:

1. That the maintenance of the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence and embodied in the Federal Constitution is essential to the preservation of our republican institutions, and that the Federal Constitution, the rights of the States and the union of the States, shall be preserved, that, with our republican fathers, we hold it to be a self-evident truth, that all men are endowed with the inalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, and that the primary object and ulterior design of our Federal Government were to secure these rights to all persons within its exclusive jurisdiction; that, as our republican fathers, when they had abolished slavery in all our national territory, ordained that no person should be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, it becomes our duty to maintain this provision of the Constitution against all attempts to violate it for the purpose of establishing slavery in the United States by positive legislation prohibiting its existence or extension therein; that we deny the authority of Congress, of a territorial legislature, of any individual or association of individuals, to give legal existence to slavery in any Territory of the United States while the present Constitution shall be maintained.

2. That the Constitution confers upon Congress sovereign power over the Territories of the United States for their government, and that in the exercise of this power it is both the right and duty of Congress to prohibit in the Territories those twin relics of barbarism—polygamy and slavery.

3. That, while the Constitution of the United States was ordained and established by the people "in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty," and contains ample provisions for the protection of the life, liberty, and property of every citizen, the dearest constitutional rights of the people of Kansas have been fraudulently and violently taken from them; their territory has been invaded by an armed force; spurious and pretended legislative, judicial, and executive officers have been set over them, by whose usurped authority, sustained by the military power of the Government, tyrannical and unconstitutional laws have been enacted and enforced; the right of the people to keep and bear arms has been infringed; test-oaths of an extraordinary and entangling nature have been imposed as a condition of exercising the right of suffrage and holding office; the right of an accused person to a speedy and public



trial by an impartial jury has been denied; the right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, has been violated; they have been deprived of life, liberty, and property without due process of law; that the freedom of speech and of the press has been abridged; the right to choose their representatives has been made of no effect; murders, robberies, and arsons have been instigated and encouraged, and the offenders have been allowed to go unpunished; that all these things have been done with the knowledge, sanction, and procurement of the present Administration, and that for this high crime against the Constitution, the Union, and humanity, we arraign the Administration, the President, his advisers, agents, supporters, apologists, and accessories either *before* or *after* the fact, before the country and before the world; and that it is our fixed purpose to bring the actual perpetrators of these atrocious outrages and their accomplices to a sure and condign punishment hereafter.

4. That Kansas should be immediately admitted as a State of the Union, with her present free constitution, as at once the most effectual way of securing to her citizens the enjoyment of the rights and privileges to which they are entitled, and of ending the civil strife now raging in her territory.

5. That the highwayman's plea that "might makes right," embodied in the Ostend circular, was in every respect unworthy of American diplomacy, and would bring shame and dishonor upon any Government or people that gave it their sanction.

6. That a railroad to the Pacific Ocean by the most central and practicable route is imperatively demanded by the interests of the whole country, and that the Federal Government ought to render immediate and efficient aid in its construction; and, as an auxiliary thereto, to the immediate construction of an emigrant route on the line of the railroad.

7. That appropriations by Congress for the improvement of rivers and harbors of a national character, required for the accommodation and security of our existing commerce, are authorized by the Constitution and justified by the obligation of Government to protect the lives and property of its citizens.

8. That we invite the affiliation and co-operation of freemen of all parties, however differing from us in other respects, in support of the principles herein declared; and, believing that the spirit of our institutions, as well as the Constitution of our country, guarantees liberty of conscience and equality of rights among citizens, we oppose all legislation impairing their security.

#### CALL FOR THE CONVENTION AT CHICAGO, 1860.

A National Republican Convention will meet at Chicago, on Wednesday, the 13th day of June next, at 12 o'clock, noon, for the nomination of candidates to be supported for President and Vice-President at the next election.

The Republican electors of the several States, the members of the People's party of Pennsylvania of the Opposition party of New Jersey, and all others who are willing to co-operate with them in support of the candidates who shall there be nominated, and who are opposed to the policy of the present Administration; to Federal corruption and usurpation; to the extension of slavery into the Territories; to the new and dangerous political doctrine that the Constitution, of its own force, carries slavery into all the Territories of the United States; to the reopening of the African slave trade; to any inequality of rights among citizens; and who are in favor of the immediate admission of Kansas into the Union under the constitution recently adopted by its people; of restoring the Federal Administration to a

system of rigid economy, and to the principles of Washington and Jefferson; of maintaining inviolate the rights of the States and defending the soil of every State and Territory from lawless invasion; and of preserving the integrity of this Union and the supremacy of the Constitution, and laws passed in pursuance thereof, against the conspiracy of the leaders of a sectional party to resist the majority principle as established in this Government at the expense of its existence, are invited to send from each State two delegates from every Congressional district and four delegates at large to the Convention.

EDWIN D. MORGAN, N. Y.  
JOSEPH BARTLETT, Me.  
GEORGE G. FOGG, N. H.  
LAWRENCE BRAINERD, Vt.  
JOHN T. GOODRICH, Mass.  
WM. M. CHASE, R. I.  
GIDEON WELLES, Conn.  
THOMAS WILLIAMS, Penn.  
GEORGE HARRIS, Md.  
ALFRED CALDWELL, Va.  
THOMAS SPOONER, Ohio.

CASSIUS M. CLAY, Ky.  
JAMES RITCHIE, Ind.  
NORMAN B. JUDD, Ill.  
ZACHARIAH CHANDLER, Mich.  
JOHN H. TWEEDY, Wis.  
ALEXANDER H. RAMSEY, Minn.  
ANDREW J. STEVENS, Iowa.  
ASA S. JONES, Mo.  
MARTIN F. CONWAY, Kan.  
LEWIS CLEPHANE, D. C.

PLATFORM ADOPTED AT CHICAGO, 1860.

*Resolved.* That we, the delegated representatives of the Republican electors of the United States, in convention assembled, in discharge of the duty we owe to our constituents and our country, unite in the following declarations:

1. That the history of the nation, during the last four years, has fully established the propriety and necessity of the organization and perpetuation of the Republican party, and that the causes which called it into existence are permanent in their nature, and now, more than ever before, demand its peaceful and constitutional triumph.
2. That the maintenance of the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence and embodied in the Federal Constitution, "that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed," is essential to the preservation of our republican institutions; and that the Federal Constitution, the rights of the States, and the union of the States must and shall be preserved.
3. That to the union of the States this nation owes its unprecedented increase in population, its surprising development of material resources, its rapid augmentation of wealth, its happiness at home, and its honor abroad; and we hold in abhorrence all schemes for disunion, come from whatever source they may: and we congratulate the country that no Republican member of Congress has uttered or countenanced the threats of disunion so often made by Democratic members without rebuke, and with applause from their political associates; and we denounce those threats of disunion, in case of a popular overthrow of their ascendancy, as denying the vital principles of a free government, and as an avowal of contemplated treason which it is the imperative duty of an indignant people sternly to rebuke and forever silence.
4. That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially the right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that bal-

ance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depends; and we denounce the lawless invasion by armed force of the soil of any State or Territory, no matter under what pretext, as among the gravest of crimes.

5. That the present Democratic Administration has far exceeded our worst apprehensions, in its measureless subserviency to the exactions of a sectional interest, as especially evinced in its desperate exertions to force the infamous Lecompton constitution upon the protesting people of Kansas; in construing the personal relation between master and servant to involve an unqualified property in persons; in its attempted enforcement everywhere, on land and sea, through the intervention of Congress and of the Federal courts, of the extreme pretensions of a purely local interest; and in its general and unvarying abuse of the power entrusted to it by a confiding people.

6. That the people justly view with alarm the reckless extravagance which pervades every department of the Federal Government. That a return to rigid economy and accountability is indispensable to arrest the systematic plunder of the public treasury by favored partisans; while the recent startling developments of frauds and corruptions at the Federal metropolis show that an entire change of administration is imperatively demanded.

7. That the new dogma that the Constitution, of its own force, carries slavery into any or all of the Territories of the United States, is a dangerous political heresy, at variance with the explicit provisions of that instrument itself, with contemporaneous exposition, and with legislative and judicial precedent; is revolutionary in its tendency, and subversive of the peace and harmony of the country.

8. That the normal condition of all the territory of the United States is that of freedom; that as our republican fathers, when they had abolished slavery in all our national territory, ordained "that no person should be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law," it becomes our duty, by legislation, whenever such legislation is necessary, to maintain this provision of the Constitution against all attempts to violate it; and we deny the authority of Congress, of a territorial legislature, or of any individuals, to give legal existence to slavery in any Territory of the United States.

9. That we brand the recent re-opening of the African slave trade, under the cover of our national flag, aided by perversions of judicial power, as a crime against humanity and a burning shame to our country and age; and we call upon Congress to take prompt and efficient measures for the total and final suppression of that execrable traffic.

10. That in the recent vetoes, by their Federal Governors, of the acts of the legislatures of Kansas and Nebraska, prohibiting slavery in those Territories, we find a practical illustration of the boasted democratic principle of non-intervention and popular sovereignty, embodied in the Kansas-Nebraska bill, and a demonstration of the deception and fraud involved therein.

11. That Kansas should, of right, be immediately admitted as a State under the constitution recently formed and adopted by her people and accepted by the House of Representatives.

12. That while providing revenue for the support of the General Government by duties upon imports, sound policy requires such an adjustment of these imports as to encourage the development of the industrial interest of the whole country; and we commend that policy of national exchanges which secures to the workingmen liberal wages, to agriculture remunerating prices, to mechanics and manufacturers an adequate reward for their skill, labor, and enterprise, and to the nation commercial prosperity and independence.

13. That we protest against any sale or alienation to others of the public lands held by actual settlers, and against any view of the free homestead policy which regards the settlers as paupers or suppliants for public bounty; and we demand the passage by Congress of the complete and satisfactory homestead measure which has already passed the House.

14. That the Republican party is opposed to any change in our naturalization laws, or any State legislation, by which the rights of citizenship hitherto accorded to immigrants from foreign lands shall be abridged or impaired; and in favor of giving a full and efficient protection to the rights of all classes of citizens, whether native or naturalized, both at home and abroad.

15. That appropriations by Congress for river and harbor improvements of a national character, required for the accommodation and security of an existing commerce, are authorized by the Constitution and justified by the obligation of Government to protect the lives and property of its citizens.

16. That a railroad to the Pacific Ocean is imperatively demanded by the interests of the whole country; that the Federal Government ought to render immediate and efficient aid in its construction, and that, as preliminary thereto, a daily overland mail should be promptly established.

17. Finally, having thus set forth our distinctive principles and views, we invite the co-operation of all citizens, however differing on other questions, who substantially agree with us in their affirmance and support.

#### CALL FOR THE CONVENTION AT BALTIMORE, 1864.

The undersigned, who by original appointment, or subsequent designation to fill vacancies, constitute the executive committee created by the National Convention held at Chicago on the 16th day of May, 1860, do hereby call upon all qualified voters who desire the unconditional maintenance of the Union, the supremacy of the Constitution, and the complete suppression of the existing rebellion, with the cause thereof, by vigorous war and all apt and efficient means, to send delegates to a convention to assemble at Baltimore, on Tuesday, the 7th day of June, 1864, at 12 o'clock, noon, for the purpose of presenting candidates for the offices of President and Vice-President of the United States. Each State having a representation in Congress will be entitled to as many delegates as shall be equal to twice the number of electors to which such State is entitled in the electoral college of the United States.

EDWIN D. MORGAN, N. Y.,

*Chairman.*

CHARLES J. GILMAN, Me.

E. H. ROLLINS, N. H.

L. BRAINERD, Vt.

J. Z. GOODRICH, Mass.

THOMAS G. TURNER, R. I.

GIDEON WELLES, Conn.

DENNING DUER, N. J.

EDWARD MCPHERSON, Penn.

N. B. SMITHERS, Del.

J. F. WAGNER, Md.

THOMAS SPOONER, Ohio.

WASHINGTON, February 22, 1864.

H. S. LANE, Ind.

SAMUEL L. CASEY, Ky.

E. PECK, Ill.

HERBERT M. HOXIE, Iowa.

AUSTIN BLAIR, Mich.

CARL SCHURZ, Wis.

W. D. WASHBURN, Minn.

CORNELIUS COLE, Cal.

WM. A. PHILLIPS, Kan.

O. H. IRISH, Neb.

JOS. GERHARDT, D. C.

#### PLATFORM ADOPTED AT BALTIMORE, 1864.

1. *Resolved*, That it is the highest duty of every American citizen to maintain against all their enemies the integrity of the Union and the par-

amount authority of the Constitution and laws of the United States; and that, laying aside all differences of political opinion, we pledge ourselves, as Union men, animated by a common sentiment and aiming at a common object, to do everything in our power to aid the Government in quelling by force of arms the rebellion now raging against its authority, and in bringing to the punishment due to their crimes the rebels and traitors arrayed against it.

2. *Resolved*, That we approve the determination of the Government of the United States not to compromise with the rebels, or to offer them any terms of peace, except such as may be based upon an unconditional surrender of their hostility and a return to their just allegiance to the Constitution and laws of the United States, and that we call upon the Government to maintain this position, and to prosecute the war with the utmost possible vigor to the complete suppression of the rebellion, in full reliance upon the self-sacrificing patriotism, the heroic valor and the undying devotion of the American people to their country and its free institutions.

3. *Resolved*, That as slavery was the cause, and now constitutes the strength, of this rebellion, and as it must be, always and everywhere, hostile to the principles of republican Government, justice and the national safety demand its utter and complete extirpation from the soil of the Republic;—and that while we uphold and maintain the acts and proclamations by which the Government, in its own defence, has aimed a death-blow at this gigantic evil, we are in favor, furthermore, of such an amendment to the Constitution, to be made by the people in conformity with its provisions, as shall terminate and forever prohibit the existence of slavery within the limits or the jurisdiction of the United States.

4. *Resolved*, That the thanks of the American people are due to the soldiers and sailors of the Army and Navy who have periled their lives in defence of their country and in vindication of the honor of its flag; that the nation owes to them some permanent recognition of their patriotism and their valor, and ample and permanent provision for those of their survivors who have received disabling and honorable wounds in the service of the country; and that the memories of those who have fallen in its defence shall be held in grateful and everlasting remembrance.

5. *Resolved*, That we approve and applaud the practical wisdom, the unselfish patriotism, and the unswerving fidelity to the Constitution and the principles of American liberty, with which Abraham Lincoln has discharged, under circumstances of unparalleled difficulty, the great duties and responsibilities of the Presidential office; that we approve and endorse, as demanded by the emergency and essential to the preservation of the nation and as within the provisions of the Constitution, the measures and acts which he has adopted to defend the nation against its open and secret foes; that we approve, especially, the Proclamation of Emancipation, and the employment as Union soldiers of men heretofore held in slavery; and that we have full confidence in his determination to carry these and all other constitutional measures essential to the salvation of the country into full and complete effect.

6. *Resolved*, That we deem it essential to the general welfare that harmony should prevail in the National Councils, and we regard as worthy of public confidence and official trust those only who cordially indorse the principles proclaimed in these resolutions, and which should characterize the administration of the Government.

7. *Resolved*, That the Government owes to all men employed in its armies, without regard to distinction of color, the full protection of the laws of war, and that any violation of these laws, or of the usages of civilized nations in time of war, by the rebels now in arms, should be made the subject of prompt and full redress.

8. *Resolved*, That foreign immigration, which in the past has added so much to the wealth, development of resources and increase of power to this nation—the asylum of the oppressed of all nations—should be fostered and encouraged by a liberal and just policy.

9. *Resolved*, That we are in favor of a speedy construction of the railroad to the Pacific coast.

10. *Resolved*, That the national faith, pledged for the redemption of the public debt, must be kept inviolate, and that for this purpose we recommend economy and rigid responsibility in the public expenditures, and a vigorous and just system of taxation; and that it is the duty of every loyal State to sustain the credit and promote the use of the national currency.

11. *Resolved*, That we approve the position taken by the Government that the people of the United States can never regard with indifference the attempt of any European Power to overthrow by force or to supplant by fraud the institutions of any republican government on the Western Continent; and that they will view with extreme jealousy, as menacing to the peace and independence of their own country, the efforts of any such Power to obtain new footholds for monarchical governments, sustained by foreign military force, in near proximity to the United States.

#### CALL FOR THE CONVENTION AT CHICAGO, 1868.

The undersigned, constituting the national committee designated by the convention held at Baltimore, on the 7th of June, 1864, do appoint that a convention of the Union Republican party be held at the city of Chicago, on Wednesday, the 20th day of May next, at 12 o'clock M., for the purpose of nominating candidates for the offices of President and Vice-President of the United States.

Each State in the United States is authorized to be represented in said convention by a number of delegates equal to twice the number of Senators and Representatives to which each State is entitled in the National Congress.

We invite the co-operation of all citizens who rejoice that our great civil war has happily terminated in the discomfiture of rebellion; who would hold fast the unity and integrity of the Republic, and maintain its paramount right to defend to the utmost its existence, whether imperiled by a secret conspiracy or armed force; of an economical administration of the public expenditures; of the complete extirpation of the principles and policy of slavery, and of the speedy reorganization of those States whose governments were destroyed by the rebellion, and the permanent restoration to their proper practical relations with the United States, in accordance with the true principles of a republican government.

MARCUS L. WARD, of New Jersey,  
*Chairman.*

JNO. D. DEFREES, of Indiana, *Secretary.*

J. B. CLARK, New Hampshire.

A. B. GARDNER, Vermont.

S. A. PURVIANCE, Pennsylvania.

B. C. COOK, Illinois.

D. B. STUBBS, Iowa.

H. C. HOFFMAN, Maryland.

W. J. COWING, Virginia.

C. L. ROBINSON, Florida.

HORACE GREELEY, New York.

B. R. COWEN, Ohio.

N. EDMUNDS, Dakota.

THOS. G. TURNER, Rhode Island.

S. J. BOWEN, District of Columbia.

S. F. HERSEY, Maine.

WM. CLAFLIN, Massachusetts.

J. S. FOWLER, Tennessee.

MARSH GIDDINGS, Michigan.

A. W. CAMPBELL, West Virginia.

N. B. SMITHERS, Delaware.

W. A. PILE, Missouri.

S. JUDD, Wisconsin.

H. H. STARKWEATHER, Conn.

WM. WINDOM, Minnesota.

D. R. GOODLOE, North Carolina.

SAMUEL CRAWFORD, Kansas.

J. P. CHAFFEE, Colorado.

## OFFICIAL PROCEEDINGS OF THE

## PLATFORM ADOPTED AT CHICAGO, 1868.

The National Union Republican party of the United States, assembled in National Convention, in the city of Chicago, on the 20th day of May, 1868, make the following declaration of principles:

**FIRST.** We congratulate the country on the assured success of the reconstruction policy of Congress, as evinced by the adoption, in a majority of the States lately in rebellion, of constitutions securing equal civil and political rights to all, and regard it as the duty of the Government to sustain those constitutions, and to prevent the people of such States from being remitted to a state of anarchy or military rule.

**SECOND.** The guarantee by Congress of equal suffrage to all loyal men at the South was demanded by every consideration of public safety, of gratitude, and of justice, and must be maintained; while the question of suffrage in all the loyal States properly belongs to the people of those States.

**THIRD.** We denounce all forms of repudiation as a national crime; and national honor requires the payment of the public indebtedness in the utmost good faith to all creditors at home and abroad, not only according to the letter, but the spirit of the laws under which it was contracted.

**FOURTH.** It is due to the labor of the nation that taxation should be equalized and reduced as rapidly as national faith will permit.

**FIFTH.** The National debt, contracted as it has been for the preservation of the Union for all time to come, should be extended over a fair period for redemption, and it is the duty of Congress to reduce the rate of interest thereon whenever it can honestly be done.

**SIXTH.** That the best policy to diminish our burden of debt is to so improve our credit that capitalists will seek to loan us money at lower rates of interest than we now pay, and must continue to pay, so long as repudiation, partial or total, open or covert, is threatened or suspected.

**SEVENTH.** The Government of the United States should be administered with the strictest economy; and the corruptions which have been so shamefully nursed and fostered by Andrew Johnson call loudly for radical reform.

**EIGHTH.** We profoundly deplore the untimely and tragic death of Abraham Lincoln, and regret the accession of Andrew Johnson to the Presidency, who has acted treacherously to the people who elected him and the cause he was pledged to support; has usurped high legislative and judicial functions; has refused to execute the laws; has used his high office to induce other officers to ignore and violate the laws; has employed his executive powers to render insecure the property, peace, liberty, and life of the citizen; has abused the pardoning power; has denounced the National Legislature as unconstitutional; has persistently and corruptly resisted, by every means in his power, every proper attempt at the reconstruction of the States lately in rebellion; has perverted the public patronage into an engine of wholesale corruption; and has been justly impeached for high crimes and misdemeanors and properly pronounced guilty thereof by the votes of thirty-five Senators.

**NINTH.** The doctrine of Great Britain and other European powers, that because a man is once a subject, he is always so, must be resisted, at every hazard, by the United States, as a relic of the feudal times, not authorized by the law of nations, and at war with our national honor and independence. Naturalized citizens are entitled to be protected in all their rights of citizenship, as though they were native born; and no citizen of the United States, native or naturalized, must be liable to arrest and imprisonment by any foreign power, for acts done or words spoken in this country; and if so arrested and imprisoned, it is the duty of the Government to interfere in his behalf.

TENTH. Of all who were faithful in the trials of the late war, there were none entitled to more especial honor than the brave soldiers and seamen who endured the hardships of campaign and cruise, and imperiled their lives in the service of the country. The bounties and pensions provided by law for these brave defenders of the nation, are obligations never to be forgotten. The widows and orphans of the gallant dead are the wards of the people—a sacred legacy bequeathed to the nation's protecting care.

ELEVENTH. We highly commend the spirit of magnanimity and forgiveness with which the men who have served the rebellion, but now frankly and honestly co-operate with us in restoring the peace of the country, and reconstructing the Southern State governments upon the basis of impartial justice and equal rights, are received back into the communion of the loyal people; and we favor the removal of the disqualifications and restrictions imposed upon the late rebels in the same measure as the spirit of disloyalty will die out, and as may be consistent with the safety of the loyal people.

TWELFTH. We recognize the great principles laid down in the immortal Declaration of Independence as the true foundation of Democratic government; and we hail with gladness every effort towards making these principles a living reality on every inch of American soil.

THIRTEENTH. Foreign immigration, which, in the past, has added so much to the wealth, development of resources and increase of power to this nation—the asylum of the oppressed of all nations—should be fostered and encouraged by a liberal and just policy.

FOURTEENTH. This convention declares its sympathy with all the oppressed peoples which are struggling for their rights.

#### CALL FOR THE CONVENTION AT PHILADELPHIA, 1872.

The undersigned, constituting the National Committee designated by the convention held at Chicago on the 20th of May, 1868, hereby call a convention of the Union Republican party at the city of Philadelphia on Wednesday, the 5th day of June next, at 12 o'clock, noon, for the purpose of nominating candidates for the offices of President and Vice-President of the United States.

Each State is authorized to be represented in the convention by delegates equal to twice the number of Senators and Representatives to which it will be entitled in the next National Congress, and each organized Territory is authorized to send two delegates.

In calling this convention, the Committee remind the country that the promises of the Union Republican Convention of 1868 have been fulfilled. The States lately in rebellion have been restored to their former relations to the Government. The laws of the country have been faithfully executed, public faith has been preserved, and the national credit firmly established. Governmental economy has been illustrated by the reduction, at the same time, of the public debt and of taxation; and the funding of the national debt at a lower rate of interest has been successfully inaugurated. The rights of naturalized citizens have been protected by treaties, and immigration encouraged by liberal provisions. The defenders of the Union have been gratefully remembered, and the rights and interests of labor recognized. Laws have been enacted, and are being enforced, for the protection of persons and property in all sections. Equal suffrage has been engrafted on the National Constitution; the privileges and immunities of American citizenship have become a part of the organic law, and a liberal policy has been adopted toward all who engaged in the rebellion. Complications in foreign relations have been adjusted in the interest of peace throughout the world, while the national honor has been maintained. Corruption has been



exposed, offenders punished, responsibility enforced, safe-guards established, and now, as heretofore, the Republican party stands pledged to correct all abuses and carry out all reforms necessary to maintain the purity and efficiency of the public service. To continue and firmly establish its fundamental principles, we invite the co-operation of all the citizens of the United States.

WILLIAM CLAFLIN, of Massachusetts,

*Chairman.*

WILLIAM E. CHANDLER, of New Hampshire,

*Secretary.*

JOHN A. PETERS, Maine.  
LUKE P. POLAND, Vt.  
L. B. FRIEZE, R. I.  
H. H. STARKWEATHER, Conn.  
JAMES GOPSILL, N. J.  
WILLIAM H. KEMBLE, Penn.  
HOWARD M. JENKINS, Del.  
B. R. COWEN, Ohio.  
JOHN COBURN, Ind.  
C. B. FARWELL, Ill.  
ZACHARIAH CHANDLER, Mich.  
J. T. AVERILL, Minn.  
DAVID ATWOOD, Wis.  
GEORGE W. MCCRARY, Iowa.  
C. C. FULTON, Md.  
FRANKLIN STEARNS, Va.  
JOHN R. HUBBARD, W. Va.  
WILLIAM SLOAN, N. C.

THOMAS W. OSBORN, Fla.  
L. C. CARPENTER, S. C.  
JOHN H. CALDWELL, Ga.  
JAMES P. STOW, Ala.  
M. H. SOUTHWORTH, La.  
A. C. FISK, Miss.  
S. C. POMEROY, Kan.  
B. F. RICE, Ark.  
JOHN B. CLARK, Mo.  
A. A. BURTON, Ky.  
HORACE MAYNARD, Tenn.  
E. B. TAYLOR, Neb.  
JAMES W. NYE, Nevada.  
H. W. CORBETT, Oregon.  
GEORGE C. GORHAM, Cal.  
JOHN B. CHAFFEE, Col.  
W. A. BURLEIGH, Dakota.  
SAYLES J. BOWEN, D. C.

WASHINGTON, D. C., January, 11, 1872.

## REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE,

1872.

GEORGE E. SPENCER.....	Decatur, Alabama.
POWELL CLAYTON.....	Little Rock, Arkansas.
GEORGE C. GORHAM.....	San Francisco, California.
MARSHALL JEWELL.....	Hartford, Connecticut.
JAMES RIDDLE.....	Wilmington, Delaware.
WILLIAM H. GLEASON.....	Biscayne, Florida.
ISHAM S. FANNING.....	Augusta, Georgia.
J. Y. SCAMMON.....	Chicago, Illinois.
OLIVER P. MORTON.....	Indianapolis, Indiana.
G. M. DODGE.....	Council Bluffs, Iowa.
JOHN A. MARTIN.....	Atchison, Kansas.
WM. CASSIUS GOODLOE.....	Lexington, Kentucky.
G. CASANAVE.....	New Orleans, Louisiana.
WM. P. FRYE.....	Lewiston, Maine.
C. C. FULTON.....	Baltimore, Maryland.
WM. CLAPLIN.....	Boston, Massachusetts.
WM. A. HOWARD.....	Grand Rapids, Michigan.
JOHN T. AVERILL.....	St. Paul, Minnesota.
O. C. FRENCH.....	Jackson, Mississippi.
R. T. VAN HORN.....	Kansas City, Missouri.
E. E. CUNNINGHAM.....	Plattsmouth, Nebraska.
JAMES W. NYE.....	Carson City, Nevada.
WM. E. CHANDLER.....	Concord, New Hampshire.
ALEXANDER G. CATTELL.....	Camden, New Jersey.
EDWIN D. MORGAN.....	N. Y. City, New York.
JOSEPH C. ABBOTT.....	Abbottsburg, North Carolina.
B. R. COWEN.....	Cincinnati, Ohio.
JOSEPH G. WILSON.....	Portland, Oregon.
WM. H. KEMBLE.....	Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
WM. D. BRAYTON.....	Warwick, Rhode Island.
FRANKLIN J. MOSES, Jr.....	Charleston, South Carolina.
HORACE MAYNARD.....	Knoxville, Tennessee.
EDMUND J. DAVIS.....	Austin, Texas.
GEORGE NICHOLS.....	Northfield, Vermont.
H. H. WELLS, Jr.....	Richmond, Virginia.
HANSON CRISWELL.....	Moundsville, West Virginia.
DAVID ATWOOD.....	Madison, Wisconsin.
JOHN TITUS.....	Tucson, Arizona.
EDWARD M. MCCOOK.....	Denver, Colorado.
WM. H. H. BEADLE.....	Dakota.
HENRY D. COOKE.....	Washington, District of Columbia.
JOHN R. MCBRIDE.....	Boise City, Idaho.
LUCIUS B. CHURCH.....	Helena, Montana.
JOSEPH G. PALEN.....	Santa Fe, New Mexico.
ALFRED S. GOULD.....	Salt Lake, Utah.
L. B. ANDREWS.....	Seattle, Washington.
WILLIAM T. JONES.....	Cheyenne, Wyoming.

## REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

E. D. MORGAN.....*Chairman.*  
 WM. E. CHANDLER.....*Secretary.*

## EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

E. D. MORGAN.....New York City.  
 WILLIAM CLAFLIN .....Boston.  
 MARSHALL JEWELL.....Hartford, Connecticut.  
 A. G. CATTELL.....Merchantville, New Jersey.  
 OLIVER P. MORTON.....Indianapolis.  
 WM. H. KEMBLE.....Philadelphia.  
 JOHN Y. SCAMMON.....Chicago.  
 B. R. COWEN.....[Ohio] Washington, District of Columbia.  
 GRENVILLE M. DODGE.....Council Bluffs, Iowa.  
 GEORGE E. SPENCER.....Decatur, Alabama.  
 C. C. FULTON.....Baltimore, Maryland.  
 HENRY D. COOKE.....Washington, District of Columbia.  
 JOSEPH C. ABBOTT.....Abbottsburg, North Carolina.  
 GEORGE C. GORHAM.....[Cal.] Washington, District of Columbia.  
 J. T. AVERILL.....St. Paul, Minnesota.  
 WM. A. HOWARD.....Detroit, Michigan.

## HEADQUARTERS:

Fifth Avenue Hotel, New York City.

UNION REPUBLICAN CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE.

EUGENE HALE.....	Maine.
Senator CRAGIN.....	New Hampshire.
LUKE P. POLAND.....	Vermont.
B. T. EAMES.....	Rhode Island.
H. H. STARKWEATHER.....	Connecticut.
JOHN H. KETCHAM.....	New York.
GEO. A. HALSEY.....	New Jersey.
Senator CAMERON.....	Pennsylvania.
J. H. PLATT, Jr.....	Virginia.
Senator POOL.....	North Carolina.
R. H. WHITELEY.....	Georgia.
Senator SPENCER.....	Alabama.
GEO. C. MCKEE.....	Mississippi.
J. HALE SYPPER.....	Louisiana.
JOHN BEATTY.....	Ohio.
HORACE MAYNARD.....	Tennessee.
JOHN COBURN.....	Indiana.
Senator LOGAN.....	Illinois.
HARRISON E. HAYENS.....	Missouri.
Senator CHANDLER.....	Michigan.
Senator OSBORN.....	Florida.
Senator FLANAGAN.....	Texas.
FRANK W. PALMER.....	Iowa.
J. W. HAZELTON.....	Wisconsin.
JOHN M. COGHLAN.....	California.
M. H. DUNNELL.....	Minnesota.
Senator CORBETT.....	Oregon.
Senator POMEROY.....	Kansas.
Senator BOREMAN.....	West Virginia.
Senator STEWART.....	Nevada.
JOHN TAFFE.....	Nebraska.
Senator SAWYER.....	South Carolina.
S. GARFIELDE.....	Washington Territory.
J. B. CHAFFEE.....	Colorado.
R. C. MCCORMICK.....	Arizona.
W. H. CLAGGETT.....	Montana.
W. T. JONES.....	Wyoming.
N. P. CHIPMAN.....	District of Columbia.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Address: Washington, D. C.

Hon. Z. CHANDLER, <i>Chairman</i> .	Hon. J. H. KETCHAM.
Hon. S. CAMERON.	Hon. G. A. HALSEY.
Hon. J. A. LOGAN.	Hon. JOHN COBURN.
Hon. JOHN POOL.	JAS. M. EDMUNDS, <i>Secretary</i> .
Hon. H. W. CORBETT.	Gov. H. D. COOKE, <i>Treasurer</i> .
Hon. H. H. STARKWEATHER.	

UNION REPUBLICAN RESIDENT COMMITTEE.

Hon. JAMES HARLAN, <i>Chairman</i> .	J. M. EDMUNDS.
Hon. B. R. COWEN.	FREDERICK DOUGLASS.
Gov. H. D. COOKE.	RICHARD J. HINTON, <i>Secretary</i> .

## OFFICERS OF REPUBLICAN STATE COMMITTEES, 1872.

ALABAMA.....	<i>Chairman</i> —R. W. Healey, Montgomery. <i>Secretary</i> —J. C. Keffer, Montgomery.
ARKANSAS.....	<i>Chairman</i> —Powell Clayton, Little Rock. <i>Secretary</i> —J. C. Corbin, Little Rock.
CALIFORNIA.....	<i>Chairman</i> —Alvinza Hayward, San Francisco. <i>Secretary</i> —William Sherman, San Francisco.
CONNECTICUT.....	<i>Chairman</i> —Bartlett Bent, Middletown.
DELAWARE.....	<i>Chairman</i> —H. F. Pickels, Wilmington. <i>Secretary</i> —John Cameron, Wilmington.
FLORIDA.....	<i>Chairman</i> —W. J. Purman, Tallahassee. <i>Secretary</i> —James W. Johnson, Monticello.
GEORGIA.....	<i>Chairman</i> —Henry P. Farrow, Atlanta. <i>Secretary</i> —Marcus Grant, Atlanta.
ILLINOIS.....	<i>Chairman</i> —Charles B. Farwell, Chicago. <i>Secretary</i> —Daniel Shepard, Chicago.
INDIANA.....	<i>Chairman</i> —J. W. Foster, Evansville, Vanderberg Co. <i>Secretary</i> —J. C. Burnett, Indianapolis.
IOWA.....	<i>Chairman</i> —Geo. C. Tichenor, Des Moines. <i>Secretary</i> —.....
KANSAS.....	<i>Chairman</i> —D. R. Anthony, Leavenworth. <i>Secretary</i> —Jacob Stotler, Emporia.
KENTUCKY.....	<i>Chairman</i> —John W. Finnell, Louisville. <i>Secretary</i> —J. K. Goodloe, Louisville.
LOUISIANA.....	<i>Chairman</i> —S. B. Packard, New Orleans. <i>Secretary</i> —T. W. DeKlyne, New Orleans.
MAINE.....	<i>Chairman</i> —James G. Blaine, Augusta. <i>Secretary</i> —Zimro A. Smith, Portland.
MARYLAND.....	<i>Chairman</i> —Andrew W. Dennison, Baltimore. <i>Secretary</i> —John McGarigle, Baltimore.
MASSACHUSETTS.....	<i>Chairman</i> —George B. Loring, Salem. <i>Secretary</i> —George S. Merrill, Lawrence.
MICHIGAN.....	<i>Chairman</i> —S. D. Bingham, Lansing. <i>Secretary</i> —Schuyler S. Olds, Lansing.
MINNESOTA.....	<i>Chairman</i> —C. H. Pettit, Minneapolis. <i>Secretary</i> —R. N. McLaren, St. Paul.
MISSISSIPPI.....	<i>Chairman</i> —A. Warner, Canton, Madison county. <i>Secretary</i> —O. C. French, Jackson.
MISSOURI.....	<i>Chairman</i> —Henry T. Blow, St. Louis. <i>Secretary</i> —N. M. Harris, St. Louis.
NEBRASKA.....	<i>Chairman</i> —C. W. Seymour, Nebraska City. <i>Secretary</i> —Henry A. Newman, Nebraska City.
NEVADA.....	<i>Chairman</i> —C. C. Batterman, Virginia City. <i>Secretary</i> —Stephen T. Gage, Virginia City.
NEW HAMPSHIRE.....	<i>Chairman</i> —E. H. Rollins, Concord. <i>Secretary</i> —B. F. Prescott, Concord.
NEW JERSEY.....	<i>Chairman</i> —Geo. A. Halsey, Newark. <i>Secretary</i> —S. Alpheus Smith, Plainfield.
NEW YORK.....	<i>Chairman</i> —Alonzo B. Cornell, New York City. <i>Secretary</i> —John N. Knapp, Auburn.

NORTH CAROLINA.....	<i>Chairman</i> —Samuel F. Phillips, Raleigh. <i>Secretary</i> —J. C. L. Harris, Raleigh.
OHIO.....	<i>Chairman</i> —Charles C. Walcutt, Columbus. <i>Secretary</i> —Rodney Foos, Columbus.
OREGON.....	<i>Chairman</i> —C. W. Parrish, Portland. <i>Secretary</i> —.....
PENNSYLVANIA.....	<i>Chairman</i> —Russell Errett, Pittsburgh. <i>Secretary</i> —E. O. Goodrich, Philadelphia.
RHODE ISLAND.....	<i>Chairman</i> —William A. Pirce, Johnston. <i>Secretary</i> —Thomas A. Whitman, Anthony.
SOUTH CAROLINA.....	<i>Chairman</i> —A. J. Ransier, Charleston. <i>Secretary</i> —E. W. M. Mackey, Charleston.
TENNESSEE.....	<i>Chairman</i> —Thomas A. Kercheval, Nashville. <i>Secretary</i> —Abram Smith, Nashville.
TEXAS.....	<i>Chairman</i> —J. G. Tracy, Houston. <i>Secretary</i> —James P. Newcomb, Austin.
VERMONT.....	<i>Chairman</i> —G. G. Benedict, Burlington. <i>Secretary</i> —Kettredge Haskins, Brattleboro'.
VIRGINIA.....	<i>Chairman</i> —W. H. H. Stowell, Halifax C. H. <i>Secretary</i> —John W. Woltz, Richmond.
WEST VIRGINIA.....	<i>Chairman</i> —O. G. Scofield, Parkersburg. <i>Secretary</i> —C. C. Cole, Parkersburg.
WISCONSIN.....	<i>Chairman</i> —E. W. Keyes, Madison. <i>Secretary</i> —Frank Leland, Elkhorn.



1876.

PROCEEDINGS  
OF THE  
Republican National Convention

HELD AT  
CINCINNATI, OHIO,  
WEDNESDAY, THURSDAY AND FRIDAY,  
JUNE 14, 15 AND 16, 1876.

Resulting in the nomination for President and Vice-President of

RUTHFORD B. HAYES AND WILLIAM A. WHEELER.

---

Officially reported by M. A. Clancy, of Washington, D. C., assisted by  
Wm. Nelson, of Paterson, N. J.

CONCORD, N. H.:  
PRINTED BY THE REPUBLICAN PRESS ASSOCIATION.  
1876.



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# REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION,

1876.

## PROCEEDINGS.

FIRST DAY—WEDNESDAY, JUNE 14, 1876.

Pursuant to the following call of the Republican National Committee,—

The next Union Republican National Convention, for the nomination of candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States, will be held in the city of Cincinnati, on Wednesday, the fourteenth day of June, 1876, at 12 o'clock, noon, and will consist of delegates from each state equal to twice the number of its senators and representatives in congress, and of two delegates from each organized territory and the district of Columbia.

In calling the conventions for the election of delegates, the committees of the several states are recommended to invite all Republican electors, and all other voters, without regard to past political differences or previous party affiliations, who are opposed to reviving sectional issues, and desire to promote friendly feeling and permanent harmony throughout the country by maintaining and enforcing all the constitutional rights of every citizen, including the full and free exercise of the right of suffrage without intimidation and without fraud; who are in favor of the continued prosecution and punishment of all official dishonesty, and of an economical administration of the government by honest, faithful, and capable officers; who are in favor of making such reforms in government as experience may from time to time suggest; who are opposed to impairing the credit of the nation by depreciating any of its obligations, and in favor of sustaining in every way the national faith and financial honor; who hold that the common-school system is the nursery of American liberty, and should be maintained absolutely free from sectarian control; who believe that, for the promotion of these ends, the direction of the government should continue to be confided to those who adhere to the principles of 1776, and support them as incorporated in the constitution and the laws; and who are in favor of recognizing and strengthening the fundamental principle of national unity in this centennial anniversary of the birth of the republic.

E. D. MORGAN,

*Chairman,*

WM. E. CHANDLER,

*Secretary.*

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

WASHINGTON, January 13, 1876,—

The Republican National Convention met at noon this day in Exposition Hall, on Elm, Fourteenth, and Plum streets, in the city of Cincinnati, Ohio, and promptly at the hour was called to order by Ex-Governor Edwin D. Morgan, of New York, chairman of the Republican National Committee, who there-

upon announced that the proceedings would be opened with prayer by the Rev. D. H. Muller, D. D., of Covington, Ky.

Dr. Muller offered the following

PRAYER

O God, whose throne is the universe, by whom kings reign and princes decree justice, in whose hands are the hearts of men, we acknowledge thee as the ruler of the nations, the author of every good and perfect gift. We come before thee with thanksgiving, for thou art a great God, and a great King above all gods. We acknowledge thee to be the giver of all national prosperity, and as our helper in past disasters; and we declare this morning, that "If it had not been that the Lord was on our side when men rose up against us, then had we been swallowed up quickly, when their wrath was kindled against us." Because thou hast blessed and helped us, therefore under the shadow of thy wing may we rejoice. Because thou hast heard our voice, therefore may we call upon thee as long as we live, and make thee our refuge and our portion.

In behalf of thy servants here assembled, we invoke thy blessing and aid. Bless them with health of body and mind. Preserve them from harm during their deliberations, and by thy providence return them in safety to their homes. By thy grace give to them the spirit of concord, that harmony may prevail in their councils, a spirit of wisdom, that the right means may be discerned and used to promote the end for which they are convened; a spirit of patriotism, that the prosperity of the nation may overshadow all personal or sectional desires; a spirit of integrity, that they may be faithful to the deepest convictions of duty. Give grace, and wisdom, and strength to the presiding officers. For the work which thou hast wrought, for the Republic and humanity through the organized agency represented here, we give thee thanks; and we earnestly pray that its future record may be more glorious than its past one, and that the issue of the consultations and acts of thy servants here may be ruled by thee to thy glory, to the good of this country, and to the prosperity, and welfare, and honor, and safety of thy people. Guide, we beseech thee, therefore, their efforts in the choice of the men who may be commended or presented to the confidence and suffrages of the people, to the conception and declaration of right principles; and, invoking such results, we pray thee that national peace, governmental purity, truth, justice, and liberty may be established among us for all generations. We pray thee that thou mayest uphold and bless thy servant the president of the United States, and all others in authority. By the help of thy Spirit may they be inclined to thy will and walk in thy way. Grant them health, and prosperity, and long life. For the mercies which thou hast given us as a nation, we praise thee. We pray, this morning, that thy work may appear unto thy servants, and thy glory unto their children, and that the beauty of the Lord our God may be upon us. Establish thou the work of our hands; yea, the work of our hands, establish thou it. These blessings we ask for Christ's sake. Amen.

The delegates having been seated, Governor Morgan made the opening address, as follows:

GOVERNOR MORGAN'S ADDRESS.

*Gentlemen of the Convention:* The day and the hour have arrived at which the representatives of the Republican party were invited to assemble to nominate candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States; and, in obedience to the authority of the Republican National Committee, I now respectfully ask that you will maintain order.

In 1856, at Philadelphia, in 1860, at Chicago, and in 1864, at Baltimore, acting under the same general authority, it has been my privilege to call Republican conventions to order.

If I except the action of the convention of 1864, the duties which this intelligent body has to perform, in comparison with former ones, are the most important of all.

There is no special or parliamentary authority for any remarks from the chair. In the nature of things, there cannot be any. Custom, only, is my excuse (if excuse is needed) for even a few words.

In June, 1864, we were in the midst of the war for the preservation of the Union. We had great armies in the field, but they had achieved only partial successes, and when successful, always at very great cost of life. The bravest and best of our young men had fallen in battle by tens and hundreds of thousands, or were in prison at Andersonville and Libbey. President Lincoln, seventeen months prior to this, had by proclamation, but only as a war measure, declared the slaves free, while their masters kept them within their lines, and held full dominion over them.

It was then modestly suggested by your chairman of the national committee, that the convention would not discharge its whole duty unless, among its resolves, it should declare for such an amendment of the national constitution as would, when adopted by the requisite number of states, forever prohibit African slavery on this continent. The suggestion was received with unexampled enthusiasm by the convention. The resolution to secure this national blessing was written in your party platform on that day; both houses of congress very soon after passed the required amendment; twenty-nine sovereign states ratified it; the noble Lincoln proclaimed the result to the people;—and from that hour to this “the sun has not risen upon a bondman nor set upon a slave” in all this fair land. Not to the North, not to the South, but to that Supreme Being alone who controls the destinies of nations as well as the affairs of individuals, let us give all the glory. But all this is past, and the past we conclude is secure.

Pardon me, gentlemen, if again, with like modesty, I make a suggestion or two bearing directly on the present. This convention should emphatically demand the prompt and efficient execution of those solemn promises of both houses of congress, and the president, to redeem in coin the legal-tender obligations of the government on the 1st of January, 1879, and signify its opposition to any modification or repeal of this law that does not guarantee a still earlier or better method of returning to specie payment. Let no doubtful word go out from this convention upon the subject of honest money. Prices are already at a specie point. Stand firmly by your numerous resolutions and platforms a little longer, and your currency basis will be transformed into a coin basis so easily and naturally that you will be yourselves surprised regretting only, as you will, that it was not determined upon at an earlier day.

Resumption accomplished, then, in all human probability, will follow ten or fifteen years of prosperity equal to that of any former period, perhaps greater than the country has yet seen. If you will, in addition, put a plank in your platform declaring for such an amendment of the constitution as will extend the presidential office to six years, and make the incumbent ineligible for re-election, you will deserve the gratitude of the American people.

As the mariner, when tossed for many days in thick weather, avails himself of the earliest glance of the sun to ascertain how far the elements have driven him from his true course, so in like manner, at the end of one hundred years from the foundation of our government, we too have come from the north, the south, the east, and the west, to take a political observation for the purpose of amending and improving our system of national government so far as improvement is really necessary and possible. With this view we have come to this great and beautiful city of Cincinnati, on the banks of the grand but placid Ohio, containing nearly three hundred thousand souls and where we now find every luxury that wealth, nature, or art can produce but where not even a log cabin had been erected or a white man born when our government was organized.

The last three national conventions of our party have had indicated to them, in advance, the names of the candidates for the national ticket, so that they have been but little else than ratification meetings of decrees that had been made by the people, merely putting in form that which had already been decided upon. I allude to President Lincoln's second nomination, and to the nomination and renomination of the splendid soldier and patriot, General Grant. But such a state of things no longer exists. There appears to be at the present time no one to whom the unerring finger points as the only candidate. There seems to be no man rising so far above all others as to cause exultant voices to exclaim,—“Thou art the man!”

The consequence is, that many distinguished names among our party friends have been mentioned as candidates, and will be brought before the convention when the proper time arrives for making nominations. Therefore it is that I have expressed myself as seeing greater responsibilities resting upon the delegates to this Cincinnati convention than upon any or all that have preceded it.

The history of the Republican party furnishes abundant evidence of its desire that the government shall be administered with honesty and economy, and as a means to that end that the civil service should be elevated by the introduction of all needful and proper reforms. With such a history, and at a time like the present, it cannot be doubted that the choice of the convention, will fall on some one, whomsoever he may be, clearly committed on this question—not only by his expressed opinions, but also by his public life and conduct.

I will not further anticipate the action of this honorable body, except to say that the firm support on the part of the nominees of all the recent amendments to the national constitution, and the support and maintenance of all other principles involved in the war for the preservation of the Union, must also be regarded as the pre-requisites for the high offices of President and Vice-President of the United States. With this accomplished, it will be the highest duty, and should be the greatest pleasure, for all in authority to extend the warm hand of fellowship to all good citizens of this Union, and as rapidly as possible to forgive and to forget the recent past, and to do every act to make us satisfied to be and remain in fact, as we are in name, one people, one country.

It is fit and proper, citizens of Cincinnati, that the Republican National Convention, in this centennial year, should be held in your city and under your auspices, as you, quite as fully as any other locality, represent in yourselves the industry, the enterprise, the sublimity, and the grandeur of our country's growth and greatness.

#### TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN.

Gov. MORGAN. I am further requested by the national committee to make a nomination of the temporary presiding officer of the convention, and there-

fore nominate the Hon. Theodore M. Pomeroy, of New York, for that office. [Applause.]

The question having been put, Governor Morgan declared Mr. Pomeroy chosen, and designated Governor Baldwin, of Michigan, and Governor Van Zandt, of Rhode Island, to conduct the temporary president to the chair.

On the arrival of the gentleman on the stage with the temporary chairman, Governor Morgan said,—“I now present to you the Hon. Theodore M. Pomeroy, of New York.” [Renewed applause.]

#### ADDRESS OF THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN.

Mr. Pomeroy spoke as follows:

*Gentlemen of the Convention:* I thank you most heartily for the compliment conferred by calling me to preside over the temporary organization of this convention.

I have been so long withdrawn from practical participation in political affairs, that it is in obedience to custom, rather than my own inclination, that I occupy even a few minutes of your time in the consideration of the political situation, and of the principles so long and so successfully entrusted to the keeping of the Republican party. Events have chased each other so rapidly, from the inauguration of President Lincoln to the closing year of the administration of General Grant, fraught with such fundamental changes in the whole theory and practice of government, that the consideration of them, in the briefest manner, is precluded upon an occasion such as this. Brief as may be considered the existence of the Republican party, none other in the history of the nation has for so long a consecutive period controlled its government without encountering popular defeat; and still, notwithstanding popular jealousy of political ascendancy long continued by any party, it is in the power of this convention to designate the coming President of the United States. [Applause.] Our folly may concede what the wisdom of the opposition cannot achieve,—our defeat at the polls in November; but such defeat can come from no other source. We are met here, not as contending factions within the party to test under various leaderships our relative strength, but as representatives accepting a high responsibility to extract from the crucible of conflicting opinions that type of American statesmanship which shall be accepted as the worthy embodiment of the principles of the party. [Applause.] Men as well as measures are to be weighed in the balance during the coming canvass, and neither must be found wanting to secure success. [Applause.] The Republican party cannot continue to live by reason of its splendid achievements in the past, nor the Democratic party expect to be returned to power upon its glittering promises of reform in the future. [Applause.] The former party has but to present men representative of its principles; the latter must discover both its principles and its men. [Applause.] In former days, when party ties were firmer, when the immediate pressure of impending national calamity hedged us about and compelled party fidelity, the platform carried along the man, whomsoever he might be. Party ties are looser now, and no platform is buoyant enough to float an unworthy candidate. [Applause.]

The necessity for the continuance of the administrative policy of the Republican party, while not so apparent in immediate results, is as commanding respecting future consequences as at any time in its history. We are told that it has accomplished its mission, and, therefore, has no longer claim to live. Well, if it has, and the time for its dissolution has come, it can die triumphantly, like the apostle of old, exclaiming,—“I have fought a good fight; I have kept the faith.” [Immense and continued applause.] It has

fulfilled many missions. It fulfilled the mission of its birth in neutralizing the disastrous effects of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, in bringing freedom to the great territories of the North-west, and in bringing California into the sisterhood of states, undefiled by slavery, and adorned like a gem in the glitter of her golden promise. [Applause.] It fulfilled the mission of its youth in accepting the "irrepressible conflict," and it was a man worth living for to have saved a nationality like ours; to have freed a million slaves and raised them to the dignity of American citizenship, to have reconstructed the federal constitution so as to place the liberties of the citizen and the credit of the nation upon foundations strong enough to endure anything except the imbecility of a Democratic administration. [Applause.] The mission of the manhood of the Republican party, our mission of to-day, is, to establish on sure foundations and make secure for coming ages the fruits of the war-debt, and taxation through which the present has been achieved. The benefits to be derived to the individual citizen from the fourteenth and fifteenth constitutional amendments are to be secured through such appropriate legislation as congress may devise. I ask the freedmen of the South, if they are ready to accept the Democratic party as the source of power [Voices—"No!" "No!" Speaker—I know it.] which is to flow the appropriate legislation to give effect to those amendments. I ask a candid public, if the only anarchy that exists in the South today is not the anarchy caused by the opposition of the Democratic party, as to the principles adopted in the work of reconstruction, and now a fundamental part of the law of the land. The Democratic party claims to be the situation respecting the sacredness of the national debt and the inviolability of the national credit, and yet \$20,000,000 of taxation will not make good the annual loss to the American people, from the undefined and unfinable attitude and intentions of that party in regard to the payment of principal of the public debt.

In the prosecution of the war to overthrow the rebellion, for the purpose of procuring the ready money to pay the army and the navy, and to procure the immense material of war, it became necessary to suspend specie payment and to make a forced loan from the people, by declaring the greenbacks legal tender in payment of public and private indebtedness; and yet, claiming to be in favor of resumption of specie payment at some indefinite time, and by means of some indefinite process, although eleven years elapsed since the close of the war, the Democratic party bitterly opposes the payment of the forced loan, or the taking of the first practical step toward assuming our position among the solvent nations of the civilized world. [Applause.]

No, gentlemen, the late war was not a mere prize-fight for national supremacy. It was the outgrowth of the conflict of irreconcilable moral, social, and political forces. Democracy had its lot with the moral, social, and political forces of the cause which was lost: the Republican party those which triumphed and survived. The preservation of the results of victory devolves upon us here and now. Democracy has no traditions of the past, no impulses of the present, no aspirations for the future fitting it to realize the situation. It has simply demonstrated that no change in the machinery of the government can be had outside of the Republican party without drawing with it a practical nullification of the great work of reconstruction, financial chaos, and administrative revolution. The present house of representatives has succeeded in nothing except the development of its own incapacity. [Applause.] From the inception of the Republican party in 1855, it has kept pace with the progress of the times, accepting each responsibility of war, emancipation, taxation, and reconstruction, till the brightest pages of American history are but the life-story of the Republican party.

[Applause.] Of the whole mass of its constitutional amendments and legislative enactments, it takes the responsibility without apology. It has often erred, but it has never failed to act, and through its action the nation has lived. There has been corruption; but when it was discovered, the order went forth, "Let no guilty man escape." [Loud applause.] Gentlemen, that order has been executed. [Renewed applause.] There has been want of harmony; but a platform, unwavering in its declaration of principles, with candidates worthy of it, will weld together, as of old, into an unconquerable army, the great liberty-loving, law-abiding majority of the voters of the United States, and stamp with enduring success the results of the deliberations of this convention. [Great applause.] Again thanking you, gentlemen, I inquire, What is the pleasure of the convention?

Mr. DAVID ATWOOD, of Wisconsin. I offer the following resolution:

*Resolved*, That Irving M. Bean, Esq., of Wisconsin, and Gen. H. H. Bingham, of Pennsylvania, serve as temporary secretaries of this convention.

The resolution was read and adopted, and the chair requested the secretaries to take their seats.

Mr. W. A. HOWARD, of Michigan. By request of the national committee, with the entire assent of the local committee, and by the earnest request of the Michigan delegation, I wish to present the name of Gen. E. W. Hinks, of Wisconsin, for sergeant-at-arms of this convention. He is a man covered all over with scars, and I hope that he will be elected by acclamation.

A vote was taken, and the chairman declared General Hinks elected.

Dr. LORING, of Massachusetts, offered the following resolution:

*Resolved*, That the roll of the states and territories be called, and the chairman of each delegation announce the names of the persons selected to serve on the following committees as each committee is named by the chair: 1. The Committee on Credentials. 2. The Committee on Permanent Organization. 3. The Committee on Rules and Order of Business. 4. The Committee on Resolutions.

The question being put, the resolution was declared adopted.

The CHAIR. Pursuant to the resolution, the secretary will call the roll of states.

Mr. S. B. DUTCHER, of New York. I would inquire if that motion includes the territories.

The CHAIR. It does.

Mr. DUTCHER. Then I move to reconsider the motion.

Mr. ALBRIGHT, of Pennsylvania. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The CHAIR put this motion, and declared that Mr. Dutcher's motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

Mr. S. L. WOODFORD, of New York. I desire to ask if the roll of the states where there is a contest will be called.

The CHAIR. The convention has given no direction in respect to that. I presume as the states are called, when we come to states where there are contests, that question will be decided.

Mr. CUMBACK, of Indiana. Is it proposed to call the roll for each of these several committees?

The CHAIR. It was so ordered. They can be called in mass.

Mr. CUMBACK. I move that as the states are called they respectively announce their member for each of the committees.



The CHAIR. There is no objection, and the Chair considers that the motion is adopted. The gentlemen will therefore nominate the different committees at one time.

Mr. DUTCHER, of New York. I would move to add to the call, that the names of the gentlemen for vice-presidents and for members of the national committee be announced at the same time.

A DELEGATE from Pennsylvania. There is no propriety in that, because the Committee on Organization should select the vice-presidents.

Mr. DUTCHER. I withdraw the motion.

The roll-call was begun, Alabama being first called, and announcing a member of the Committee on Credentials, George Turner. Before the names of Alabama's members of the other committees had been announced,

Mr. WOODFORD, of New York said,—It seems to me that there is a manifest impropriety in allowing those states or territories where there may be contests as to the proper delegation, to name members of the committee, and I think that either by unanimous consent or by some amendment of the resolution the usual parliamentary rule should be adopted,—that when a state is reached where there are contesting delegations, that state or territory should be passed on the roll-call. And I move you, sir, that in case of any state or territory where there is a contest as to the proper delegation, or where there are contesting delegations, such state or territory be passed upon the call of the roll.

Mr. CUMBACK. I move to add to the motion of the gentleman of New York, the district of Columbia.

Mr. WOODFORD. I accept the amendment of the gentleman from Indiana.

The question being put by the chair, the motion of Mr. Woodford, as thus amended, was agreed to.

The secretaries proceeded with the roll-call, passing Alabama under the above motion, and calling Arkansas. It being difficult to get the names correctly as they were announced by the chairmen of the delegations,

Mr. W. B. MANN, of Pennsylvania, remarked.—It is very evident this will consume a great deal of time, and there will be many inaccuracies in sounding names across the hall. I therefore move that the chairman of each delegation be requested to send the names in writing to the secretary on the platform.

No objection being made, it was so ordered.

A DELEGATE from Arkansas. I suggest that, to obviate confusion, the roll of states be called, and as each state is called the chairman of each delegation send the names in writing to the secretary.

Mr. CUMBACK. I think it would be better that, as the names are sent up, the secretary read them, so that the convention may hear who they are.

At the conclusion of the roll-call the secretary read the names of the various persons constituting the different committees, as follows:

COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS.

Arkansas.....	O. P. Snyder.	Montana.....	W. F. Sanders.
Arizona.....	De Forest Porter.	Nebraska.....	L. W. Osborn.
California.....	Norman D. Rideout.	Nevada.....	C. N. Harris.
Connecticut.....	Joseph Selden.	New Hampshire.....	Alonzo Nute.
Colorado.....	J. B. Chaffee.	New Jersey.....	Wm. J. Magle.
Dakota.....	Alex. Hughes.	New York.....	Thos. C. Platt.
Delaware.....	James Scott.	North Carolina.....	James Heaton.
Georgia.....	James Atkins.	New Mexico.....	Wm. Breedon.
Idaho.....	Asbury Steele.	Ohio.....	Wm. H. Upson.
Illinois.....	G. S. Bangs.	Oregon.....	J. V. David.
Iowa.....	John T. Baldwin.	Pennsylvania.....	Wm. S. Quay.
Kansas.....	D. P. Thompson.	Rhode Island.....	Wm. H. Howard.
Kentucky.....	A. H. Horton.	South Carolina.....	Stephen A. Swalls.
Louisiana.....	J. W. Flnnell.	Texas.....	J. P. Newcome.
Maine.....	Chas. E. Nash.	Tennessee.....	A. G. Sharp.
Massachusetts.....	Seth. L. Milliken.	Utah.....	G. A. Black.
Michigan.....	John T. Ensor.	Vermont.....	Wheelock G. Veazey.
Minnesota.....	John E. Sanford.	Virginia.....	J. F. Dezendorf.
Mississippi.....	Geo. Hannahs.	West Virginia.....	Nathan Goff, Jr.
Missouri.....	W. G. Word.	Wisconsin.....	Wm. David Atwood.
	R. C. Powers.	Washington.....	G. T. Minor.
	M. A. Rosenthal.	Wyoming.....	Wm. Hunter.

RULES AND ORDER OF BUSINESS.

Arkansas.....	R. A. Dawson.	Montana.....	B. H. Tatem.
Arizona.....	De Forest Porter.	Nebraska.....	R. J. Brown.
California.....	James M. Pierce.	Nevada.....	R. S. Claph.
Connecticut.....	John T. Rockwell.	New Mexico.....	W. P. Breedon.
Colorado.....	Geo. W. Morgan.	New Hampshire.....	Thomas C. Rand.
Dakota.....	Alex. Hughes.	New Jersey.....	John H. Kendrick.
Delaware.....	J. H. Othcur.	New York.....	Walter L. Sessions.
Georgia.....	Jefferson S. Long.	North Carolina.....	R. N. Wornent.
Idaho.....	E. S. Baker.	Ohio.....	J. T. Updegraff.
Iowa.....	Thos. M. Browne.	Oregon.....	J. H. Foster.
Kansas.....	S. M. Clarke.	Pennsylvania.....	John Cessna.
Kentucky.....	Austin Savage.	Rhode Island.....	J. S. Williams.
Louisiana.....	A. J. Banta.	South Carolina.....	Robert Smalls.
Maine.....	T. O. Shackelford.	Texas.....	Richard Allen.
Massachusetts.....	George E. Hamlet.	Tennessee.....	W. Y. Elliott.
Michigan.....	James M. Stone.	Utah.....	J. B. McKean.
Minnesota.....	William Perkins.	Vermont.....	Fred. E. Woodbridge.
Mississippi.....	William T. Davis.	Virginia.....	J. F. Lewis.
Missouri.....	Wm. H. Withington.	West Virginia.....	J. E. Schley.
	John T. Ames.	Wisconsin.....	S. R. D. Potter.
	J. J. Spellman.	Washington.....	Elwood Evans.
	H. E. Havens.	Wyoming.....	J. M. Corey.

ON RESOLUTIONS.

Arkansas.....	C. C. Waters.	Montana.....	W. F. Sanders.
Arizona.....	R. C. McCormick.	New Mexico.....	S. B. Axtell.
California.....	Charles F. Reed.	Nebraska.....	A. R. Pinney.
Connecticut.....	Joseph R. Hawley.	Nevada.....	J. P. Jones.
Colorado.....	James B. Belford.	New Hampshire.....	Chas. H. Burns.
Dakota.....	Andrew McHench.	New Jersey.....	Fred A. Potts.
Delaware.....	Eli R. Sharp.	New York.....	Charles E. Smith.
Georgia.....	Henry M. Turner.	North Carolina.....	P. C. Badger.
Idaho.....	C. B. Farwell.	Ohio.....	Edward Cowans.
Iowa.....	R. W. Thompson.	Oregon.....	H. K. Hines.
Kansas.....	Hiram Price.	Pennsylvania.....	Edward McPherson.
Kentucky.....	Austin Savage.	Rhode Island.....	Charles Nourse.
Louisiana.....	J. D. Thacker.	So. Carolina.....	D. W. Chamberlain.
Maine.....	James Speed.	Texas.....	E. J. Davis.
Massachusetts.....	Henry Demoss.	Tennessee.....	A. A. Freeman.
Michigan.....	Nelson Dingley, Jr.	Utah.....	J. B. McKean.
Minnesota.....	Dr. H. Steiner.	Vermont.....	Geo. H. Bigelow.
Mississippi.....	Edward L. Pierce.	Virginia.....	Wm. Miller.
Missouri.....	H. P. Baldwin.	West Virginia.....	J. W. Davis.
	J. E. Wakefield.	Wisconsin.....	James H. Howe.
	C. W. Clarke.	Washington.....	Elwood Evans.
	R. T. Van Horn.	Wyoming.....	Wm. Hinton.

## OFFICIAL PROCEEDINGS OF THE

## ON PERMANENT ORGANIZATION.

Arkansas.....	M. W. Benjamin.	New Mexico.....	Wm. Breder
Arizona.....	R. C. McCormick.	Nebraska.....	C. F. Bayne
California.....	Lucius H. Foote.	Nevada.....	Frank Bel
Connecticut.....	Samuel Fessenden.	New Hampshire.....	B. F. Whidden
Colorado.....	John L. Routt.	New Jersey.....	Garret A. Hobart
Dakota.....	Andrew McHench.	New York.....	Wm. Orton
Delaware.....	J. R. Lockland.	Nebraska.....	Z. W. Osborne
Georgia.....	Edwin Belcher.	North Carolina.....	W. H. Wheeler
Illinois.....	G. B. Raum.	Ohio.....	R. P. Buckland
Indiana.....	K. G. Schryock.	Oregon.....	H. K. Hines
Iowa.....	W. G. Donnan.	Pennsylvania.....	Charles Albright
Idaho.....	D. P. Thompson.	Rhode Island.....	Jas. M. Pendleton
Kansas.....	D. R. Lowe.	South Carolina.....	H. S. Worthington
Kentucky.....	J. J. Landrum.	Texas.....	S. H. Russell
Louisiana.....	S. B. Packard.	Tennessee.....	Edward Shaw
Maine.....	John L. Stevens.	Utah.....	G. A. Black
Maryland.....	Joseph Pugh.	Vermont.....	Warren C. French
Massachusetts.....	George B. Loring.	Virginia.....	Ross Hamilton
Michigan.....	D. L. Filer.	West Virginia.....	T. H. Logan
Minnesota.....	John L. Merriam.	Wisconsin.....	Geo. C. Ginty
Mississippi.....	J. T. Settle.	Washington.....	T. T. Minor
Missouri.....	George Bain.	Wyoming.....	J. M. Corey
Montana.....	W. F. Sanders.		

A DELEGATE from Arkansas. I move that the chairman of each delegation hand to the chairman of the Committee on Permanent Organization the name of the vice-president from his delegation.

Agreed to.

Mr. EDWARD MCPHERSON, of Pennsylvania. I offer the following resolution:

*Resolved*, That when this convention adjourns, it adjourn to meet at eleven o'clock to-morrow morning, and that immediately upon the meeting of the convention it shall proceed to nominate candidate for the office of President of the United States; that two speeches of presentation not exceeding ten minutes each, or one speech of twenty minutes, at the discretion of the friends of the respective candidates, be permitted, and that thereupon the convention will proceed to make the nomination."

General HAWLEY, of Connecticut. I move the reference of that resolution to the Committee on Rules and Order of Business.

Agreed to.

The chairman announced that a meeting of the Committee on Permanent Organization would be held immediately in a room adjoining the hall.

Judge DITTENHOFER, of New York. On behalf of the National German Republican Convention recently assembled in this city, over which I had the honor to preside, and in which twenty states were represented, I desire to present the following resolutions, which I will send up to the secretary. Without desiring to discuss them, I desire to call the attention of the convention to but three of them: first, the resolution in view of the recent decision of the supreme court of the United States, declaring state legislation on the subject of emigration unconstitutional, and that the national government should alone legislate on that subject; second, demanding the revision of the treaties between the foreign countries affecting naturalization and expatriation; and, third, demanding unsectarian schools [applause] and taxation of church property [renewed applause], as recommended by the President of the United States in his recent message. [Renewed applause.] I ask the permission of this convention that a committee of three, of which the Hon. Mr. Wolf, of Washington, is chairman, attend the Committee on Resolutions, and present them.

The resolutions, which were read from the stage, were as follows:

The German Republican delegates of the United States, in convention assembled, in the city of Cincinnati, June 12th and 13th, 1876, have adopted the following declaration of principles for the coming campaign, and present the same to the National Republican Convention for their favorable consideration:

1. We declare our unalterable allegiance to the principles of the Republican party, recognizing in their perpetuation the only safeguard of the republic.

2. Free, non-sectarian schools, compulsory education, taxation of church property, as expressed in the late message of the President of the United States.

3. No recognition of any system of worship by the state or Federal government. Sunday being recognized by the individual and not by the constitution of the United States, to enforce the legislation seeking to abridge the personal rights of the citizens with respect to its "observings" is unconstitutional.

4. The protection of the immigrant by the Federal power is an indispensable necessity. Legislation fostering and protecting this important factor in the prosperity of the republic must be at once devised, in view of the recent decision of the supreme court declaring state legislation unconstitutional.

5. In a republic there can be but one class of citizens. The law must give the same protection abroad as at home. Any discrimination between those adopted and those native born is unjust, and such legislation savors of Know-Nothingism, and is unworthy of American statesmanship;—therefore we demand a revision of the existing treaties with foreign governments, especially that of Germany, affecting naturalization and expatriation.

6. The honor and integrity of the republic lie primarily in a regulated system of civil service, based on moral character and capacity, and not solely on political service.

7. Opposition to all inflation and repudiation heresies, and no step backward on the road to resumption.

8. The maintenance of every amendment to the constitution by the Federal power, and especially the rigid enforcement of every law affecting citizens South.

9. The nation is supreme, and not the state.

The resolutions were referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

The CHAIR. The following communication has been handed to the chair and will be read by the secretary.

The communication was read as follows:

*To the Hon. the President of the National Republican Convention:*

The courtesy of the reading-room and library of the Young Men's Mercantile Library of Cincinnati is cordially extended to the delegates of the convention.

HERMAN GOEPFER, *President.*

Mr. DEZENDORF, of Virginia. It seems to me that there should be a meeting of the Committee on Credentials, as it will be impossible for us to transact any business until that committee reports, and we know who are delegates in this convention.

The CHAIR. The Chair will take the liberty of announcing that the several committees appointed will meet at the right of the Chair, in the committee rooms.

A DELEGATE from Missouri. I move that the convention now adjourn until four o'clock.

Gov. VAN ZANDT, of Rhode Island. I hope not until after the Committee on Permanent Organization shall have reported.

A DELEGATE from New York. I trust that the convention will not adjourn. We can hear the report of the Committee on Permanent Organization, and then adjourn until to-morrow morning.

At 1:25 P. M., while the several committees were retiring, the convention took an informal recess, and the band struck up.

At 2 P. M. the convention was again called to order by the Chair.

Mr. J. W. MASON, of New York. I offer the following preamble and resolution:

*Whereas*, We still remember with gratitude the services of the loyal women of the country during the late war, and their devotion in the hospitals of the North, and their fidelity to the nation in many of the disputed districts of the South; and,

*Whereas*, The Republican party has always advocated the extension of human freedom; therefore,

*Resolved*, That we favor the bestowal of equal civil and political rights on all loyal citizens of the United States, without regard to sex.

Mr. GEORGE WILLIAM CURTIS, of New York. Mr. Chairman, I hold in my hand an address of the Republican Reform Club of the city of New York, which I have been requested to lay before this convention, and to ask leave that it shall be read. I therefore move you, sir, that the address which I have the honor to submit be now read to the convention.

Objected to.

The CHAIR. The gentleman from New York states in his place that he has an address from the Republican Reform Club of the city of New York, which he desires to have read. Objection is made, and the question before the convention is, "Shall the address be read?"

The question being put, was decided in the affirmative.

Mr. Curtis, in response to repeated calls, ascended the platform and read the following:

#### ADDRESS OF THE REFORM CLUB OF NEW YORK.

*To the Republican National Convention of 1876:*

The Republican Reform Club of the city of New York pray you to consider our respectful declaration of what we deem necessary to make the Republican party deserve and obtain success in this state, which is conceded to be the principal battle-ground of the canvass, and in which the apparent strength of the Democratic and Republican parties is nearly equal.

We believe that the people wish to keep the Republican party in power only upon condition that a new Federal administration shall fulfill the promises which were given by the Republican National Convention of 1872. Without pausing to argue whether they do demand something more, certainly they will insist upon nothing less. One of those promises committed the Republican party to a speedy resumption of specie payments, and another committed it to a thorough reform of the civil service. But the only measure that has been enacted toward fulfilling the first promise is a statute which pledges the honor of the nation to redeem its paper currency with specie

on the 1st of January, 1879; and the second promise, after some beneficent experiments, has been openly, wilfully, and totally broken by congress and the President.

The long delay to resume specie payments keeps the business of the country depressed. Confidence is essential to prosperity. There cannot be confidence without a stable measure of value, and the only stable measure is gold. The neglect to reform the civil service exposes the people to a greater peril, for it encourages office-holders to conspire to keep their places without regard to their fitness for them. We leave the Republicans of other states, who are suffering from this grievance, to tell you their own story. Speaking for the state of New York, we testify to you of our own knowledge and experience, that Federal office-holders have here usurped the organization of the Republican party, and abuse it to exclude large classes of its members from any voice in its councils; that they treat the tenure of their offices as depending on the caprice of the Republican senator from this state, because he is the patron who dictated their appointment, and not on the will of the President or the people; and that they have banded themselves into an odious and intolerable oligarchy which menaces the very system of our government.

We believe that a great majority of the people deeply and justly distrust the motives which animate the Democratic party and the influences which guide it; that they are not reasonably hopeful of reform at its hands; and that they always will be reluctant to confide the Federal government to any party which is controlled by men who assailed the Union themselves, or sympathized with its assailants. Nor is this distrust inconsistent with fraternal feeling to our fellow-citizens who were recently in rebellion. But it is neither honest nor prudent to speculate upon imputations of disloyalty for a Republican success. If you neglect to prove by your resolutions and your nominations that the flagrant decay of official faith and integrity, which has occurred during the present Federal administration, is not the fault of the Republican party itself, but of unfaithful servants, whom you now, upon the first opportunity since 1872, are eager to depose, it is our solemn conviction that your proceedings will impel the people to put the Democratic party into power, for the sake, at least, of a change of the administrators of evil, since they cannot obtain from you a remedy of the evil itself.

Under this conviction, we earnestly attest to you our belief that a triumph of the Republican party in the approaching elections can be obtained only by your nomination of presidential candidates whose lives afford a more trustworthy pledge than the resolutions of any convention that they will spare no effort to fulfill the promises of the Republican party to resume specie payments speedily, and to emancipate the civil service from political control. We declare the desires of greater multitudes than our immediate constituency, when we demand all the assurances which you can give by your resolutions, and still more by your nominations.

1. That the sacred pledge of the honor of the United States to redeem and pay its legal-tender promises on the 1st of January, 1879, shall be followed by all the legislation needful to fulfil it, and never shall be repealed or modified without the substitution of an earlier and better method of specie resumption.

2. That all the powers of appointment to office, which are intrusted to the Executive by the constitution and the laws, shall be faithfully executed; that fixed methods shall be established for the selection of persons for appointment which shall protect merit against mere influence and favoritism; that the legislature never shall encroach upon the executive in this department of authority, and especially that executive and executive powers shall not be confused by the delegation of the power of appointment by the President, or any other executive officer, to members of congress in order to conciliate their support or promote their ambition.

3. That the tenure of all the offices of the Federal government, whose faithful execution does not depend upon the political opinions of their holders, shall be independent of those opinions; and that honesty, capacity, and fidelity shall become the conditions of obtaining and retaining every Federal office.

Solemnly convinced that a Republican reform, and nothing but a Republican reform, can secure that Republican victory for which we pray, and to which we are anxious to give our heartiest aid, we beseech you to give us presidential candidates who can secure it, and to put no man in nomination who is responsible in any degree for the repudiation or evasion of the unfulfilled promises of the Republican National Convention of 1872, which it is the highest duty of the Republican party to renew and redeem.

A DELEGATE from New York. I move you that the document which has just been read be referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

A DELEGATE from Montana. I move you that the address be adopted as the sense of this convention.

The reference was ordered.

A DELEGATE from Maryland. Unless the Committee on Credentials are ready to report, I move that the convention take a recess until four o'clock.

Not agreed to.

Mr. E. L. PIERCE, of Massachusetts. I move that all addresses, memorials, and resolutions be referred to the Committee on Resolutions without reading and without debate.

Mr. J. B. SENER, of Virginia. I hope that the motion will be amended so as to except such communications as the chair shall judge should be laid before the convention. The wording of the gentleman's resolution is so broad that it will exclude all.

The CHAIR. The Chair will take care of that.

Mr. Pierce's motion was put and agreed to.

At this point calls were made for various speakers, among whom was U. S. Senator John A. Logan, of Illinois. General Logan came forward, and was introduced by the chairman of the convention. He spoke as follows:

#### SPEECH OF GENERAL LOGAN.

*Mr. President and Gentlemen of the National Republican Convention:* I know not what I can say to you that will be of any benefit in directing your minds in that duty which you are now called upon to perform. You are the chosen representatives of the Republicans of United States of America, assembled here for the purpose of nominating candidates for President and Vice-President upon a Republican platform, to be voted for at the next November election by the Republicans of the United States. To recite all that has been done by this party of ours, which has been of advantage to the whole people of this great country, and to enumerate the many things that have inured to the benefit of civilized man, would be a work I cannot now undertake. Our coming campaign, in my judgment, however, is to be one of no ordinary character. We have the evidence now before us in the demonstrations that are being made by the opponents of the Republican party sufficient to satisfy us that the time has again come for every lover of liberty and freedom in this land to buckle on his armor and be ready for the fray. That which has been achieved by our armies, that which has been made and perfected for the benefit of mankind by the intellect of our party, is before the

country, for them to decide whether or not that which has been made so for a success shall be still continued as a success in this land, or whether all the fruits that have been gathered by the Republican party and by their exertions shall be destroyed. It is for you to say whether that which we have added to the constitution of the country shall be sustained and shall be carried out by the laws that shall be made by the legislative department of the government in Republican hands, or whether you will turn it over to the hands of those who will legislate in opposition to the principles that have been embodied in that constitution by our amendments. To you, then, has this task been referred, so far as presenting to the country men that will stand upon this platform and carry out these principles. Let there be no uncertain sound in the platform that shall be adopted by the Republican party here to-day. It is not for me to indicate what your committee shall report, or what you shall adopt, except to say, as a Republican, Let there be no uncertain sound on any question that is at all a vital question before the American people.

This is a Republican convention, and it should be only captured by Republicans and only be sustained and supported by Republicans. I have learned, while being a Republican, that Republicanism in this land means liberty, freedom, and enjoyment of happiness, the protection under our laws alike to each and every citizen in the confines of this country, let him come from whence he may, whether born in a foreign land or upon our own soil. When you tell me that we have power to protect the American citizen on the high seas or in foreign lands, I say the government that has power to stretch forth its strong arm and protect the American citizen in foreign parts, has the power, and it is bounden duty, to protect him at home. Sirs, the government that will not allow an insult to its flag from a foreign foe, but will allow its citizens to be trampled under foot, deprived of each and every right guaranteed to them by the constitution of the land in which they live, that will allow them to be plundered and robbed and murdered, is not a government of freedom and right, and the way to protect American citizens in their rights and in the enjoyment of that to which they are entitled under our constitution, is to enforce the laws, and to make such laws as will throw safeguards around each and every one of them, and to place in the presidential chair the man who will execute the laws for the benefit and protection of this people. The man that tells me that the four millions of offending people that have been made freemen in this land by the voice and the strong arm and will of the Republicans and Union men of the nation shall not have their rights protected the same as ours, but that they may become a prey at any day, or in any time or place, to the men who themselves will commit all kinds of depredations and fraud for the purpose of enforcing their victims either to acquiescence in wrong or into machinations against their friends, says that which is against the wishes of the great Republican party. It is our duty to say that this shall not be done.

Now, my countrymen, one word in reference to the signs of the times. What is it we see and hear all around and about us to-day, from those who oppose the success of the Republican party in this land? Do they sing the praises of the American nation? Do they sing the praises of quiet acquiescence of Americans in the laws of the country? Do they go forward to oppose the enemies of civilization, of Republicanism, of freedom, and say, "Here we stand with the banner of freedom in our hands, and we intend to wave it over this land and sustain all that it indicates for civilization?" Do we find that among the enemies of Republicanism? Most assuredly we do not!

We find this to-day. The men in this land who failed of success in overturning this government by force of arms, have undertaken, and they have had success to a certain extent, to destroy the government in a different manner. The destruction of this government is contemplated, not by arms,



not by force, but by capturing the government, and then nullifying every law and every amendment to the constitution that gives that protection to our citizens that we ourselves said they should have when they were battling to preserve this nation. How do they do it? What is the commencement of this new revolution?—for revolution it means, and that is what it is. First, it is the assassination of the private character of every leading Republican in the land. The dagger of detraction is to be plunged into the very vitals of the men who stand firm against the storms that have been rolling against liberty and freedom in this country.

Sir, every man is to be stricken down who holds a prominent position in the Republican party. Every bold, earnest, and aggressive man is to be destroyed; and when I say this, I have no reference to any individual. The commencement of this disintegration and destruction of the Republican party by assailing and attacking every man that has been a prominent man within its ranks. With their destruction, the conquest is simple.

We need, then, a bold movement on this enemy, and another victory will be ours. Sir, I say the men that stand firm and boldly vindicate the rights of the people, the principles of Republicanism,—no matter who they are or where they live,—should be sustained by the Republican party, so far as they deserve being sustained. I do not mean this by way of saying that I have excuses to make for any one man or set of men, but I mean that the rights of the people should be guarded as well as they have been guaranteed.

Then, in conclusion, let me say this: Give us a Republican platform. Give us candidates for President and Vice-President that are men known for the land. Name them yourselves. I have naught to do with that. The man you name is my man. The man you name is the Republican standard-bearer, and he is the man that will be elected. I dislike to hear it said that we cannot elect this man or that man. The Republican party, if it is true to itself, can elect whomsoever you shall nominate. You have collected together as wise men, as discreet men. In your hands is reposed the confidence of the Republicans of the United States. Whatever your wisdom shall decide, the Republicans of this country should be satisfied with and should acquiesce in; and, in my judgment, a Republican, after having called you together to make your nomination, who will fail to support that nomination, is not a true and genuine Republican. Now, gentlemen, I hope your deliberations will be calm and harmonious; that when we leave this place all asperity of feeling that may have arisen during this canvass will be wiped out, and that each and every one of us will take our departure to our homes satisfied that we have done the best we could for the country. Those who are disposed to be dissatisfied—to them say only that it is the best we can do; that if they cannot be satisfied with that, we cannot help it, as we have done all we could do for the benefit of the country. Do that, my countrymen, without being deterred in any way, and you will satisfy the country, and the country will ratify your choice in November.

After Gen. Logan had concluded, there were loud calls for Ex-Gov. Joseph R. Hawley, of Connecticut, who, ascending the platform, was introduced by the chairman, and spoke as follows:

#### SPEECH OF GEN. HAWLEY.

*Mr. President and Gentlemen:* I am exceedingly sorry that I am not in a condition to address you. I wish, indeed, that I could talk with interest and power here upon the necessities of the hour, and the great duties of the Republican party. But I am not well; I have a severe headache; and I have much work before me in the meeting of the Committee on Resolutions this evening,—so I will say but a word, and leave you.

I wish I could believe, as our gallant and eloquent friend who has just addressed you has said, that the Republican party has but to nominate and go home and elect. I should be glad to believe this, expressed in as strong language as any sanguine temperament could devise; but I am not sure that it is precisely so. There has been growing up for some time in the country a wide-spread and serious dissatisfaction. It is simply common sense to recognize it. No wise officer goes into battle without understanding his ground and recognizing the power of his enemy. He is well on his way to victory when he has done that. Now, gentlemen, when you shall have nominated your candidates and laid down your platform, if that platform distinctly expresses and propounds sound Republican doctrine, and your candidate be an able, sound, and true Republican, I shall go to work with all my heart and all my strength to elect him. But now is the time: this afternoon, this night, and to-morrow are the precious hours given you to decide what you will do and how you will do it. I enter into no particulars, but you know, all of you,—there is not a man in this convention who does not know,—that you can so conduct yourselves in forty-eight hours that the three or four months between now and November will be unavailing.

I beg to point to one particular at least, in which it is the high duty of the Republican party to take clear, strong, honorable ground. I refer to the great questions of debt and of currency.

I heard an able and eloquent woman arguing once before a committee of congress in favor of female suffrage. She said that women might not always care to vote, because sometimes there might be pending merely financial questions. Merely financial questions! As if all questions involving that description did not carry with them tests of moral power, of the honesty and the integrity of the people. There is no higher test of our fitness for republican government than a financial test. A great country of forty millions can carry on a war. Everybody knows it. Summon them to the defence of the country against domestic or foreign foes, and we assume it is not difficult to call one or two millions into the field; but when the great and exciting contest is passed, and it becomes a question of how manufacturers shall carry on their work and pay the taxes necessary to raise the interest of the debt created by the war, then comes the test, and then come the insidious doctrines which have been promulgated by persons who think they see short ways to getting rid of the burden. Then we strike the moral vitals of the people. You can fight; but can you resolutely determine that you will pay every dollar of that debt according to the promise? that you will return to sound currency based upon economic laws? We hear much said about the great mysteries and the great and puzzling problems of financial science. These difficulties vanish very much when you apply to them the same very simple test. Tell the truth, and fulfil your promise. Do that, and you will solve half of the trouble. What do the bonds say? Read it, and do it. What does your enforced loan, your legal-tender note promise to do, and what did you promise to do when you issued them? Do it. There is no profound mystery in it, and no extraordinary difficulty in the performance of that duty.

I hold that perhaps the first of our many duties is to bring back our currency to a sound basis, to a resumption of specie payments. And this not alone as a question of honor and integrity for the nation, but as an indispensable pre-requisite to the restoration of business prosperity. Our business men are utterly unable to make any calculations with reference to the near future. They are waiting, in some measure, for the results of the campaign, that they may decide what to do. And I need not say that there is a profound anxiety throughout the whole Republican party, that we shall give new assurances to the country that all its affairs are to be administered with high honor and integrity; that the sacred trusts of office-holders are indeed sacred trusts, and not to be trifled with by bold and designing men.

I do not in any sense despair of the republic, or of the Republican party; but we find, however, in the great mass of our party, in the mind's eye, a very noble and very high ideal. We have been uplifted, under the providence of God during these fifteen years, to see a new glory in the constitution and a new glory in the flag; and when the young men of our country—sanguine and hopeful, honorable young men—see men in high office trifling with their duties and trading in office, winking at corruption, they become dissatisfied; and that general discontent, now prevailing throughout the country in the minds of many men, must not be disregarded by this convention, if you desire success.

After Gov. Hawley had concluded, there were calls for Ex-Gov. Edward F. Noyes, of Ohio, who spoke as follows:

#### SPEECH OF EX-GOVERNOR NOYES.

*Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention:* I am under very many obligations for the honor of being called upon to-day, but it seems to me it would be more modest for me to sit and listen rather than to speak in this presence. But as you have done me the honor to call upon me, I will say a single word, and a word only. It seems to me that a wonderful responsibility is resting upon this convention at this time. The people in this centennial year are demanding more of their representatives than has ever been asked of public servants before. This is a sentiment which we must recognize in all our action here. I have no sympathy with the vile slanderers who would destroy the reputation of our honest statesmen for political purposes. The reputation of our public men is too dear to us for us to afford that they should be unjustly destroyed. While we will defend them in everything where they are right, yet the spirit of criticism which seeks out wrong wherever it exists, and punishes the offender, is noble, and I trust will be evermore.

The Republican party, after its career of sixteen years, challenges honest criticism. We refer to our record, and what does it show? The shackles stricken off from the limbs of four or five millions of our fellow citizens; the ruinous heresy that a state of its own motion has a right to destroy our government, has been trampled out forever; we have settled that our foreign-born citizens here shall have the same rights among us as native-born citizens of the United States, and that they shall go up and down the earth protected by the entire power of the American government. We are going to settle the question that the American people will do as they have promised to do, and pay their honest debts as they have promised to pay them. We are going to settle the question, that in every part of our country, in the South as well as in the North, every man shall be protected in his rights of person or property, whether black or white, native or foreign-born.

The Republican party does not forget the millions of our colored fellow citizens of the South who stood by our flag, supported by only a few white men, and helped us fight the battles of the country. We remember that hundreds of these colored soldiers are sleeping to-day side by side with those of our heroic dead on the fields of battle where they fell fighting for the government of the United States. Remembering these things, we propose, God helping us, so long as we exist as a party organization, to stand by them and their rights.

Whenever we discover thieves and rascals within the limits of our own party, we propose to hunt them out and punish them, and drive them out of the party and into the one where they belong.

As to the candidate of this convention, we, of Ohio, ask only this. We fight nobody. We assail no man's reputation. Whoever you nominate we will try to elect. But all we want, in the first place, is a man who is honest;

in the second place, a man of comprehension enough to know what is right and what is wrong; and, in the third place, we want a man that is brave enough and strong enough to carry out his convictions. Give us a man of great purity of private life, and an unexceptional public record, and count on Ohio next November.

The Rev. Henry Highland Garnett, of New York, being called for, ascended the stage.

The CHAIRMAN. *Gentlemen:* I take pleasure in introducing to you a man well known before the abolition of slavery in these United States; a man who helped win the battle as well as his fellow citizens of this nation,—the Rev. Henry Highland Garnett, of New York.

SPEECH OF THE REV. HENRY HIGHLAND GARNETT.

*Mr. President and Fellow Citizens:* I regret extremely that your kindness has demanded my appearance upon this platform at this time. I would have been better satisfied to have listened to other gentlemen, whose names are well known, and to hear whom you have expressed your desires; and, to prove that I mean what I say, you will find that the remarks which I make shall be exceedingly brief. It has gratified me much to hear from gentlemen who have claimed your attention and gained your ear, that one particular desire that lies near the hearts of the delegates to this convention, is the purification of the government, and the election of men as President and Vice-President of the United States who shall not only have the sagacity of knowing what to do, but who shall surround themselves with men who know how to do, how to act, how to carry out the desires of the true Republicans of this country. There is another thing that I earnestly desire; but to which no allusion has been made. Gratified as I have been to hear it announced, by every speaker who has appeared upon this platform, that it is your purpose to give protection to the men who helped to secure the perpetuity of this Union, who helped you to lift up the old flag from the dust when it was smitten down by disloyal hands, let me beg of this convention to notice this: There were men from whose hands the fetters have been smitten, who got together their little earnings, and, by the advice and direction of their friends, laid it away for a rainy day, and, by the mismanagement of men who deceived you, they have been deprived of their little earnings; and to-day there are aching hearts all over the country, and especially in the South. If you can, Mr. President, try in your deliberations to put in a little plank that will give security to the freedmen of the South, that the suffering which they endure, in consequence of the rascality and villainy of the managers of the Freedmen's savings banks, shall be set right. Don't forget that. If you do it you will have the gratitude, and love, and respect of that much injured people. Another thing, in conclusion: You may talk about your banks, your rag money, your silver and gold; you may talk about your civil service as much as you please,—but there is one thing that rises in importance above all these considerations. It is this: that in the South as well as in the North, every man,—not only the black Republicans, but the white Republicans,—shall be permitted to enjoy the highest privilege of citizenship at the polls, without being murdered by the pistol and the gun-shot. That is all I wish to say.

The CHAIR. The Committee on Resolutions is desired to meet at 260 Vine street, at seven o'clock this evening.

A DELEGATE from Michigan. I move that the convention do now adjourn till to-morrow morning at ten o'clock.

Loud calls being made for Hon. William A. Howard, of Michigan, the motion to adjourn was temporarily withdrawn, and Mr. Howard came upon the platform and said:

SPEECH OF MR. HOWARD.

*Gentlemen of the Convention:* You will excuse me for sitting while I speak. The success of the great Republican party must depend, in a great measure, upon enlisting the sympathies of all classes. To do that, we seek to give all classes representation here. Eloquent orators have already been heard,—leading men in the Republican party. Here our colored brother has been heard. Two classes have been represented; and I suppose, sir, that I am indebted for this honor to the fact that I am a cripple. Gentlemen, I stand before you [rising to his feet] representing the great body of the cripples in the Republican party. It is the only claim I have to be heard. But there was a time when I was not a cripple. There was a time when I was the only nominee for congress under the Republican party under that name, and, for a wonder, I was elected. Since that time the Republican party has been instrumental in making more history than any party that has ever existed under the heavens, and better history. To-day it represents certain great principles, certain ideas.

Liberty has always been the leading characteristic of the party. The Democratic party, our opponents,—they also, as an organization, are champions of liberty. They claim the liberty to murder negroes and assassinate white men's reputations. We claim that there should be in this broad land one manner of citizens, so far as rights are concerned. We claim that there should be one manner of laws, and that the laws should be enforced in every place in the land. We claim that if the Federal government has the right to fight pirates on the seas in defence of American citizens, they have the right to fight Ku-Klux in our own land.

Now, fellow citizens, I come from a state where the Republican banner has never trailed. A wise general, going into battle, will strengthen the weakest parts of the line. I come here to say that Michigan can, and will, carry any candidate triumphantly you may nominate, be he whom he may. We ask for no reinforcements; we will hold our fort; and yet, looking to the future of the Republican party, we ask that you will not fail to meet the demands, the just demands, of the people. The great body of the Republican party demand to-day that no guilty man shall escape, and that no innocent man shall have his reputation assassinated. For these two things,—for the protection of every citizen in every part of the land,—we are ready, not only to vote, but to fight; and, cripple as I am, I would rather die in the ditch than see the Republican party take one step backward. I have said that it was a principle of the Republican party that we must have one kind of citizen only, so far as rights are concerned. No matter about the color; no matter about wealth or poverty; if he be a citizen, he is entitled to equal protection. The broad principle of our constitution is simply this: no man in the land is entitled to any privileges over any other man. This is the principle that underlies our whole creed. Do not go back on it. Never fear your enemies. A bold fight is the best: we should advance, and not retrograde. But, sir, I ought not to have consented to come up here to-day. I did not want to. There is a black Douglass in this hall, and while he is not much blacker than I am, he is a great deal smarter; so I hope you will let me off and call for him.

A DELEGATE from Michigan. I now renew my motion to adjourn to 10 o'clock to-morrow morning.

The motion, being put, was lost.

Mr. Fred. Douglass being loudly called for, stepped forward upon the platform.

The CHAIR. *Gentlemen of the Convention:* Frederick Douglass needs no introduction anywhere in the United States.

SPEECH OF MR. DOUGLASS.

*Mr. President and Gentlemen of the National Republican Convention:* Allow me to express my deep, my heartfelt gratitude to you for the warm, the cordial invitation you have extended to me to make my appearance on this platform at this time. The work to which you have called me is somewhat new. It is the first time in my life that I have ever had the pleasure of looking the Republican party squarely in the face. And I must say,—and I hope you will acquit me of everything like a disposition to flatter, that you are a pretty good looking man. But I will not detain you here by any attempt at a speech. You have had speeches, eloquent speeches, glorious speeches, wise speeches, patriotic speeches; speeches in respect to the importance of managing correctly your currency; speeches in defence of purity of administration; and speeches in respect to the great principles for which you struggled, and for which the race to which I belong struggled on the battlefield, and poured out their blood.

The thing, however, in which I feel the deepest interest, and the thing in which I believe this country feels the deepest interest, is, that the principles involved in the contest which carried your sons and brothers to the battlefield: which draped our Northern churches with the weeds of mourning, and filled our towns and our cities with mere stumps of men,—armless, legless, maimed and mutilated; those for which you poured out your blood, and piled a debt for after-coming generations higher than a mountain of gold, to weigh down the necks of your children and your children's children,—I say that those principles, those interests involved in that tremendous contest, ought to be dearer to the American people, in the great political struggle now upon them, than any other principles we have.

You say you have emancipated us. You have; and I thank you for it. You say you have enfranchised us. You have; and I thank you for it. But what is your emancipation?—what is your enfranchisement? What does it all amount to, if the black man, after having been made free by the letter of your law, is unable to exercise that freedom, and, after having been freed from the slaveholder's lash, he is to be subject to the slaveholder's shot-gun? Oh! you freed us! You emancipated us! I thank you for it. But under what circumstances did you emancipate us? Under what circumstances have we obtained our freedom? Sir, ours is the most extraordinary case of any people ever emancipated on the globe. I sometimes wonder that we still exist as a people in this country; that we have not all been swept out of existence, with nothing left to show that we ever existed. Look at it. When the Israelites were emancipated, they were told to go and borrow of their neighbors,—borrow their coin, borrow their jewels, load themselves down with the means of subsistence: after, they should go free in the land of which the Lord God gave them. When the Russian serfs had their chains broken and were given their liberty, the government of Russia—aye, the despotic government of Russia—gave to those poor emancipated serfs a few acres of land on which they could live and earn their bread. But when you turned us loose, you gave us no acres: you turned us loose to the sky, to the storm, to the whirlwind, and, worst of all, you turned us loose to the wrath of our infuriated masters.

The question now is, Do you mean to make good to us the promises in your constitution? Talk not to me of finance. Talk not of mere reform in

your administration. I believe there is honesty in the American people; honesty in the men whom you will elect; wisdom in the men to manage those affairs,—but tell me, if your heart be as my heart, that the liberty which you have asserted for the black man in this country shall be maintained? You say, some of you, that you can get along without the vote of the black man of the South. Yes, that may be, possibly; but I doubt it. At any rate, in order to insure our protection hereafter, we feel the need, in the candidate whom you will place before the country, of the assurance that, if it be necessary, the black man shall walk to the ballot-box in safety, even if we have to bring a bayonet behind us. And I have this feeling, that, if we bring forth either of the gentlemen named here, the government of the United States and the moral feeling of the country will surround the black voter as by a wall of fire; and, instead of electing your President without the black vote, you may count in the number of your victorious Republican states five or six, at least, of the old master states of the South. But I have no voice to address you longer; and you may now move, down there, for an adjournment.

#### PERMANENT ORGANIZATION.

Mr. Geo. B. Loring, of Massachusetts, then came forward and read the following report of the Committee on Organization:

#### PRESIDENT.

Edward McPherson, of Pennsylvania.

#### VICE-PRESIDENTS.

Alabama .....	—	New Jersey.....	William A. Newell.
Arkansas.....	M. W. Gibbs.	New York.....	Marshall O. Roberts.
California.....	George S. Evans.	North Carolina.....	James H. Harris.
Colorado.....	Henry McAllister.	Ohio.....	Benjamin F. Wade.
Connecticut.....	Martin J. Sheldon.	Oregon.....	J. H. Foster.
Delaware.....	David W. Moore.	Pennsylvania.....	J. Smith Futey.
Florida.....	—	Rhode Island.....	Henry Howard.
Georgia.....	K. L. Mott.	South Carolina.....	R. H. Gleaves.
Illinois.....	John T. Rinaker.	Tennessee.....	Horace H. Harrison.
Indiana.....	James S. Fraser.	Texas.....	A. B. Norton.
Iowa.....	W. T. Shaw.	Vermont.....	George Howe.
Kansas.....	William Martindale.	Virginia.....	R. H. Carter.
Kentucky.....	E. R. Weir.	West Virginia.....	W. E. Stevenson.
Louisiana.....	George Y. Kelso.	Wisconsin.....	James Blinliff.
Maine.....	J. B. Brown.	Arizona.....	D. Forest Porter.
Maryland.....	James A. Gary.	Dakota.....	Alexander Hughes.
Massachusetts.....	P. A. Chadbourne.	District of Columbia.....	—
Michigan.....	Henry P. Baldwin.	Idaho.....	Austin Savage.
Minnesota.....	L. Bogen.	Montana.....	Benjamin H. Tatem.
Mississippi.....	M. Shannensee.	New Mexico.....	Samuel B. Axtell.
Missouri.....	G. A. Finkelnburg.	Utah.....	James B. McKean.
Nebraska.....	H. S. Kaley.	Washington.....	Ellwood Evans.
Nevada.....	Thomas Wren.	Wyoming.....	William Hinton.
New Hampshire.....	E. A. Straw.		

#### SECRETARY.

Irving M. Bean, of Wisconsin.

#### ASSISTANT SECRETARIES.

Alabama .....	—	Illinois.....	Thos. A. Boyd.
Arkansas.....	H. M. Cooper.	Indiana.....	L. Noble.
California.....	Isaac Hecht.	Iowa.....	J. D. Hunter.
Colorado.....	James B. Osborn.	Kansas.....	A. L. Redden.
Connecticut.....	John A. Tibbitts.	Kentucky.....	T. E. Burns.
Delaware.....	John H. Hoffecker.	Louisiana.....	W. G. Brown.
Florida.....	—	Maine.....	C. A. Boutelle.
Georgia.....	J. T. Collins.	Maryland.....	F. M. Darby.

ASSISTANT SECRETARIES—*Cont.*

Massachusetts.....	Smith R. Phillips.	Oregon.....	J. B. David.
Michigan.....	B. D. Pritchard.	Pennsylvania.....	Henry H. Bingham.
Minnesota.....	R. B. Langdon.	Rhode Island.....	Edward L. Freeman.
Mississippi.....	J. A. Haskins.	South Carolina.....	Wm. J. McKinley.
Missouri.....	Daniel S. Twitchell.	Tennessee.....	J. T. Wilder.
Nebraska.....	R. G. Brown.	Texas.....	Adolph Zadek.
Nevada.....	C. N. Harris.	Vermont.....	Mason S. Colburn.
New Hampshire.....	Geo. W. Marston.	Virginia.....	W. N. Stevens.
New Jersey.....	James L. M. Stratton.	West Virginia.....	J. D. Ramsdell.
New York.....	James W. Husted.	Arizona.....	_____
North Carolina.....	T. M. Owen.	Dakota.....	Andrew McHench.
Ohio.....	L. J. Critchfield.	District of Columbia.....	_____

And the chairman has been requested to say to the convention, that when the questions of contesting delegations from Alabama and Florida and the District of Columbia are settled, the vice-presidents and secretaries from those states will be reported to the convention.

A DELEGATE from Pennsylvania. I move to adopt the report of the committee.

Mr. McCLURE, of Arkansas. I think the adoption of this report at this time is a little premature. There is no gentleman in this convention who knows that these gentlemen are delegates to the convention. I hope the report will not be adopted until the adoption of the report of the Committee on Credentials. Until that time I hope the report will not be acted upon. I therefore move that action upon said report be deferred until the reception of the report of the Committee on Credentials.

Mr. LORING. This question was before the committee, and, upon turning to the report of the convention at Philadelphia, in 1872, it was found that the Committee on Permanent Organization reported before the Committee on Credentials, and it was on that account that this report has been made, feeling that the convention has a perfect right to accept it or not, as they please, and that provision has been made for the contesting delegations by the report of the committee.

Mr. MASON, of New York. I move that the report be adopted, so far as relates to those states where there is no question of contest, and that the remainder—

The CHAIR. That motion is not in order.

A DELEGATE from Maryland. I move to lay upon the table the motion of the gentleman from Arkansas to postpone.

Agreed to.

Mr. McCLURE. I submit this point of order,—that the motion to lay upon the table carried with it the subject-matter of the original motion.

The CHAIR. The convention has adopted no rules, and therefore must make its own rules as it goes along. The Chair therefore decides that the motion to lay upon the table only carried with it the motion of the gentleman from Arkansas to lay upon the table. The question therefore recurs upon the motion of the gentleman from Pennsylvania, to adopt the report of the Committee.

The question being put, the report of the committee was adopted, and the officers named declared duly elected.



## THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN.

The Chair. The first business now in order, and the only business, is to surrender the chair to the permanent chairman named by the Committee on Organization. The chair therefore names Messrs. Orton of New York, Donnan of Iowa, and McCormick of Arizona, as a committee to conduct the permanent chairman to the platform.

Mr. McPherson came forward, accompanied by the escort, and was greeted with cheers.

The retiring CHAIRMAN said: I take pleasure in introducing as your permanent president the Hon. Edward McPherson, of Pennsylvania.

## SPEECH OF MR. M'PHERSON.

*Gentlemen of the Convention:* None of you know better than myself how entirely unworthy I am of this high distinction. It has come to me not only unsought, but with a feeling of absolute and uncontrollable surprise. But I have been reared in a school of duty; and in the politics of Pennsylvania it is a fundamental doctrine, that every Republican shall do his whole duty; and therefore, I am here to accept the honor tendered by your committee and ratified by yourselves, as an honor tendered to the great commonwealth which has sent me as one of its delegates to this convention, which, since 1856, in no one of the great contests has ever faltered, and which, in this centenn'al of the nation, determined, inflexible, defiant, turning its face to the enemy striped all over with treason and malignity and hate at everything that is national, has determined to roll up for the nominees of this convention such a vote as will entitle her to continue to be what she has been—and I say it with all respect—foremost in the Republican column. The chair is ready for business.

Mr. CARTER, of Virginia. I move that the rules of the House of Representatives be adopted for the government of this convention.

A DELEGATE from Pennsylvania. That belongs to the Committee on Rules.

Mr. JOHN CESSNA, of Pennsylvania. I desire to announce that the Committee on Rules and Order of Business, not being able to find a place of meeting, will meet this afternoon, at four o'clock, in the parlor of the Gibson house.

The PRESIDENT. I would suggest the appointment of a member of the Committee on Resolutions to take my place, vacated by my election to this position.

Mr. CUMBACK. I move that the convention do now adjourn till ten o'clock to-morrow morning.

Which was agreed to, and the President declared the convention so adjourned.

## SECOND DAY.

THURSDAY, JUNE 15, 1876.

**It** having been generally understood that the convention had adjourned to meet at eleven o'clock this morning, the President waited until that hour before calling the body to order. He announced that prayer would be offered by the Rev. George B. Beecher, of the First Presbyterian church of Cincinnati.

## OPENING PRAYER.

Almighty and ever-living God! Our father's God and our God! We look to thee for strength and guidance. Thine is the dominion and the power and the wisdom. Thou hast been the God of our fathers; and when, in other times of trouble they called on thee, thou heardst and helpst them. Thou hast been our God, and, in our days of trial, thou didst defend and shield us. We acknowledge that the power is thine; that it is not of us or of our fathers that is the greatness of this land, but due is it all to thy goodness: and now we thank thee for it: and as thou hast ruled in our midst in the years that are past, rule thou still over us. Be thou our God and our wisdom; and grant, we pray thee, our Father in heaven, that all we do this day may be to thy honor and glory. We pray thee that thou wilt be here this day, giving to those who are gathered here for this great and responsible work thy Spirit and thy guidance. Grant, we pray thee, that as thou hast for thy people of old, and as thou hast for us in other days, raised up great leaders to go out and in before thy people, so to-day wilt thou raise up a great leader, that shall go out and in before this nation, and lead them in the paths of righteousness and truth. We pray thee to thine end that thou wilt choose for us: and grant, we beseech thee, that thy Spirit may be here in the hearts of thy servants, so that they shall be kept from every wrong decision; that they shall be guided into every right decision. We pray thee that thou wilt drive away all low and all earth-born passions, if such there be, all selfishness, all prejudice, all pride, and all hatred and strife; and grant, we pray thee, that an unselfish devotion to public good, a love for country, for humanity, and for God, may fill every breast, and produce harmony and peace and unity. And grant, we pray thee, that divine wisdom may characterize the proceedings of this hour and the principles that shall go forth from this assembly, so that purity and righteousness and peace may prevail throughout the length and breadth of our land.

Bless, we pray thee, the officers of this meeting. Give them strength for the duties devolving upon them. Bless our nation. Bless, we pray thee, all those that are in authority: our chief magistrate and all his counsellors and advisers. Bless the nations of the earth: and grant that thy kingdom, which is righteousness, and peace and joy, may fill the whole earth. And as all the strength and wisdom comes from thee, so unto thee be all the honor and glory, forever and ever. Amen.

## WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

Mr. GEORGE F. HOAR, of Massachusetts. *Mr. Chairman:* I am requested to present to this convention the memorial of a large class of our citizens, who are excluded from any representation here, or from any share in the government of the country. I desire to present the memorial of the National Woman's Suffrage Association. Under the order adopted yesterday, this memorial goes to the Committee on Resolutions at once; but I desire to move that Mrs. Sarah J. Spencer, who has been deputed by the association for that purpose, be heard by the convention for ten minutes.

The motion was agreed to.

The PRESIDENT. I have the pleasure of presenting to the convention Mrs. Sarah J. Spencer.

## REMARKS OF MRS. SPENCER.

*Citizens of the United States—Members of the National Republican Convention:* The request would not have been made to this convention that any woman's voice should be heard in a convention of men called by men for men, if yesterday, when the grand opportunities were presented, your noble speakers had remembered that there were women citizens in the United States who had no voice in this honorable body. The first plank in your platform of 1872 declares that "the Republican party has emancipated four millions of slaves, and has established universal suffrage." Where were the ten million women,—citizens of the United States? When will you make this high-sounding declaration true? The second plank in your platform declares that you have established "justice, perfect liberty, and perfect equality for all." Where are the wives and mothers and daughters of this republic? In plank 14, it begins to dawn upon the Republican party that there are women in the United States; and plank 14 reads,—

"The Republican party is mindful of its obligations to the loyal women of America, for their noble devotion to the cause of freedom. Their admission to the wider fields of usefulness is viewed with satisfaction; and the honest demands of any class of citizens for additional rights should be treated with respectful consideration."

Yesterday, when Gen. Logan, who voted for us in the United States senate, forgot to mention us, I reminded him of it. He said,—*"I forgot the women."* I said,—*"Beware, lest ten millions of women in the United States, with the ballot in their hands, forget you."* When Frederick Douglass, yesterday, also forgot the women, I reminded him that to a woman—to Harriet Beecher Stowe—he owed more than to all the men of the United States.

Frederick Douglass once said that the proposition had been established for men, that a man's head is his head, his body is his body, his feet are his feet, and if he chooses to run away with them it is nobody's business. Now we want the proposition established for women, that a woman's head is her head, her body is her body, her feet are her feet, her hands are her hands, and that she should hold in them the ballot for, self-protection.

The Republican party promised to give our claims respectful attention in 1872. It cannot afford to recede in four years. It cannot afford to stand still, for to be still is to die. Nothing is still that lives. It must move forward. In this bright new century, let me ask you to win to your side the women of the United States—the wives, daughters, and sisters of this republic.

The following is the memorial presented, but not read:

*To the President and Members of the Republican National Convention:*

*Gentlemen:* The National Woman's Suffrage Association asks you to place in your platform the following plank:

*"Resolved, That the right to the use of the ballot inheres in the citizens of the United States."*

We ask the insertion of this plank. We propose no change of fundamental principles. Our question is as old as the nation. Our government was framed on the political basis of the consent of the governed. From July 4, 1776, until the present year, 1876, the nation has constantly advanced toward a fuller practice of our fundamental theory that the governed are the source of all powers. Your nominating convention occurs in the centennial year of the republic, and is a most opportune moment for the reaffirmation and complete recognition of these principles. Our government has not yet answered the end for which it was formed, while one-half the people of the United States are deprived of the right of self-government. Before the Revolution, Great Britain claimed the right to legislate for the colonies in all cases whatsoever. The men of the nation now as unjustly claim the right to legislate for women in all cases whatsoever. The call for your nominating convention invited the cooperation of all voters who desire to inaugurate and enforce the rights of every citizen, including the full and free exercise of the right of suffrage. Women are citizens, declared to be so by the highest legislative and judicial authorities, but they are citizens deprived of a full and free exercise of the right of suffrage. Your platform of 1872 declared,—“The Republican party, mindful of its obligations to the loyal women of the nation for their noble devotion to the cause of freedom.” Devotion to freedom is no new thing for the women of this nation. From the earliest history of our country, man has shown himself as devoted as man to the cause of freedom. At every vital period in the nation's life, from the Revolution to the present hour, woman has stood by the side of father, husband, son, and brother, in defence of liberty. The heroic and self-sacrificing deeds of the women of the Revolution must not be forgotten. Men and women then fought together for liberty. Together, men and women have made the country what it is; and to-day, in this hundredth year of our existence, the women of the country, as members of the nation, as citizens of the United States, ask national recognition of their right and suffrage. The Declaration of Independence struck a blow at every existent form of government by declaring the individual the source of all power. Upon this, one newly proclaimed truth over native error arose; but if states may deny suffrage to any classes, according to the *Minor v. Happersott* decision of the supreme court, a decision rendered under the auspices of the Republican party against suffrage as a constituent element of United States citizenship, we have nothing truly national in the character of this government. National supremacy does not chiefly mean the power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, and establish commerce. It means national protection and security in the exercise of the right of self-government, which comes alone by and through the use of the ballot. Even granting the premise of the supreme court decision,—“that the constitution of the United States does not confer suffrage on any one,”—our national life does not date from that instrument. The constitution is not the original declaration of rights. It was not framed until eleven years after our existence as a nation, nor fully ratified until nearly fourteen years after the commencement of our national life. This centennial celebration of our nation's birth does not date from the constitution, but from the declaration of independence. The declared purpose of our civil war was the settlement of the question of supremacy between the states and the United States. The documents sent out by the Republican party in this present campaign warn the people that the Democrats

intend another battle for state sovereignty, to be fought this year at the ballot-box. The National Woman's Suffrage Association calls your attention to the fact that the Republican party itself has reopened the battle, and now holds the anomalous position of having settled the question of state sovereignty in the case of black men, and again opened it through the Minor-Hoppersott decision, not only in the case of women citizens, but also in the case of men citizens, for all other causes save those specified in the fifteenth amendment. You have yet another opportunity to retrieve your party from this false position. The political power of this country has always shown itself superior to judicial powers, the latter ever shaping and basing its decisions on the policy of the Democratic party. A pledge, therefore, by your convention to secure national protection, enfranchisement, perfect equality of rights, civil and political, to all citizens, will so define the policy of the Republican party as to open a way to a full and final adjustment of this question. Aside from these higher motives of justice, we would suggest your adoption of this principle of equal rights to women as a means of securing your own future existence. The party that ceases to respect the vital principles of truth and justice is the party that dies. If you would have the party of the future be the Republican party, you must now take the broad, noble ground of citizen's suffrage. By this step you will pay the most honor to your ancestors; by this act you will do most to promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to yourselves and your posterity; by this act you will reduce to practice the theory of a hundred years, and establish a genuine republic that shall know no class, caste, race, or sex, where all the people are citizens, and all the citizens are equal before the law.

On behalf of the National Woman's Suffrage Association.

SUSAN B. ANTHONY.

#### REPORT ON RULES AND ORDER OF BUSINESS.

The PRESIDENT. The first business in order is the report of the Committee on Rules and Order of Business.

Mr. CESSNA, of Pennsylvania. *Mr. Chairman:* On behalf of the Committee on Rules and Order of Business, I beg leave to submit the following report:

*To the Honorable the President and Members of the Republican National Convention:*

Your committee, to whom was referred the matter of rules and order of business, beg leave to submit the following rules, including the order of business, for the government of this convention, as follows, to-wit:

Rule 1. Upon all subjects before the convention the states shall be called in alphabetical order, and next the territories and the District of Columbia.

Rule 2. Each state shall be entitled to double the number of its senators and representatives in congress, according to the late apportionment, and each territory and the District of Columbia shall be entitled to two votes. The votes of each delegation shall be reported by its chairman.

Rule 3. The report of the Committee on Credentials shall be disposed of before the report of the Committee on Platform and Resolutions is acted upon; and the report of the Committee on Platform and Resolutions shall be disposed of before the convention proceeds to the nomination of candidates for President and Vice-President.

Rule 4. In making the nominations for President and Vice-President, in no case shall the calling of the roll be dispensed with when it shall appear that any candidate has received the majority of the votes cast. The president

of the convention shall announce the question to be, "Shall the nomination of the candidate be made unanimous?" but, if no candidate shall have received a majority of the votes, the chair shall direct the vote to be again taken which shall be repeated until some candidate shall have received a majority of the votes cast; and when any state has announced its vote, it shall so stand until the ballot is announced, unless in case of numerical error.

Rule 5. When a majority of the delegates of any two states shall demand that a vote be recorded, the same shall be taken by states, territories, and the District of Columbia—the secretary calling the roll of the states and territories in the order heretofore stated, and the District of Columbia.

Rule 6. In the record of the votes by states, the vote of each state, territory, and the District of Columbia shall be announced by the chairman; and, in case the votes of any state, territory, or the District of Columbia shall be divided, the chairman shall announce the number of votes cast for any candidate, or for or against any proposition.

Rule 7. When the previous question shall be demanded by the majority of the delegates from any state, and the demand seconded by two or more states, and the call sustained by a majority of the convention, the question shall then be proceeded with and disposed of according to the rules of the House of Representatives in similar cases.

Rule 8. No member shall speak more than once upon the same question, nor longer than five minutes, unless by leave of the convention, except that delegates, presenting the name of a candidate, shall be allowed ten minutes in presenting the name of such candidate.

Rule 9. The rules of the House of Representatives shall be the rules of this convention, so far as they are applicable and not inconsistent with the foregoing rules.

Rule 10. A Republican National Committee shall be appointed, to consist of one member from each state, territory, and district represented in this convention. The roll shall be called, and the delegation from each state, territory, and district shall name, through their chairman, a person to act as a member of such committee.

JOHN CESSNA, *Chairman*.

R. A. DAWSON, *Secretary*.

DEBATE ON THE REPORT.

Mr. EUGENE HALE, of Maine. I move to strike from Rule 3 that part of it which postpones the nomination of candidates until after the adoption of the platform.

Mr. CESSNA. I rise to a point of order. I make a motion to recommit, my object being to secure the division of the report, as it appears that the convention desire to discuss it. I ask that the report be divided into two divisions,—the first division to embrace the whole of it except Rule 3, and the second to embrace Rule 3.

Mr. HALE. That will be perfectly satisfactory. I had no indication of the object of the gentleman. I oppose the rule, because I do not believe it is usual in bodies of this kind to adopt the platform before the nominations are made.

Mr. CESSNA. If there be no other objection, I ask that this report be divided as indicated.

Mr. SILLIMAN, of New York, said he desired, before the question should be put upon the adoption of the report, to suggest an amendment, as follows:

*Resolved*, That after each ballot, and until some candidate shall receive a majority of the votes cast, this convention will take a recess for the space of half an hour.

Mr. SILLIMAN. I will state, in another word, that this will enable the delegates from each state to meet, confer, consult, and decide upon their next ballot, and also to consult with other delegations.

Mr. CESSNA. I desire to suggest to the convention, that, in my judgment, the desirability, if not the necessity, of having some rules, will very soon appear; and I now say to my friend from New York, that, if he will let the vote be taken on the first division, I will not object to his offering that as a new rule to come in at the end of the report.

Mr. Silliman withdrew his amendment temporarily.

The PRESIDENT. The proposition, of which notice was given by the gentleman from New York, of the proposed amendment to the report of the committee, will be read. Although it has been temporarily withdrawn, it may be renewed after the division of the report itself. It will now be re-read for information only.

The secretary read the amendment for the information of the convention.

The PRESIDENT. The previous question has been called upon the adoption of the report,—the report being divided into two parts, the first to embrace the whole of it except Rule 3. The secretary will read Rule 3 for information.

The secretary read the rule, as follows:

"The report of the Committee on Credentials shall be disposed of before the report of the Committee on Platform and Resolutions is acted on; and the report of the Committee on Platform and Resolutions shall be disposed of before the convention proceeds to the nomination of candidates for President and Vice-President."

The PRESIDENT. The question on the adoption of that rule is reserved; and the pending question is upon the adoption of the remaining rules.

The remaining rules were then adopted by a unanimous vote.

Mr. CESSNA. I move to reconsider and lay upon the table.

The PRESIDENT. That is unanimously agreed to, no objection being made.

The question then recurred upon the adoption of Rule 3.

Mr. HALE. I move to strike out that portion of the rule that postpones the balloting for candidates until after the platform is settled. I do not object, and cannot conceive of any one objecting, to the first part of the rule, that the report of the Committee on Credentials shall be first settled, and therefore do not desire to antagonize the whole rule. I move to strike out the last part of it, which the secretary will please read.

The secretary read as follows:

"And the report of the Committee on Platform and Resolutions shall be disposed of before the convention proceeds to the nomination of candidates for President and Vice-President."

The PRESIDENT. The proposition is to strike from the rule the words read, so that the rule will stand as follows:

"The report of the Committee on Credentials shall be disposed of before the report of the Committee on Platform and Resolutions is acted on."

Mr. CESSNA. Before the vote is taken, I desire to know if my friend from Maine wishes to discuss the amendment.

Mr. HALE. The whole point presented by my motion, Mr. President, must be so clear that I do not desire before this body of men to take up their time. I will only say that so far as my knowledge goes, neither in local nor state conventions nor national conventions, where I have attended before, has the platform or the resolutions of the party been presented before the nomination and selection of candidates. I believe, sir, that gentlemen present will see, that unless this motion of mine be carried, this convention may remain here for hours, uneasy and impatient, with nothing essential to do, while the Committee on Resolutions may be waiting, debating upon their report.

Mr. S. W. KELLOGG, of Connecticut. Was that not the case in 1860, when President Lincoln was first nominated?

Mr. HALE. I am informed by gentlemen about me that it was not. The gentleman has had more experience than I, and was perhaps present at that convention.

Mr. KELLOGG. I was not. I understand the Committee on Platform will be ready to report in five minutes. Therefore I do not see any necessity for changing the rule.

Mr. HALE. That only places the result of the deliberations of the committee before the convention, and leaves us engaged upon resolutions to be first considered, when I believe that the feeling of the gentlemen I see before me now is that when the organization of this convention is completed we should proceed at once to the nomination of its candidates.

Mr. G. W. HOTCHKISS, of New York. *Mr. Chairman:* In 1860 we made a platform before we placed our candidates upon it. Practically it may make no difference to-day, but theoretically it would be an absurdity to place a man on horseback before you get your horse. If there ever was a time in the history of the Republican party when we needed deliberation in our proceedings, it is to-day. In behalf of New York, I ask this convention that they make no forced march, but first let us know what our platform demands of the candidates. You may make a platform that will lessen the number of candidates materially. In 1860 the Republican party was composed of elements that had not come together and congealed, and they had to know what the principles of the party were in order to get a fit candidate. More new questions exist to-day in the Republican party than existed in 1860. We had then an overshadowing question. Now we are circumstanced differently, and every speaker upon that stand has told us that we were to meet new issues and new questions. Let us know what new questions we are to agree upon; then we can put forward a candidate reflecting our views, and he must be a candidate who is known and assured to be a fit exponent of those views, an earnest one, and not one who has to make up his mind after the platform is made.

Mr. NOYES, of Ohio. The gentleman from Maine is decidedly mistaken in his history of 1860. As the gentleman has just stated, the platform was reported before the candidate was nominated eight years ago. I am informed by Lieutenant-Governor Lee, of the New York delegation, who was then one



of the Committee on Resolutions, that the convention waited a long time for the Committee on Resolutions to report. As the gentleman says, it is absurd to nominate a candidate until you know what he is to stand upon. It may make all the difference in the world when the platform is reported. It might turn out that one candidate was fitted to it, and another was not.

Mr. CESSNA. *Mr. Chairman:* I have no feeling, whatever on this subject. I consider it, however, but proper and fair that, on behalf of my committee, I should stand by what was its unanimous action as to the report to this convention. The resolution which is now pending for adoption before this body has neither an "i" dotted nor a "t" crossed from the resolution and the rule, and its number is the same adopted by the last national convention, held in 1872. I beg to say to my friend from Maine, and any other gentlemen who entertain different views, that this rule is not introduced, and it is not now advocated, by the present speaker at least, in the interest of any candidate, nor in a spirit of opposition to any other candidate. I believe a platform should be made, and I believe, as my friend has said, that if ever there was a time when deliberation was necessary at the hands of a national convention, that hour is now. I have been in conventions in former times, and I know and I feel today, that if we go to work and nominate our ticket before we make our platform, one half of the delegates will be on their way home before we get to the platform, and there will be no deliberation or discussion of it.

Mr. HALE. Let me ask the gentleman a question.

Mr. CESSNA. Certainly.

Mr. HALE. My main point in making the motion was to have something for the convention to do. I wish to ask if the chair has authoritative information that the Committee on Resolutions is ready to report.

The PRESIDENT. The chair has not; but the chairman of the committee is present.

Mr. CESSNA. This is a matter of very immaterial difference, because, under the rules, I would state to my friend from Maine, that the report of the Committee on Credentials must be considered before the report of the Committee on Resolutions, and before any nominations; and, from what I have heard in relation to that report, I think my friend from Maine will find that we have enough to do when that report comes in.

Mr. HALE. I only asked the question to get from my friend from Rhode Island the information whether the committee was ready to report.

A DELEGATE from Rhode Island. I am so informed by my colleague on that committee.

Mr. HALE. Then, Mr. President, I withdraw the motion.

Mr. CESSNA. I demand the previous question.

The previous question was ordered, and the motion agreed to; and Rule 3 was adopted as reported by the committee.

#### THE QUESTION OF A RECESS AFTER EACH BALLOT.

The PRESIDENT. The next business in order is the motion of Mr. Silliman, from New York, for the addition of a new rule. The secretary will read

the proposition made by the gentleman from New York, which is now pending as an addition.

The secretary read as follows:

*Resolved*, That after each ballot, and until some candidate shall receive a majority of the votes cast, this convention will take a recess for the space of half an hour.

Cries of "No!" "No!"

The PRESIDENT. Is the convention ready for the vote?

Mr. SILLIMAN. Perhaps the necessity of the resolution will appear, when I state that after each ballot is taken each delegation may wish to have time to consult and confer with other delegations.

Mr. VAN ZANDT, of Rhode Island. I trust, before the motion is put, it may be amended; and I offer as an amendment, that, before the thirty minutes recess be taken, each delegation, or the chairman of each delegation, shall be suitably labelled for what they ask, and whether they take "cash" or "country produce."

A DELEGATE from Virginia. I move to lay on the table.

The president put the vote on laying on the table the motion of the gentleman from New York, which provides that after each ballot there shall be a recess of thirty minutes; and the motion to lay on the table was adopted.

The PRESIDENT. The next business in order is the report of the Committee on Credentials. Mr. John T. Ensor, of Maryland, chairman of the Committee on Credentials, will now read the report.

Mr. Ensor read the following report:

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS.

The Committee on Credentials have attended to the duties assigned them, and respectfully report that full delegations are present from all the states and territories, with the following exceptions:

The states of North Carolina and Nevada each have one absent delegate, and the committee recommend that in each of these cases the delegates present be authorized to cast the full vote of their respective states.

No seats are contested, except from the states of Alabama, Florida, and the District of Columbia, and the committee recommend that the following delegates and alternates be admitted from Alabama, viz.:

<i>Delegates.</i>	AT LARGE.	<i>Alternates.</i>
Jeremiah Haralson.	James Q. Smith.	
Willard Warner.	Charles W. Buckley.	
Samuel F. Rice.	George M. Duskin.	
Wm. H. Smith.	George F. Somerville.	

DISTRICTS.

1—Morris D. Wickersham.	
Frank H. Threatt.	
2—Robert A. Knox.	Patrick Robinson.
Hershal D. Cashin.	George W. Sewell.
3—M. S. Patterson.	James R. Treadwell.
Robert T. Smith.	J. A. C. Parker.

- 4—James V. McDuffie.  
Green S. W. Lewis.  
5—Charles H. Miller.  
William H. Nichols.  
6—J. A. Cowdery.  
William Miller.  
7—Joseph W. Burke.  
Robert A. Mosley.  
8—J. R. Coffrey.  
Thomas Masterson.

Your committee also recommend that the following delegates and alternates be admitted to seats from Florida, viz.:

<i>Delegates.</i>	AT LARGE.	<i>Alternates.</i>
S. B. Conover.		Reuben S. Smith.
W. J. Purman.		Wm. J. Stewart.
John G. Long.		Geo. W. Witherspoon.
John R. Scott.		Joseph E. Lee.

#### DISTRICTS.

1—Manuel Gorin.	James D. Thompson.
Peter W. Bryant.	John W. Wyatt.
2—Harrison Reed.	G. J. Arnold.
J. W. Menard.	Thos. W. Long.

Your committee also recommend that the following delegates and alternates be admitted to seats from the District of Columbia, viz.:

<i>Delegates.</i>	<i>Alternates.</i>
S. J. Bowen.	Andrew Gleason.
A. M. Green.	C. Crusor.

The state of Arkansas has elected twenty-four delegates, who are all present, and the committee recommend that they all be admitted to seats in the convention, with the right to cast the twelve votes to which their state is entitled.

JOHN T. ENSOR, *Chairman*,

DAVID ATWOOD, *Secretary*.

MR. HEATON, of North Carolina. I desire to correct an error in the report. At the time the committee first met, the North Carolina delegation was not full, but now, I am pleased to say, it is full, Mr. Russell, delegate from the first district, having arrived.

MR. CHARLES N. HARRIS, of Nevada, read the following minority report of the Committee on Credentials:

#### MINORITY REPORT.

The undersigned, members of the Committee on Credentials, feel constrained to differ from the report of the majority of the committee, in so far as the same relates to the seating of the delegates from Alabama. From the limited opportunities afforded the committee to investigate this case, the minority are led to the conclusion that the delegation from Alabama, headed by Hon. Geo. E. Spencer, is the only legitimate and truly representative delegation applying for admission to this convention from that state. We base our opinion on the following facts and considerations:

In August of 1874, a Republican state convention was held at the city of Montgomery, Alabama, for the nomination of state officers, to be voted for in that state for that year. There was at this time no faction in the party in the state. All Republicans were represented in the convention, and were satisfied with its action. This convention appointed a state executive committee, consisting of twelve members, to conduct the succeeding campaign, and to act for and in behalf of the party in the state in all things until the convention to be called in 1876, two years thereafter. The committee met and elected as chairman Charles E. Mayer. The campaign was conducted under the auspices of this committee, and its actions were acquiesced in by all except the Democrats, so far as the minority of your committee are informed. These facts are undisputed. A quorum of this committee met in Montgomery on February 2, 1876, under the call of its chairman, and put forth a call for the convention of May 24, 1876, which assembled and sent to this convention the delegation headed by Mr. Spencer. If there be any virtue in legitimacy and regularity, the convention held on May 24, last past, was the regular Republican state convention of Alabama, and the delegation sent by that convention to represent the Republican voters of Alabama, in our body, are the delegates that should be admitted.

The delegation, headed by S. F. Rice, while admitting, as we understand, facts as above set forth, claim that on December the 29th the committee created by the last state convention was reorganized by the committee itself in obedience to the demands of a mass meeting held at Montgomery on said day. The claim, briefly stated, is as follows: That when the original committee was created in 1874, there were but six congressional districts in the state, and the committee was formed by appointing two members of the committee from each of said congressional districts; but that at the session of the legislature for 1874-5 the congressional districts of the state were reorganized, by reason of the increased representation allowed Alabama in the lower house of congress by the new apportionment, and eight districts were created, thus creating two new congressional districts in the state, and changing the boundaries of the old districts. The claim is, that this rendered a reorganization of the state executive committee necessary, in order that each district might be represented thereon, and that the committee, in compliance with the demands of the mass meeting before referred to, met and added twelve new members to itself for this purpose. The committee, as thus constituted, would be one of twenty-four members, and not twelve. The minority of your committee, from the best information they have been able to gain, find it to be true that a mass meeting was held in the city of Montgomery on the 29th day of December, 1875; but its representative character is denied, the organization, headed by Mr. Spencer, claiming that it was local in its character, and that it represented only the county of Montgomery, with trifling exceptions. We find it to be true, further, that some members of the committee did, at the dictation of this mass meeting, consent to elect twelve new members to be added to the twelve already constituting the committee; but we find that this action was not taken by the committee itself, having been duly called by its recognized chairman. Members of the committee, being in the city at the time, voluntarily assembled and took the action as stated. Such action, had under such circumstances, is diametrically opposed to every idea entertained by us of order or regularity in a political body, or of legality in a legislative body.

This convention, yesterday, adjourned until this morning at ten o'clock. If, at ten o'clock last night, four hundred of its members had assembled in hall and pretended to nominate candidates for President and Vice-President, without notification to or the acquiescence of the other three hundred odd members, it would be a precisely parallel case. The committee afterwards, under the regular call of its chairman, assembled, and refused to recog-

nize or acquiesce in the action of its members at the former unauthorized meeting. This fact shows that the committee have never acquiesced in the action first taken; and subsequent events show that the Republican party has never acquiesced therein. But we do not recognize the right of a committee, even if regularly called and fully attended, to increase or diminish its number, or to change its constitution in any form. Any attempt to do so is but an attempt at revolution, and can never have validity, except when universally acquiesced in by the party, wherein sovereignty in such matters rests. The convention that created the committee did not confer on it the power of making a new committee. It clothed the committee with the power and responsibility of conducting the affairs of the party, and not for the purpose of having it divide that power and responsibility with others unknown to and unrecognized by the convention.

These considerations derive additional force, when the pretext upon which the pretended reorganization was based is fully considered. That pretext is, that the reorganization of the congressional districts rendered a reorganization of the state executive committee necessary. But, in our view, such was not the case. It is presumed that the congressional districts were taken as the basis of representation on the committee, because they were fair geographical divisions of the state; and it was the desire of the state convention to give each section of the state representation on the committee. The addition of new districts, then, or the abolition of old ones, could not change those geographical divisions. They still existed, and each section of the state was as well represented on the committee after as before the change in the districts. Further: we understand it to be a fact, that the law creating the new districts does not go into effect until November, 1876. According to party usage, a state convention would have to be held before the August election of the present year. Why, then, resort to disorganization and disintegration to re-form the committee, to conform to the law going into force eight months thereafter, when, by waiting only three months, if there was any justice in the claim, the committee could be reorganized by a regular state convention chosen by the people for that purpose?

No evidence was adduced before the committee to show the relative strength of the different organizations before the Republicans of Alabama. In the discussions, however, and in published statements submitted to the committee, mention was made of a proposition of compromise made by Hon. Simon Cameron, chairman of the Union Republican Congressional Committee, and by Hon. Wm. E. Chandler, secretary of the Republican National Committee. Said proposition is as follows:

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 21, 1876.

*Dear Sir:* The following plan of compromise, by which to unite the Republican party in Alabama, is presented, after mature deliberation, as being fair and equitable in its terms, and in full confidence that it will be accepted by all parties:

1. The chairman of the two executive committees shall withdraw the calls already made, and unite in calling a convention to be held on the 23d day of May next.
2. Mr. Chas. E. Mayer, the chairman of one committee, shall call the convention to order, and name the Hon. William H. Smith, chairman of the other committee, as temporary chairman of the convention.
3. The temporary chairman shall appoint two committees and no more, viz., the committees on credentials and on permanent organization, and no other business shall be transacted, or additional committees appointed, until the convention shall have been permanently organized.
4. The committees on credentials and on permanent organization shall be selected in the following manner: Mr. Mayer and Governor Smith shall each name two members of each committee, and the four thus selected shall

select a fifth. All five members of each committee shall be selected before the meeting of the convention.

A letter identical in its terms with this has been sent to Hon. William H. Smith.

You will please call your committee together without delay, and at your earliest convenience notify Hon. J. M. Edmunds, of Washington, D. C., of the acceptance or rejection of these terms of compromise.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

SIMON CAMERON,

*Chairman Republican Congressional Committee,*

W. E. CHANDLER,

*Secretary of the Rep. Nat'l Committee,*

*appointed by the Philadelphia Convention.*

This proposition was promptly and unconditionally accepted by the organization that called the convention of May 24th, and that sent the delegates to this convention headed by Mr. Spencer,—thus showing a commendable willingness to test their strength and rest their cause in the hands of the Republican voters of their state.

The proposition of Mr. Cameron and Mr. Chandler was undoubtedly promptly and unconditionally declined by the other organization. Right here let it be observed, that the point of the Cameron-Chandler proposition was to bring both parties together on one day and in one convention, under such safeguards that it could not but give a fair expression to the views and feelings of the Republicans of the state.

Mr. Cameron and Mr. Chandler, with a commendable zeal for party unity and harmony, did not stop here, but made the following reply to the declination of their proposition.

WASHINGTON, April 28, 1876.

SIR: We have to acknowledge receipt of yours of April 13, in answer to our letter of March 23.

In making our former communication, we did not desire to express an opinion or to invite a discussion of the actual merits of the controversy going on between two rival organizations of the Republican party in Alabama.

Whatever the merits of that controversy may be, we desire to end it all by securing a state convention fairly representing the Republicans of the state.

Neither do we desire to enter into the merits of your complaints of Senator Spencer and Mr. Chas. E. Mayer, or their associates.

It is sufficient to say, that, while you make assertions against them, they generally and specifically deny that they are correct or just; and our object is to remit them to one convention fairly and impartially constituted, instead of having them result in an injurious division of the party.

To the plan proposed by us you take no specific exception; and certainly upon its face it indicates perfect fairness toward both sides, and gives neither side an advantage over the other. It does not seem to us that either side can refuse to accept it, unconditionally, without admitting its belief that it will be in a minority of a Republican convention fairly constituted, and legitimately entitled to represent the Republicans of Alabama.

We therefore repeat our request that you will accept our suggestions, and we trust upon reflection you and your committee will conclude to do so. The propositions suggested are repeated at the foot of this letter.

Very respectfully yours,

SIMON CAMERON,

*Chairman Republican Congressional Committee.*

WM. E. CHANDLER,

*Secretary Republican National Committee.*

HON. W. H. SMITH, Wedowee, Ala.

Is it not apparent that the strictures of Messrs. Cameron and Chandler were just? The proposition submitted by them provided for a perfectly fair organization of the convention. It proposed to place the question in the hands of the people for their decision, and the only reason we can see for either side declining the proposition was a conscious weakness of their cause with the people, for the organization that had the most voters would control the convention.

Therefore, the conclusion is most convincing that the side refusing to accept it could only be actuated in their refusal by one of two motives, namely,—by a desire to divide and disrupt the party, or by the fear and knowledge that the people were not with them, and would not send a majority of their delegates to the convention.

The foregoing considerations induce us to dissent from the majority, and to recommend that the following gentlemen be admitted to this convention.

#### DELEGATES AT LARGE.

George E. Spencer,..... Decatur, Morgan county.  
Charles Hays,..... Hayesville, Greene county.  
Alexander White,..... Salem, Dallas county.  
Alex. A. Curtis,..... Marion, Perry county.

#### DISTRICTS.

- 1—George Turner..... Mobile, Mobile county.  
Constantine Perez..... Mobile, Mobile county.
- 2—Paul Strobach..... Montgomery, Montgomery co.  
Allen Alexander..... Montrose, Baldwin county.
- 3—Isaac Heyman..... Opelika, Lee county.  
Alex. E. Williams..... Eufaula, Barbour county.
- 4—Prelate D. Barker..... Selma, Dallas county.  
Thomas Walker..... Selma, Dallas county.
- 5—Daniel B. Booth..... Prattville, Autauga county.  
Harry C. Bryan..... Wetumpka, Elmore county.
- 6—Charles C. Sheats..... Houston, Winston county.  
John G. Stokes..... Pikeville, Marion county.
- 7—Arthur Bingham..... Talladega, Talladega county.  
Robert S. Heflin..... Medoma, Randolph county.
- 8—Jerome J. Hinds..... Decatur, Morgan county.  
P. J. Kaufman..... Huntsville, Madison county.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

C. N. HARRIS, Nevada.  
JAMES ATKINS, Georgia.  
STEPHEN A. SWAILS, South Carolina.  
A. STEELE, Indiana.  
A. G. SHARP, Tennessee.  
M. A. ROSENBLATT, Missouri.  
C. E. NASH, Louisiana.  
JAMES HEATON, North Carolina.  
M. S. QUAY, Pennsylvania.  
T. C. PLATT, New York.  
JAMES P. NEWCOMB, Texas.

A DELEGATE from Maryland. I move that the subject-matter referring to this particular delegation be recommitted.

Mr. CESSNA. I ask that the report be divided, and that the first part be the adoption of the whole of it, except the part relating to Alabama.

The president stated the motion for a division.

Mr. CESSNA. I presume I have a right to demand that division, without putting it to a vote. I have learned,—and I beg not to be considered offensive toward the committee,—partly from the committee and partly on my own responsibility, that, in the case of the District of Columbia, neither of the delegations comes with that regularity and form that would entitle them to seats in this convention. I feel that the states of New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and other states, have been very generous and liberal in giving the territories places upon all these committees, giving them five or six places on the most important committees, to make a platform on which candidates for President and Vice-President are to stand. After so learning, in the interest of peace and harmony, I move to amend that portion of the report, by striking out the name of Sayles J. Bowen, and inserting the name of Frederick Douglass, so that each delegation from the District of Columbia may be represented here.

The PRESIDENT. The report of the committee has been divided. The pending proposition is to adopt the whole of the report except that relating to Alabama. The gentleman from Pennsylvania moves to amend that part relating to the District of Columbia by striking out the name of Mr. Bowen, and inserting the name of Mr. Douglass.

Mr. KELLOGG, of Connecticut. I wish to ask by what authority any delegates are recognized as entitled to seats in this convention from the District of Columbia? Formerly, for a few years under the laws, it was entitled to a delegate in congress the same as the territories, and, I presume, was under the same custom allowed delegates in national conventions.

The PRESIDENT. Such is the custom.

A DELEGATE from West Virginia. I would ask if the call for this convention did not ask for the election of delegates from the city of Washington?

The PRESIDENT. It so appears from the call.

Mr. JAMES N. TYNER, of Indiana. Before the vote shall be taken upon the motion of the gentleman from Pennsylvania, I desire to call his attention to the fact that he has stated, in general terms, that the action of the Republicans in the District of Columbia was somewhat irregular in sending the two delegates here, whose admission has been recommended by the majority report. Now, will the gentlemen tell us in what respect those proceedings were irregular?

Mr. CESSNA. I answer the gentleman from Indiana that all the information I have got is from the Republican organs in the city of Washington, and that kind of Republicans who come here headed by Frederick Douglass, who needs no indorsement anywhere in this country.

Mr. TYNER. Then, Mr. President, I treat the gentleman with entire respectfulness when I say that he has no information on the subject. Therefore, it is fair to assume that the gentleman makes his proposition because Frederick Douglass happens to represent an interest here in which he fully concurs and other delegates do not.



Mr. ENSOR. I wish to make but a single remark on this part of the report. While there were differences of opinion in regard to other subjects before the committee, the committee will bear me out that if we were not entirely, we were almost unanimously, in favor of the admission of the delegates we have reported as entitled to seats in the convention for the District of Columbia. In regard to the regularity of the credentials, it cannot be denied that the credentials of Mr. Bowen and Mr. Green were regular upon their face, and were proper credentials; and permit me to say, when the gentleman who represents the other side was called upon for his credentials, he admitted that he did not have them. He had no credentials to present to the consideration of that committee. It is true, he claimed that he had the credentials, and had handed them in to the secretary of the National Executive Committee; but he brought no credentials to us. We therefore, strictly speaking, could take no notice of his case, but, aside from that, it was clearly demonstrated to the committee that the credentials of Mr. Bowen and Mr. Green were regular in every respect.

Mr. CESSNA. *Mr. Chairman—*

Mr. REDDEN, of Kansas. This convention has adopted a rule that gentleman shall speak twice upon the same subject, and the gentleman from Pennsylvania has already spoken twice upon the subject.

Mr. CESSNA. I desire before the chair rules on that point of order make this statement.

Cries of "Order!" "Order!"

The PRESIDENT. The chair states that he will rule upon the question of order raised by the gentleman from Kansas upon ascertaining the precise facts. The discussion was so desultory that he cannot recollect the fact whether the gentleman from Pennsylvania has spoken more than once upon the proposition. I am not aware that the gentleman has made any remarks upon this proposition.

Mr. CESSNA. I do not desire to make any now. What I desire, is—

Cries of "Order!" "Order!"

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Pennsylvania has withdrawn his proposition.

Mr. CESSNA. That is all I want to do.

The PRESIDENT. The question then recurs upon the adoption of the report of the Committee on Credentials, except that portion relating to Alabama.

This question, on being put, was agreed to, and the report, with that exception, adopted, and the delegates reported declared entitled to seats in the convention.

Mr. ENSOR. I move that the portion relating to Alabama be recommitted. I shall not occupy more than five minutes in replying to the long written argument of my friend who has introduced the minority report. I wish simply to call attention to facts—plain, simple facts. The state central committee of Alabama was constituted in 1874. There were then six congressional districts in the state; and the committee was composed of twelve

members—two from each congressional district. That committee met. It considered itself not large enough, and it called in Mr. Charles E. Mayer. and elected him chairman of that committee. Mr. Mayer was not appointed a member of that committee by the state convention. He was called in by the members of the committee, without authority, and, after having been called in, he was made chairman of that committee. This seemed to be regular, as the party accepted it; and they went on for a year or two, until many Republicans considered they ought to have more members on the committee. Inasmuch as Mayer had been called in irregularly, without authority, members of the party said,—“We wish others called in: we wish the committee increased from twelve or thirteen to twenty-four.”

The Republicans of the state called a meeting. The members of that committee were invited to it. They went to it, most of them. It was there determined that this committee should be increased, in just the same manner as the chairman had been added to it. This was acquiesced in by the people. It was acquiesced in by most of the old committee. The committee was then made up of twenty-four members. In February last, when they wished to call a convention to elect delegates to this convention, the committee met, six of the old members of the committee meeting with the twelve new members, making eighteen. These eighteen members of the state central committee called a convention that elected the delegates to this convention. The other six not being satisfied, and not, by the way, being a quorum, went off and called another convention, and sent delegates, who are contesting the seats of those whom the committee have reported in favor of seating. If there was any irregularity in this committee, it was inaugurated in the beginning by calling in a man who was not a member of it, who had not been appointed by the state convention. But that was acquiesced in, and when the committee of twenty-four was appointed it was acquiesced in at the time by at least a portion of the old committee, and by the great body of the people of Alabama, who wanted success for the Republican party in the state of Alabama. The committee being thus constituted, twelve of that committee called the convention which has sent its delegates here. Six of the others, looking to disorganization, have sent the other delegates.

Mr. CUMBACK, of Indiana. I do not wish, sir, to take up much time in discussing this report,—

Mr. ENSOR. I should have stated that this matter was fully discussed in the committee. The vote was taken by calling the roll; and it appeared that there were twenty-six in favor of the one delegation, and thirteen in favor of the other.

Mr. CUMBACK. I propose to reply to that proposition at once. The gentlemen knew when they came before this convention with this majority report that the minority report would be made, setting forth the facts of the minority; and yet the gentlemen of the majority come without a single fact to sustain their report. I think, therefore, it is conclusive that this majority of the committee have no facts from which they could draw the conclu-

sion they have presented; and they propose to seat this delegation without any facts. Now, the minority of this committee have come before this convention with such an array of facts, undisputed by the report of the majority, as should leave no doubt in the mind of every fair-minded Republican that the minority report should be adopted. Another thing that is conclusive to me, irrespective of the acts of the committee, is this: The National Committees fairly and squarely presented a compromise to these gentlemen, and asked them to leave it to the Republicans of Alabama. The delegation represented by the majority of the committee declined any such proposition. I therefore conclude two facts: First, that the majority of this committee had not sufficient facts to sustain their report; and that the delegation had not sufficient facts to justify their action so that they could dare to submit it to the Republicans of Alabama.

Mr. TYNER. *Mr. President:* After listening carefully to the argument of the gentleman in charge of the majority report, I come to the conclusion that he made only one single point in behalf of his report. That point was this: That, after the regular executive committee had been appointed by the state convention in Alabama, in 1874, they went outside of their list and chose a chairman of that committee. Now, can the gentleman tell me that that committee did not have the authority of that convention to do so?

Mr. ENSOR. It was not claimed on the part of the Spencer delegation that the convention delegated any such authority.

Mr. TYNER. It is claimed upon the part of the Spencer delegation that they had the authority, in accordance with the usage of the party from its organization down to this day.

Mr. ENSOR. That is an affirmative proposition; and if that convention ever had such authority, by resolution, it is in your power to produce it, and I ask for it here.

Mr. TYNER. Then, Mr. President, the gentleman has presented authoritative conclusions for the admission of certain gentlemen from Alabama. I return upon him, by asking him for the proof that these gentlemen are entitled to admission on this floor.

Mr. ENSOR. Allow me to interrupt you. Is it customary that a committee on credentials shall read all its proof—read all its evidence? If so, we can produce it.

Mr. TYNER. Then, Mr. President, my response to that is, that the gentleman should not question my statement on this floor until he is prepared to substantiate his own. Again, sir: I want to say, that after looking this matter over as carefully as I can, I come to the conclusion that the only authority for the convention of May 16 was authority which emanated from a mass convention called without authority of the state central committee; and, if I am right, then it follows that the duly organized and regular delegation here from the state of Alabama is that headed by George E. Spencer. One word more, sir, and I have done. There are many gentlemen about me who have been associated with me in legislative life for more than six years. They will bear me testimony that my history and my record will

indicate that I never took an unfair advantage of any man. I say, then, gentlemen, presuming upon my own spirit of fairness in this matter,—I say, that the gentleman who stands here as the friend and supporter of any candidate who is to be benefited by the admission or rejection of either of these delegations, cannot afford to ask this convention to do an unfair thing. Whoever shall be the nominee of this convention must win the prize fairly.

Mr. DEZENDORF, of Virginia. I wish to speak in behalf of the majority report. In presenting this case to the convention, I shall endeavor to confine myself to the facts as they appeared before that committee—the Committee on Credentials. It appears, sir, that in 1874, at the state convention, there was a committee appointed consisting of twelve members. That committee, as has been here stated, proceeded to elect a chairman outside of its own number. That, I claim, they had a right to do, if they saw fit so to do. It is the case in a great many states that such a proceeding has been taken. Time passed; and, from the statements made to the Committee on Credentials, it appears that the party in Alabama became very much demoralized. It got into a very bad shape indeed; and a large number of Republicans of that state published a call calling upon the state central committee to call a meeting of conference, to be composed of delegates or members from all portions of the state of Alabama. That conference was held. It was participated in by a large number of this old convention or committee. In the process of their considerations and deliberations, they came to the conclusion that it was necessary to enlarge the state central committee, and make it composed of twenty-four instead of twelve delegates, in order that all the districts in the state of Alabama might be properly represented. That was assented to by at least a majority of the old state committee. In consequence of the absence of the chairman of the state central committee, Mr. Mayer, who, I believe, was a clerk of a committee in the city of Washington, and absent from the state a large portion of the time, they decided to elect a temporary chairman, which they did. That committee of twenty-four—a majority of it, consisting of eighteen members—called a convention, which convention elected the delegation to this house headed by Jere Haralson, as he is commonly called. Six of the committee dissented from the views of the majority, and called another convention, which elected the Spencer delegation. The question, then, gentlemen, it seems to me, resolves itself down to whether or not the majority of the committee shall rule, or the minority. Gentlemen have alluded to the fact that the offer of compromise was not accepted. The people recognized no two committees. There was but one committee.

Mr. JAMES ATKINS, of Georgia. *Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention:* I desire to present a few facts and considerations that justify me, as a member of the minority of this committee, in recommending the seating of the Spencer delegation; and, to my mind, these facts and reasons are entirely unanswerable. A state central committee, or, as they called it, an executive committee of Alabama, was appointed in 1874. There is no dispute about this one great fact. This committee, in accordance with the

custom prevailing in the party in Alabama, appointed a chairman outside of their own number. We may say that this is regular; that it is not the best way; that it is not the right way;—but Republicans of Alabama have always acted under that system. It will not do for us to come now and dictate to them, especially in regard to transactions that have already taken place. The party followed this committee, worked with this committee, responded to the call of this committee, in all the campaigns that took place from the time of its appointment until this difficulty arose. There is no difficulty, no doubt, no question of fact, for a moment, about the regularity of this committee. The question arises right here, Had any power but a convention, regularly called, composed of delegates from the Republican party from the state of Alabama, any right to appoint another committee? Had they any right to increase the old committee, or diminish it, in any way whatsoever? In a political sense, is there any sovereignty in the state of Alabama, so far as the Republican party is concerned, except the people, the Republicans of Alabama? I think not, and I think you will all agree with me. If so, then this committee being appointed, it would remain and continue as it was, except as it might be changed by acts of Providence. A set of gentlemen conceived the idea of taking possession of the Republican party of Alabama, and they are represented by the delegation that opposes the Spencer delegation here. They attempted it by a *coup d'état*—by revolution; it is nothing else but revolution. If it succeeded, and was ratified by the Republicans of Alabama, it was a success. But did they succeed? Let us see. Did their revolution succeed? What was the first step? Was a convention called? Not at all. There was a mass meeting in Montgomery, attended by the local Republicans and Democrats around Montgomery. There is no pretence that it was a representative body at all. Was their attempted revolution successful? Was it acquiesced in? No call of the central committee was made at the time of this mass meeting in Alabama; but a number of the members of this committee were present in the city of Montgomery, and they, overawed by this mass meeting, consented, so far as they were concerned, and added these twelve men to the old twelve of the committee.

MR. MILLIKEN, of Maure. I wish, Mr. President, to say but a single word upon this subject. It seems to me that gentlemen have so treated the matter as to give us an entire misconception of it. The gentleman who preceded me wished this convention to understand that somebody was ousted there; that there was a *coup d'état*; that there was a revolution. Now, the facts are these: When the people of Alabama found it was necessary to vitalize that state committee, found that the Republican party was languishing for the want of activity, members of the state committee being out of the state, they called a mass meeting to consider this question. At that mass meeting the old committee was present. They recommended that new additions should be made. Those additions were made by the committee with the consent of every one, nobody objecting. The new committee and the old, acting harmoniously together, nobody objecting, called a convention.

**T**hen Mr. Mayer, who was elected chairman of the old committee from the outside, and who held a place, as I understand it, in Washington, found it necessary for some purpose, I know not what, to come down and make trouble. I understand that this new committee was acting in entire harmony; that the people were satisfied until this Mr. Mayer,—never elected by the executive committee, but only chosen by the state committee,—I say, this Mr. Mayer called a convention, but he was not sustained by a quorum of the old committee of twelve—it is a significant fact, gentlemen, that this committee which elected the Haralson delegates, as they are called, was called by eighteen delegates. It must have included six of the old committee at least. This new convention, which the gentleman calls legitimate, was called simply by Mr. Mayer, not sustained by a quorum, as I said before, of the old committee. One gentleman who spoke before me said that he acted in fairness towards the prevalent sentiment of the state. I say, it appeared to the committee that they who lived there, who voted there, they who fought the Republican battles, and not those who held fat places away out of the state,—I say, it appeared to the committee, by overwhelming testimony, that the people of Alabama, who stayed there, were unanimously in favor of the Haralson delegation. It was hardly denied at all.

Mr. POMEROY, of New York. *Gentlemen of the Convention:* I would not take a moment of your time upon this question, so far as it has any political bearing; but it goes further than that, and we are sitting here as jurors, upon our honor, to pass upon a question of fact and law involving the rights of the state of Alabama, and perhaps deciding the fate of this convention. Now, when it comes to a question like that, where I am sitting upon my honor as a juror to pass upon the rights of others, then I say I will act upon it without fear, favor, affection, reward, or the hope thereof, and so, no doubt, the members of this convention feel. Now, what are the facts of this case? We came here yesterday: we understood there were contestants from the state of Alabama, and the matter of the contest was referred to the Committee on Credentials. They come in this morning, and a majority of that committee present to us—what? The facts? Not one. They present a simple conclusion of law not based upon a single fact. As a juror sitting to pass upon this case, I find that there is nothing before me. Now, I say that any court, upon the presentation of such a report as this, would set it aside without argument. They would not allow it to be discussed. There is nothing there. Now, if that was all there was of this thing, I should before this have moved that the subject be again referred to the Committee on Credentials, to give us something to act upon; but there is no necessity of that. A minority report has been presented here which does embrace the facts, and it does arrive at a different conclusion of law. Not one vital fact in that report is controverted. There is no necessity, then, to send this back to the committee for a further report. We have the facts, all of them. Not one of them essential to our finding is disputed, and the only question is, Shall Alabama be turned out of this convention? There is not a man of the majority of those who presented that report that dare

stand here and say that, upon that majority report, Alabama should be represented at all. The mass meeting they bring in here to purify the state of Alabama is a mass meeting whose functions ended with the state lines of Alabama. We are not dealing here with mass meetings. We are dealing with regular organizations; and except we show credentials from regular organizations, none of us could have any status here. Now the undisputed fact, as it appears from the report of the minority, which is the only report before the convention, is, that George E. Spencer and his associates represent a convention emanating from the committee appointed two years ago, and which is the only committee holding any power from any source in the state of Alabama entitled to recognition here. The question therefore is, simply, Shall George E. Spencer and his associates be admitted, or, shall Alabama be denied representation in this convention?

Mr. HEATON, of North Carolina. *Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention:* I am a citizen of the tar-heel state. I know what the people throughout this Southern Union desire; and I stand here to-day, although a native-born Ohioan, to say that while I love that state, this beautiful land of the middle section, I still love the state of my adoption more, the state of North Carolina. Now, then, the question presents itself to you in this wise: Who are the proper men to be seated here as delegates from Alabama? According to the evidence that was adduced before the Committee on Credentials last night, I have no hesitation in saying, in every point of view, in every fact that is material to the issue, that Mr. Spencer, with his followers, backed up by the regularly organized element of the Republican executive committee of that state, is the man, and they are the delegates entitled to seats upon this floor.

Now, then, gentlemen, there is something behind the curtain that I wish to speak of here. When that committee was in open session, in the hall of the Grand Hotel, down here, last night, there was a strenuous effort—an effort that was somewhat successful—before that committee, by the illustrious chairman of it, to suppress debate in favor of Mr. Spencer and his delegation. I say it with all due deference to him,—but I tell him, that if he takes up the battle-cry of the Horace Greeley disorganizing, disintegrating element of the South, and fights it out in his contest as he did last year, you may bid farewell to Republican success. I have nothing to say against Greeley,—for, when God puts his hand on a man, I always take mine off;—but I do say this,—that if we had been thoroughly heard before that committee, and had had proper time to represent the facts and issues, that report would have been different entirely. But we were suppressed. We were denied that opportunity, and the gentleman here knows it.

A DELEGATE from Wisconsin. I think there is altogether too much eloquence wasted upon this question. We are of opinion that the only sensible way to settle it is, to adopt the majority report. Therefore, Mr. Chairman, I move the previous question.

Mr. R. C. POWERS, of Mississippi. I move, sir, that when that vote is taken, it be taken by the call of states.

Mr. VAN ZANDT, of Rhode Island. The previous question is seconded by Rhode Island.

The PRESIDENT. The chair begs to state to the convention, that he was not aware that the gentleman from Wisconsin demanded the previous question. Under the rules of the house, it is required that a majority of the delegation of any one state shall demand the previous question. The demand must be made on behalf of a majority of the delegation. Does the gentleman represent a majority of the delegation?

A DELEGATE from Wisconsin. The demand is made on behalf of every living soul in Wisconsin.

The PRESIDENT. The chair now understands that the rule has been complied with. The previous question has been demanded and seconded, and the question now is, Shall the main question be now put? It appears to be agreed to. It is agreed to, and the question arises upon the adoption of the substitute proposed by the minority of the committee.

A DELEGATE from Connecticut. I now move that the roll of states be called on that motion, and that the chairman of each delegation rise in his place to respond.

The PRESIDENT. Under the rule, it is required that a majority of the delegates of two states. All concur in ordering the yeas and nays.

A DELEGATE. The call is seconded by Kansas.

Another DELEGATE. And Indiana.

The PRESIDENT. The clerk will call the roll of the states, and the question is on the adoption of the substitute offered by the minority of the committee. The majority of the committee made a report in favor of seating the delegation headed by Jeremiah Haralson. The minority of the committee made a report in favor of seating the delegation headed by George E. Spencer. The pending question is the motion to substitute the resolution of the minority committee for the resolution of the majority, and, under the rules, as each state is called, the chairman of the delegation will announce the vote of his delegation. The clerk will call the roll.

The roll was accordingly called, the states voting as follows:

STATES.	Ay.	No.	STATES.	Ay.	No.
Alabama .....	—	—	New York .....	59	9
Arkansas .....	11	1	North Carolina .....	18	2
California .....	5	7	Ohio .....	15	25
Colorado .....	—	6	Oregon .....	6	—
Connecticut .....	8	4	Pennsylvania .....	58	—
Delaware .....	—	6	Rhode Island .....	8	—
Florida .....	7	1	South Carolina .....	11	3
Georgia .....	11	11	Tennessee .....	13	11
Illinois .....	10	32	Texas .....	11	4
Indiana .....	30	—	Vermont .....	—	10
Iowa .....	7	15	Virginia .....	9	13
Kansas .....	—	10	West Virginia .....	2	8
Kentucky .....	—	24	Wisconsin .....	2	18
Louisiana .....	9	7	Arizona .....	2	—
Maine .....	—	14	Dakota .....	—	2
Maryland .....	3	13	District of Columbia .....	—	2
Massachusetts .....	—	26	Idaho .....	—	2
Michigan .....	—	22	Montana .....	—	2
Minnesota .....	—	10	New Mexico .....	—	2
Mississippi .....	11	5	Utah .....	—	2
Missouri .....	21	9	Washington .....	—	2
Nebraska .....	—	6	Wyoming .....	—	2
Nevada .....	6	—			
New Hampshire .....	4	6	Totals .....	354	375
New Jersey .....	3	15			



When the vote had proceeded as far as California, Mr. Van Zandt, of Rhode Island, arose and asked the chair to put the question more definitely, as there appeared to be some misunderstanding among the delegates.

The PRESIDENT. In order to get a clear comprehension of the question, the chair has been requested to state what it is. Those gentlemen who vote Aye, vote in favor of seating the Spencer delegation, and those who vote No upon this question, vote in favor of seating the Haralson delegation.

Before the result was announced, Mr. Thomas, of Maryland, asked to change the vote of that delegation.

Mr. Cumback raised the point that it was not competent for the chairman of the Maryland delegation to change the record.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Maryland rises to make a correction of the report he made in the vote. He reported four affirmative and twelve negative votes, and he wants to make it stand three affirmative and thirteen negative votes. The gentleman from Indiana raises the point of order, that it is not competent for the chairman of the delegation to change the record.

Mr. Thomas explained that the vote was reported under a misapprehension.

Mr. CUMBACK. Well, if it was a misapprehension, I will withdraw my objection.

Mr. PHELPS, of New York. I understand that Colorado is reported as having cast six votes. I find they are only entitled to two.

The PRESIDENT. Under the call of the National Committee, as I understand it, the state of Colorado was conceded six votes. At all events, that question can hardly arise now, as the convention has settled it.

Mr. E. R. HOAR, of Massachusetts. I would like the vote of Massachusetts to stand twenty-six noes instead of twenty-four noes. Two gentlemen who were thought absent were present, and wished to vote in the negative.

The PRESIDENT. Were these delegates within the bar of the convention before the last name on the roll was called?

Mr. Hoar replied in the affirmative.

The chair then ordered the change made.

Mr. WOODFORD, of New York. I wish to correct the vote of New York. One delegate counted in the affirmative we found was absent when the vote was taken.

The change was made.

A DELEGATE from New York. I demand that the vote be announced in detail.

The secretary accordingly read the vote in detail.

The PRESIDENT. Upon the proposition to substitute the minority for the majority report, the affirmative has 354 votes, and the negative 375 votes. So the substitute is disagreed to. The question recurs upon the adoption of the majority report.

A DELEGATE from Maryland. I move the adoption of the majority report.  
Mr. CUMBACK. I demand the vote upon the adoption of the report by states.

At the suggestion of delegates, Mr. Cumback withdrew his demand.

A vote was then taken *viva voce* on the majority report, and it was declared adopted.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS.

The PRESIDENT. The next thing in order is the report of the Committee on Resolutions.

General J. R. HAWLEY. You must be aware that your Committee on Resolutions, upon assembling, found themselves constituted of men of somewhat different sentiments and widely separated localities, mostly strangers to each other. We have in general agreed upon the statement we are about to present to you, and respectfully submit it to you for your consideration, and for your amendment, if you please.

General Hawley then read the report, as follows:

PLATFORM.

When, in the economy of providence, this land was to be purged of human slavery, and when the strength of government of the people by the people for the people was to be demonstrated, the Republican party came into power. Its deeds have passed into history, and we look back to them with pride. Incited by their memories, and with high aims for the good of our country and mankind, and looking to the future with unfaltering courage, hope, and purpose, we, the representatives of the party, in national convention assembled, make the following declaration of principles:

1. The United States of America is a nation, not a league. By the combined workings of the national and state governments, under their respective constitutions, the rights of every citizen are secured at home and protected abroad, and the common welfare promoted.

2. The Republican party has preserved these governments to the hundredth anniversary of the nation's birth, and they are now embodiments of the great truths spoken at its cradle, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that for the attainment of these ends governments have been instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. Until these truths are cheerfully obeyed, and, if need be, vigorously enforced, the work of the Republican party is unfinished.

3. The permanent pacification of the Southern section of the Union, and the complete protection of all its citizens in the free enjoyment of all their rights, are duties to which the Republican party is sacredly pledged. The power to provide for the enforcement of the principles embodied in the recent constitutional amendments is vested by those amendments in the congress of the United States; and we declare it to be the solemn obligation of the legislative and executive departments of the government to put into immediate and vigorous exercise all their constitutional powers for removing any just causes of discontent on the part of any class, and securing to every American citizen complete liberty and exact equality in the exercise of all civil, political, and public rights. To this end we imperatively

demand a congress and chief executive whose courage and fidelity to these duties shall not falter until these results are placed beyond dispute or recall.

4. In the first act of congress, signed by President Grant, the national government assumed to remove any doubt of its purpose to discharge all just obligations to public creditors, and solemnly pledged its faith "to make provision at the earliest practicable period for the redemption of the United States notes in coin." Commercial prosperity, public morals, and the national credit demand that this promise be fulfilled by a continuous and steady progress to specie payment.

5. Under the constitution, the President and heads of departments are to make nominations for office, the senate is to advise and consent to appointments, and the house of representatives is to accuse and prosecute faithless officers. The best interest of the public service demands that these distinctions be respected; that senators and representatives who may be judges and accusers should not dictate appointments to office. The invariable rule for appointments should have reference to the honesty, fidelity, and capacity of appointees, giving to the party in power those places where harmony and vigor of administration require its policy to be represented, but permitting all others to be filled by persons selected with sole reference to the efficiency of the public service and the right of citizens to share in the honor of rendering faithful service to their country.

6. We rejoice in the quickened conscience of the people concerning political affairs. We will hold all public officers to a rigid responsibility, and engage that the prosecution and punishment of all who betray official trusts shall be speedy, thorough, and unsparing.

7. The public school system of the several states is the bulwark of the American republic; and, with a view to its security and permanence, we recommend an amendment to the constitution of the United States, forbidding the application of any public funds or property for the benefit of any school or institution under sectarian control.

8. The revenue necessary for current expenditures and the obligations of the public debt must be largely derived from duties upon importations, which, so far as possible, should be so adjusted as to promote the interests of American labor and advance the prosperity of the whole country.

9. We reaffirm our opposition to further grants of the public lands to corporations and monopolies, and demand that the national domain be devoted to free homes for the people.

10. It is the imperative duty of the government so to modify existing treaties with European governments, that the same protection shall be afforded to adopted American citizens that is given to native born, and all necessary laws be passed to protect emigrants, in the absence of power in the states for that purpose.

11. It is the immediate duty of congress fully to investigate the effect of the immigration and importation of Mongolians on the moral and material interests of the country.

12. The Republican party recognizes with approval the substantial advances recently made toward the establishment of equal rights for women, by the many important amendments effected by Republican legislatures in the laws which concern the personal and property relations of wives, mothers, and widows, and by the appointment and election of women to the superintendence of education, charities, and other public trusts. The honest demands of this class of citizens for additional rights, privileges, and immunities should be treated with respectful consideration.

13. The constitution confers upon congress sovereign power over the territories of the United States for their government. And in the exercise

of this power it is the right and duty of congress to prohibit and extirpate in the territories that relic of barbarism, polygamy; and we demand such legislation as will secure this end, and the supremacy of American institutions in all the territories.

14. The pledges which our nation has given to our soldiers and sailors must be fulfilled. The grateful people will always hold those who perilled their lives for the country's preservation in the kindest remembrance.

15. We sincerely deprecate all sectional feeling and tendencies. We therefore note with deep solicitude that the Democratic party counts, as its chief hope of success, upon the electoral vote of a united South, secured through the efforts of those who were recently arrayed against the nation; and we invoke the earnest attention of the country to the grave truth, that a success thus achieved would reopen sectional strife, and imperil national honor and human rights.

16. We charge the Democratic party with being the same in character and spirit as when it sympathized with treason; with making its control of the house of representatives the triumph and opportunity of the nation's recent foes; with reasserting and applauding in the national capitol the sentiments of unrepentant rebellion; with sending Union soldiers to the rear, and promoting Confederate soldiers to the front; with deliberately proposing to repudiate the plighted faith of the government; with being equally false and imbecile upon the overshadowing financial questions; with thwarting the ends of justice, by its partisan mismanagement and obstruction of investigation; with proving itself, through the period of its ascendancy in the lower house of congress, utterly incompetent to administer the government;—and we warn the country against trusting a party thus alike unworthy, recreant, and incapable.

17. The national administration merits commendation for its honorable work in the management of domestic and foreign affairs; and President Grant deserves the continued hearty gratitude of the American people, for patriotism and his eminent services in war and in peace.

Respectfully submitted, on behalf of the committee.

JOSEPH R. HAWLEY, *Chairman*.

CHAS. E. SMITH, *Secretary*.

#### THE MONGOLIAN QUESTION.

General Hawley having concluded the reading of his report, Mr. Edward L. Pierce, of Massachusetts, addressed the convention as follows:

*Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention:* I desire to move an amendment to the platform which has been offered, and to make a few remarks in support of that amendment. I move to amend by striking out what appears upon the eleventh page in relation to the Mongolian immigration. The Republican party this year, this centennial year, is twenty years old. It meets to-day for the sixth time in national convention, and this is the first time in all that long period that any attempt has ever been made to put in its platform a discrimination of race. In 1858, on the prairies of Illinois, Abraham Lincoln met his great antagonist on this ground,—that nowhere in the Declaration of Independence had its doctrine of equality been confined to the Caucasian or Aryan, to the exclusion of African, Mongolian, or Semitic races. Standing on that ground, he won the victory, and ascended to the highest office in this world. I denounce, therefore, that resolution as a departure from the life and memory of Abraham Lincoln. I denounce it as a departure from every Republican platform adopted by every Republican national convention. I denounce it as a violation of the

principles of the Declaration of Independence. I denounce it as contrary to that great law of Christian love which proclaims that there is no difference between men, no matter of what race they may be, whether Greeks or Jews, Barbarians or Scythians. I therefore move this amendment. I will not accept this resolution. It is not the doctrine of New England. There was but a single member of the committee from New England who voted for it, and the only African on the committee recorded his vote against it.

Mr. S. B. AXTELL, of New Mexico. In relation to the proposed amendment, I desire the patience of the convention but for one or two words. The Republicans of the Pacific states, in fact, all persons, irrespective of party, desire that congress should investigate the question of Mongolian or Chinese immigration. There is no other action called for by the resolution but simply to investigate that question. It is claimed by those best informed upon this subject, that this immigration is not in good faith; that it is, in fact, an importation of coolies and slaves; that it is an importation of labor hired in China, at the prices paid there, we will suppose four dollars a month, with contracts running three or four years under the coolie system. It is claimed that they come under the pretence of immigration to this country, and, by their presence, by their custom, by their pagan and filthy habits, degrade American labor; and we ask that congress shall investigate the subject. We ask that the great Republican party, that has always been opposed to servile labor, that has always been opposed to the slave trade, should investigate this subject. We believe that the time has come for this step to be taken, and we trust that this simple request of our brethren on the Pacific slope will be acceded to, simply and only for the purpose of having an investigation.

Mr. JOHN P. JONES, of Nevada. *Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention:* I do not propose, after so long and tedious a session as you have had to-day, and in view of the vast amount of business you have yet to perform, to occupy the attention of this convention more than a very few minutes on this question. The question is one of the greatest importance, not only to our own citizens, to our own laborers with regard to the reward that they shall get for their labor, but in regard to the morals of the community. The people on the Pacific coast have suffered an invasion there worse than the grasshopper plague, worse than the plague of the locusts. They have found a people who bring with them no respect for our government, no knowledge of our language; a brutalized people; a people that recognize neither honesty among their men, nor virtue among their women; and they have planted themselves like a leprous sore in our midst; and I believe there is scarcely any difference of opinion on the Pacific coast with regard to the action that should be taken by this convention on the resolution submitted by the Committee on Resolutions. Many of us there are in favor, a majority of the law-abiding people on that coast are in favor, of protecting the Chinese; but we find that public opinion is so strong against them there, that it is almost impossible to do so. The very language of the Chinaman has degenerated into a libidinous slang. They do nothing to support the schools of the country. They do nothing to support organized society in the country. One of these Chinamen can work for ten cents a day, and, perhaps, successfully compete with the American laborer, who supports schools and raises a family, and, when the country is in danger, places himself in the foremost ranks of defence. In the resolutions already offered here, and to which no opposition has been made, I find one in relation to the tariff, providing that the duties on imports shall be so levied that the rights of the American laborer shall be protected; that he shall receive as high wages as it is possible for him to receive. I have no doubt that the gentleman who addressed you, opposing the present resolution submitted by the committee, is in favor of these imposts of tariffs for the protection of the

American laborer; that is to say, he is in favor of imposing a tariff upon the introduction of goods or manufactures from abroad under the pretence that the American laborer will be protected; but he shows himself to be in favor of an unlimited free importation of the coolie semi-servile laborers to compete with the honest American laborers of the Pacific coast. This resolution asks for nothing but this,—that this convention shall call upon congress to appoint a committee to inform itself, so that it shall know as much about this question as those who live on that side of the country, and have been subject to all its horrors. All it asks is, that congress shall investigate, and if nothing shall be necessary, then of course nothing will be done; and I hope that there will be no serious opposition to the passage of the resolution as offered by the committee.

Mr. S. B. DUTCHER, of New York, called for the reading of the resolution under debate.

The secretary read as follows:

"It is the immediate duty of congress fully to investigate the effect of the immigration and importation of Mongolians on the moral and material interests of the country."

The PRESIDENT. Mr. Pierce, of Massachusetts, moves to strike out that resolution. Is the convention ready for the question?

Mr. DUTCHER. I desire to say a word upon this question. Mr. President and gentlemen of the convention, I will occupy your time but for a moment. I listened with pleasure, as I have listened before, to the eloquent representative from Massachusetts. I always listen with pleasure to these earnest, strong phrases in behalf of liberty, by whomsoever they may be uttered; but, standing as we do upon the threshold of the second century of the republic, we must give careful consideration to all question that come before this convention. We cannot afford to be unjust. We cannot afford to be unfair. We will not be unjust, we will not be unfair, to any one; and while we recognize the right of all men, whatever their color, whatever their creed, or whatever their condition, to come to our shores, and we promise them a hearty welcome, yet our own American-born freemen, and freemen who come from other sections of the earth, have rights which should guarantee and protect; they have rights which we should protect against importation under contract of labor, as stated to us to-day to be the case regarding this Mongolian race. We cannot be unjust to them; and I hope that no haste and no hurry, no desire to return to our homes, to our wives and our children, will prevent us from giving careful consideration to every question that comes before this convention.

Mr. THORNBURG, of Tennessee. In behalf of the Tennessee delegation, I call for the previous question.

General HAWLEY. In behalf of the committee, and I think for all of them, I suggest that an opportunity should be given for brief talks upon a great subject.

Mr. THORNBURG. I withdraw my motion.

Mr. GEORGE WILLIAM CURTIS, of New York. *Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention.* One hundred years ago the colonies of America declared themselves free and independent in a document which laid down fundamental principles of human rights. Under that sign they conquered. With the Declaration of Independence in front, they carried their independence, they secured your independence, and the freedom of all who come after you. For nearly one century the Declaration of Independence, in a part connected with a very essential portion of the representation in this convention, was trampled under the feet of the American people. And you

Republicans, you are sprung from the Declaration of Independence, you are the children of the Declaration of Independence; and our first, great, and martyred leader, Abraham Lincoln, was the first man plainly to declare that the platform of the Republican party was the Declaration of Independence.

Now, then, as we began a new century, as my friend and associate New York says, is it for us,—is it for the Republicans of America who are resolving, as I believe that they will, to purify and elevate their government,—to declare that the principles of the Declaration of Independence now be virtually revoked? For what is this platform? It is simply a declaration of faith of this party. It is not a means of asking that this or that shall be done. It is a declaration of our purpose. It is a declaration of the things that we, as a party, mean shall be accomplished; and, Mr. President and gentlemen, if you mean to draw a cordon along the coasts of our country,—if you mean to say that any man of any race shall be excluded then you have revoked the original principle of your party; then, gentlemen, you have accused your own statesmanship, for, under the Declaration of Independence, we have freed the colored men of the South; we have made them voters; and to-day the country is strong, and the government is stronger than ever. I beg you, therefore, gentlemen, to understand, that if you mean to make this declaration of principle at this time, and at the beginning of this year, you, in my judgment, declare that the fundamental principle is not only of the Republican party, but of the American republic, demands action at your hands.

The PRESIDENT. The question pending is the adoption of the motion of the gentleman from Massachusetts, to strike out the eleventh resolution.

Mr. R. H. DANA, of Massachusetts. The delegation from Massachusetts has instructed me to call for a vote by states.

Mr. J. B. BELFORD, of Colorado. In common with the senator from Nevada, I come here to represent the interests of the people of the Pacific slope. I have always been a devoted and consistent and persistent friend of human freedom; and, because I have occupied that relation to all people who have been oppressed, I am in favor of the adoption of the resolution reported to the convention by this committee. I hold, Mr. President, that the chief object of this convention is to bring our national honor up to par, and, in bringing our national honor up to par, it is equally our duty to protect the honor, and purity, and virtue, and integrity of the pioneers of our country, who have swelled the mere path of the pioneer into the magnificent highway of the nation, and have built an empire beyond the Rocky Mountains. I say, that in the state of California exists a people where the men are thieves and the women are prostitutes, and they are brought from China and Asia. I say that it is impossible for the laboring man, whether he be American, German, Irish, or any other nationality, or in any degree connected with the Caucasian race, to compete with those people in the market of labor. The gentleman from Massachusetts has stated that we shall adhere to the principles of the Declaration of American Independence. He says to him, that here is a class of people who refuse to assimilate into our civilization. Here is a class of people who ignore our school system, ignore our church system, and in no manner contribute to support the government; who decline to become citizens of the republic by virtue of our naturalization laws enforced there, and who dislike our institutions so that they leave word for their friends and brethren, after they are deported, to ship them back to China for burial.

Mr. THORNBURG, of Tennessee. Tennessee demands the previous question upon the adoption of the platform, reserving the resolution referring

the financial question, upon which a gentleman from Texas has a minority report.

A DELEGATE from Montana. I object.

The PRESIDENT. Are there two other delegations seconding the demand of the delegation from Tennessee for the previous question?

Mr. WM. J. SEWELL, of New Jersey. New Jersey seconds the call for the previous question.

Delegates from Rhode Island, Connecticut, and Mississippi announced that those states seconded the demand.

The PRESIDENT. The question is, Shall the main question be now put, reserving the financial plank?

The question being put, was agreed to.

The PRESIDENT. The question recurs upon the motion of the gentleman from Massachusetts, upon which a vote by states is demanded by the delegation from Massachusetts and the delegation from Rhode Island. The proposition is to strike out the eleventh section, which will now be read, after which the roll of states will be called.

The secretary read as follows:

"It is the immediate duty of congress fully to investigate the effect of the immigration and importation of Mongolians on the moral and material interests of the country."

A DELEGATE from Montana. I ask unanimous consent to protest, in the name of my territory.

Objected to.

The PRESIDENT. The vote will now be taken upon the proposition to strike out this section which has been read in your hearing. The clerk will call roll.

Mr. J. M. HARLAN, of Kentucky. I beg leave to say, Mr. President, that, in my judgment, the convention has been too hasty in adopting the previous question, and would inquire whether it would be in order to move a recess for twenty minutes in order that we may confer further in reference to the question.

The PRESIDENT. The motion would not be in order.

Mr. HARLAN. I move to reconsider that vote, in order that we may have further consideration on the subject. The whole state joins me in the motion, and California and Indiana seconds it.

Mr. CESSNA, of Pennsylvania. Will it be in order now to demand a division of the question? If so, I ask a division of the question into three parts, the first to embrace the Coolie question; the second, all the resolutions except the finance plank; and the third, the finance plank. It is especially to get at the Coolie question and the financial plank.

The PRESIDENT. We are now operating under the previous question. The difficulty is, that there can be no further discussion on the Coolie question.

A DELEGATE from Virginia. I move to lay upon the table the motion to reconsider the vote.



The president put the question, and decided that the motion to reconsider was laid upon the table, and that the question then recurred on the motion of the gentleman from Massachusetts, to strike out the eleventh section.

Mr. CUMBACK, of Indiana. After this vote shall be taken, if the resolution to strike out prevails, will it then be in order, under the operation of the previous question, to offer a substitute for the resolution to strike out?

The PRESIDENT. I think not.

The president then put the question; and, the roll being called, the states voted as follows:

STATES.	Ay.	No.	STATES.	Ay.	No.
Alabama	10	10	New York	30	35
Arkansas	8	4	North Carolina	3	17
California	—	12	Ohio	19	25
Colorado	—	6	Oregon	—	58
Connecticut	5	7	Pennsylvania	—	58
Delaware	2	4	Rhode Island	6	5
Florida	—	8	South Carolina	14	11
Georgia	7	15	Tennessee	2	11
Illinois	2	40	Texas	—	11
Indiana	10	20	Vermont	4	11
Iowa	12	10	Virginia	—	11
Kansas	—	10	West Virginia	3	11
Kentucky	14	10	Wisconsin	—	11
Louisiana	5	8	Arizona	—	11
Maine	6	8	Dakota	—	11
Maryland	15	1	District of Columbia	—	11
Massachusetts	20	6	Idaho	—	11
Michigan	6	16	Montana	2	11
Minnesota	—	10	New Mexico	—	11
Mississippi	11	5	Utah	—	11
Missouri	12	17	Washington	—	11
Nebraska	—	6	Wyoming	—	11
Nevada	—	6			
New Hampshire	2	8			
New Jersey	—	18	Totals	215	215

The PRESIDENT. On the motion of the gentleman from Massachusetts to strike out the eleventh section, the ayes have 215 votes and the noes have 532 votes, and the convention refuse to strike out.

The eleventh resolution was then agreed to; and the president said, the question now recurs upon the adoption of the financial resolution, for which Mr. Davis, of Texas, offers a substitute.

Mr. E. J. DAVIS, of Texas. *Mr. President:* I desire to offer the following minority report:

*To the President of the Republican National Convention:* The undersigned, one of the Committee on Resolutions, dissents from the majority regard to the fourth resolution—that bearing on the question of resumption specie payments. He considers said resolution improper in this, among other respects, that it is uncertain and vague in its promises, leaving the time of resumption unsettled, and being thereby calculated further to disturb public confidence. The undersigned therefore submits the following, and recommends that it be adopted as a substitute for said resolution:

*Resolved,* That it is the duty of congress to provide for carrying out the act known as the Resumption Act of congress, to the end that the resumption of specie payments may not be longer delayed."

*Mr. President:* I do not propose to make a speech, but, as a test, I move that this report be substituted in the place of the fourth resolution,—the financial resolution as reported by the majority of the committee. In that resolution reference is made to the declaration made by the Republican congress some

eight years ago, that they would go on, without any unnecessary delay, and redeem our promises by resuming specie payments. We have gone on year after year, congress after congress, convention after convention, and have repeated these promises, until finally, in the early part of last year, our Republican friends in congress, having there a majority of two-thirds of both houses, finally nerved themselves to the passage of an act providing for resumption, not to-day, or to-morrow, as they should have done, but three years hence, in January, 1879. I think, gentlemen, when you scrutinize the resolution as adopted by the majority of the committee and reported here this morning, you will find that it is nothing more than a step backward, and a return to promises again. I, for one, and I hope a majority of the convention will sustain me, am opposed to making any step backward.

At the request of the delegates the fourth section of the platform was read; also the substitute offered by the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. J. R. HAWLEY. *Mr. President and Gentlemen:* I will detain you but a short time. I think it quite fair that the minority of the committee, a very respectable and honorable gentleman, who has moved a substitute, should be allowed to say a word or two in behalf of his motion. It is best, in my opinion, always, in dealing with principles for the guidance of a party during a year, or four long years, to confine ourselves to an emphatic declaration of sound principles, and not tie ourselves to details in measures. That was the general rule which governed us in drafting that resolution. In drafting it, we recited that first great act of Grant's administration,—that act which is an honor to him and to the Republican congress, which removed all possible doubt as to the purpose of the government to fulfil in letter and in spirit the obligations of this nation to redeem in coin every dollar of the debt, save where there was an express provision to the contrary in the bill. That great act, framed in clear, strong language, asserted it the high moral duty of the nation to fulfil all these obligations. We knew not how to express ourselves more emphatically than by referring to that representative act of legislation, and adding to it, "The commercial prosperity, public morals, and national credit demand that the promise be fulfilled by a steady and continuous progress to specie payment." The gentleman wants to confine the whole declaration of duty to passing laws to carry the resumption act into effect. The act provides for resumption two years from next January. You cannot propose any law with any chance of its going through congress until a year from next January or two or three months after that, even provided you have the next congress Republican, and then only ten or eleven months elapse before the taking effect of that act. Whether it is best to bring about specie payments in that way I do not know; but I am not desirous of being tied to the advocacy of that bill. I regard it as a very imperfect bill. I voted against it. I should not care to spend an hour on the stump in defending it. I do not care for the details of resumption. I plant myself, not only upon a high political, but upon a high moral, duty to resume specie payment—to do so at the very earliest practicable moment; and when I say that, I mean it. It is necessary for us to bring paper to par with gold, for that is essential to commercial prosperity, public morals, and national credit.

The question was then put upon the substitution of the minority report, and the President announced that it was disagreed to. The report on the fourth section of the platform was then agreed to.

The platform as a whole was then unanimously adopted.

## OFFICIAL PROCEEDINGS OF THE

## NOMINATION OF CANDIDATES.

At 2:50 P. M. (Cincinnati time) the President announced that the nomination of candidates for the office of President of the United States was in order.

A DELEGATE from Pennsylvania. I move that the convention adjourn until ten o'clock to-morrow morning.

Not agreed to.

Mr. HALE, of Maine. I move that this convention now proceed to put in nomination and select a candidate for President of the United States.

The PRESIDENT. That is the next business in order without a motion. That is our duty. For if we are not here to nominate a President of the United States, what are we here for? The Chair is ready to receive any nomination—if there be any candidate!

A DELEGATE from Montana. I move that we adjourn till to-morrow at ten o'clock.

Several Delegates. That has just been ruled out of order.

Mr. EDICK, of New York. I move that the secretary call the roll of the states in their alphabetical order and that each state if it has a candidate present his name to the convention.

## MARSHALL JEWELL.

The call of the states was then begun by the secretary, and when he had reached the state of Connecticut, Mr. Stephen W. Kellogg, of that state, arose in his seat to present the name of a candidate. The Chair invited the gentleman to the stage, whence he spoke as follows:

## SPEECH OF MR. KELLOGG.

*Mr. President and Gentlemen of this Convention:* I am instructed by a majority of the delegates from Connecticut to present for your suffrages the name of the Honorable Marshall Jewell, of Connecticut, now Postmaster-General of the United States; and, in a single word, I call your attention to the fact that while Connecticut is often called a Democratic state (and when we talk to you about our shares in the Republican victories you call us a Democratic state), bear in mind, that from the hour of the organization of the Republican party,—in 1856, and through five successive presidential elections,—we never failed you in a single instance. Overpowered as we are on other elections, yet, by dint of unwearying exertion and determined energy in presidential contests, we have carried our state in line with the ranks of the Republican party from the first hour of its organization. We present to you the name of Marshall Jewell, as our governor who redeemed the state from the rule of Democracy in 1869. We elected him three years. He was then absent as minister to Russia. During the last two years, or a portion of them, he has been your Postmaster-General, and you, men of the broad West, know that you never had a man in that position that has inaugurated reform, that has done so much to bring speedy intelligence to your doors every day and hour, as he who now holds that office. We present his name to you, not desiring to detain you longer,—but we believe he has all the qualifications of an executive officer that will make him fit to adorn that seat, as he has adorned all other positions he has ever filled.

OLIVER P. MORTON.

When the state of Indiana was called, Mr. R. W. Thompson ascended the stage and said:

SPEECH OF MR. THOMPSON.

*Mr. President and Gentlemen of this Convention:* I am instructed by the entire Republican party of Indiana to put before this convention the name of Oliver P. Morton as a suitable nominee for President of the United States. We present his name to you because we not only believe but know him to be worthy—to be a faithful, honest, and untiring representative of the great fundamental principles upon which the Republican party has always stood, and must always stand. These principles may be preserved,—they may be carried out by other means than his election. But you must allow us to say that we do not believe that they can be more surely preserved or better carried out than under the presidential administration of our old war governor. We have conferred this title upon him, not merely by way of empty compliment, but because he has won it in the field of duty well discharged in the hour of his country's peril, when men's hearts were tried, and tried in that fiery ordeal which alone tested not only the courage but the virtue of the patriot. He was equal to every crisis during the darkest hours of our rebellion, and he has been equal to every crisis since that darkness was dispelled, and he stands to-day in the senate of the United States the peer of the best and ablest statesmen of the land. And whenever there is an assault made upon the rights of humanity, upon the rights of the Southern colored men, upon the rights of the nation, of the Union, and of the honor of the flag, who is before Oliver P. Morton in their defence or who defends them with more ability and more manliness? None! Then we do not arrogate to ourselves any superiority over our sisters when we say that while our war governor is no better than anybody else, he is equal to the best of them. We have never had a president from Indiana. It may be assumption in us to say that we feel old enough to have one. And we do not regard ourselves as any the less worthy than our neighbors and our friends; and we simply say to you now, that if you nominate in this convention our candidate for the presidency, we assure you that in the October elections of this year there shall go up from the prairies of Indiana such a shout of victory will do good to the heart of every Republican in the land.

I have heard it said since I came to this city, more than ever before, that Governor Morton was physically unfit for the duties of this position. I affirm to-day, in the presence of this large and respectable audience, with a perfect knowledge of what I say, and with the full sense of the responsibility of its utterance, that there are not out of any hundred men in this convention ten persons of it who can perform more physical labor to-day than he. True, he has been afflicted in his legs, but it does not require legs to make a statesman! If he had been in the condition of Jeff. Davis, his legs would have been of service to him. His head is clear. His heart is sound. His will is unconquerable. His devotion to the union is unabated, and he is ready now, to-morrow, or the next day, to give his life for the honor of the old flag. Therefore, sir, we say—and I desire only to repeat this, for I will not weary you—if the rights of all the people without regard to color, if the rights of all sections are to be preserved, if the constitution is to be preserved in its integrity, if the Union is to stand, if the great principles of the Republican party are to be preserved, we insist, sir, that no man in this nation is better calculated to secure these results than our nominee for the presidency.

Mr. P. B. S. PINCHBACK, of Louisiana, rose to second the nomination. The time allotted by the convention for presenting the name of each candidate—ten minutes—having expired, the chair asked the convention if leave

would be granted to Mr. Pinchback to second the nomination. Lea granted, and Mr. Pinchback spoke as follows:

SPEECH OF MR. PINCHBACK.

*Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention:* In the name behalf of the truly loyal people of Louisiana, whom I in part have the to represent in this convention, I rise to second the nomination of th Oliver P. Morton. A man of spotless integrity, matchless courage, br catholic views, his nomination will secure the combined and united pat of the party. Mr. President, when President Grant made that utteranc no guilty man escape," he struck the chord of the national heart. In wi audiences those utterances have been repeated, they have been greet thundrous applause. Sir, the elvation of Hon. Oliver P. Morton of l will not only secure the arrest and the prosecution of the defrauders national revenue, but it will do more than that; it will strike terror hearts of those monsters in the South who are driving away capital fro section, destroying its commerce, persecuting and murdering white an Republicans in that section. More than this Mr. President, it will be tl summation of all of the past and the aspirations of lovers of liberty where. It will be a combined and a complete and final settlement of great questions arising out of the late unfortunate war. Then, sir, with P. Morton as our standard-bearer, with the rights of all citizens guar by the amendments of the constitution secured, and the protection of man in his civil rights as an incentive, victory must and shall perch banners.

BENJAMIN H. BRISTOW.

Mr. John M. Harlan, on the call of the state of Kentucky, spoke lows:

SPEECH OF MR. HARLAN.

*Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention:* The name whi been given me, by the unanimous Republican party of the state of Ken for presentation to this convention as a fit nominee for President of the States, is that of Benjamin H. Bristow, of the state of Kentucky. I whereof I know, when I declare to those Republicans, both from the and from the South, that from the earliest days of his manhood he ha true to those great principles which are dear to the Republican party United States. Since his name has been prominently mentioned in c tion with the presidency, his record has been carefully scrutinized in part of our common country. I need only say to-day, that he was rea that school of politics which taught me and you that these United Sta not constitute a league, but a nation. In 1861, when Abraham Lincoln upon the freemen of this country to rally to its defence against an attac ing from a causeless and wicked rebellion, Benjamin H. Bristow pr announced to his fellow citizens of Kentucky, that, let come what woul cost what it would, he intended to stand by the flag of our fathers. His tion to his country was not shown by mere words; it was followed b He entered the Federal army as the lieutenant-colonel of a Kentucky ir regiment. He was subsequently colonel of the Eighth Kentucky C While serving his country in the field, he was called upon by his senator trict to serve that people in the legislature; and there he was the acknow head of the Republicans of that period. In 1865, when the question w sented to Kentucky, in official form, whether she would ratify the thi amendment to the Federal constitution abolishing slavery througho

and, he with a small band of Republicans in the senate, voted in favor of its ratification. He voted in favor and approved the fourteenth amendment, which gave every man in this country the rights of citizenship, without regard to color. He approved and endorsed the fifteenth amendment. In 1866, as United States attorney for the district of Kentucky, he performed signal service in the prosecution of men charged with violations of the Ku-Klux and Civil Rights bills. In 1871 standing upon the soil of his native state, addressing his fellow citizens of that state, when asked what he had to say with reference to the amendments to the constitution, he used this language: "Neither those constitutional provisions, nor any statute passed in relation to them, oppresses or harms a single human being. The Civil Rights and Ku-Klux acts aim solely at the lawless people who have no respect for law; and that government that cannot protect its humblest citizens from outrage and injury is unworthy the name, and ought not to command the support of the people." When asked, upon the same occasion, what he had to say in relation to the education of the people, he responded,—“In the name of our high and sacred duty to see that the commonwealth suffers no injury, and that the best interests of society are cared for, let us make free schools for all. If I am asked how it is proposed to raise money to defray the expenses of such schools, I answer, by taxing all the property of the state. I would tax the rich man's property to educate his poor neighbor's child. I would tax the white man's property to educate the black man's child, and *vice versa*. In a word, I would tax all the property of the state to educate all the children of the state.” On the same occasion, and in the same connection, he was asked what he had to say with reference to the law which then excluded the colored men of Kentucky from the right of testifying. He replied,—“The statute of Kentucky, which denies to 225,000 colored people of the state the right to testify in any case, civil or criminal, affecting a white person, has its origin in the supposed necessities of slavery, and is indefensible in a land of freedom. This denial is a monstrous and a grievous wrong to both races. It is a practical denial of freedom to the colored race. Yes, it is even worse than that: it is a license, if not an invitation, to base miscreants and cowardly ku-klux to gratify their brutal passions and satiate their murderous propensities on this unoffending and defenceless race.”

But, my countrymen, I am to be followed by gentlemen as seconds to this nomination who will tell you more about General Bristow, and in better language than I can do, and I will detain you no longer than I intended to do. I have, however, pride in referring to the record which Mr. Bristow has recently made as secretary of the treasury of the United States. He had not been at the head of that department thirty days before every employe in that department, from one end of this land to the other, felt that there was at last a man at the head. It is his proud record, and we of Kentucky are proud of it, that no man has been able to say that Colonel Bristow, in the administration of the duties of that office, has favored his own party. He has shown no favoritism of any sort. His mode has been to execute the law; and, if the Republican party contained offenders who betrayed their trust, or who were thieves, he let them be punished as well as anybody else.

Now, I have said enough. My time is out. I would beg leave to make one single suggestion. I do not quite share the ardent hopes that some have in reference to the future of the Republican party of this country. We of the South feel that our destiny is in your hands. We of the South feel that it is in your power to avert from this country that direst of all political calamities, the return of the national Democratic party to power. We believe that the man whom we present to you can combine with enthusiasm all elements of opposition in this country to the Democratic party, and thereby secure not only honest government, but the perpetuation of Republican principles; and therefore we express the earnest hope that this convention will not adjourn its

deliberations till they have made him our leader in this contest in the war for Republican principles against corruption and fraud.

At the conclusion of Mr. Harlan's speech, the rule was extended in order to allow Mr. Luke P. Poland, of Vermont, to second the nomination of Mr. Bristow. Mr. Poland spoke as follows:

SPEECH OF MR. POLAND.

*Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention:* I come here as a delegate from one of the smallest states, both in territory and population, but in that state a larger proportion of its people belong to the Republican party than in almost any other state in the Union. No portion of the Republican party in this country believes more firmly in its principles, or believes more firmly that the success and dominion of that party in the government of this country is essential to its welfare and perpetuity. We have no candidate of our own to present. We have no special interest to be served by the nomination of any particular man. Our only desire is the general good of the cause, the good of the party, and the good of the country. The Republicans of Vermont look upon the forthcoming presidential election as involving great peril to this great country. For long years the Democratic party of this country was kept in power by a close alliance with the power of slavery in the South. By and by, when the Republicans overcame this joint alliance and got into power, the South rebelled, and aid and comfort were given to that rebellion by the Democracy in the North. Now that the war is over and slavery is ended, and these states are again in the Union, the old alliance is renewed. The boast of the Democratic party is, that they go into the election with the entire South in their favor. If that be so, and it will probably be nearly so, only a small fraction of the North is required in order to enable them to obtain power, and the result would be that the power of this government would practically go out of our hands and into the hands of those who for years sought to destroy and break up the government. We have the warnings of last year. If the Democratic party in this presidential election can carry as large a proportion of the country as they carried in the elections of last year, with what they will get in the South they will carry the presidential election. Now, it is perfectly well known that the victories they obtained last year were not on account of any change of political opinion: they grew out of doubt, distrust, and dissatisfaction in our own party. It is the part of wisdom to avoid this. The presidential candidates that have been named, some of them, are our neighbors and friends. All personal considerations would induce us to vote for them. But it seems that the cause is everything, and that we should go forth united, and that the gentleman who has been named can better combine all the united strength of the Republican party than any other. Mr. President, Vermont and Kentucky came into this Union together. For many years, in the days of Henry Clay, they stood side by side. I trust that now and henceforth Vermont and Kentucky, upon a higher and purer platform, are again to stand shoulder to shoulder. I second the nomination of Benjamin H. Bristow.

At the conclusion of Mr. Poland's speech, Mr. George William Curtis, of New York, spoke as follows:

SPEECH OF MR. CURTIS.

*Gentlemen of the Convention:* On behalf of that vast body of Republicans of New York who have seen, as the country and the world have seen, that reform is possible within the Republican party,—because they have seen the heavy arm of the government descend upon the thieves of the treasury,—I rise to second the nomination of Benjamin H. Bristow, of Kentucky. We

now, gentlemen, as you know, that the real question which is submitted to us in the contest of this year is the continued ascendancy of the Republican party. Not more truly was slavery the mortal peril of this country twenty years ago, than political corruption and demoralization in every form are its perils now; and as the conscience and intelligence of the patriotism of this country, organized as the Republican party, save the government then so must those same qualities still organized as that party save the character of the government now. There is one man in my judgment, of all the great names that have been presented,—there is one man who more truly than the others represents the true issues of this campaign. You heard, yesterday, our friend General Logan, from Illinois; you heard our friend of many years' standing, Frederick Douglass, of the District of Columbia: and what did they tell you? They told you that the Republican party must remain in power, in order that the rights of all the white and black men at the South should be absolutely respected. I believe, with them, that that is indispensable. I believe, with them, that the only condition of peace in that part of the country is a continued ascendancy of the Republican party. But you must believe with me, that the condition of the continued ascendancy of that party is, that it shall stand to-day as it stood yesterday, and that it shall meet the issues of this hour in the same spirit of concord and enthusiasm and resolution that it met the issues of the past. Now, in my judgment, the real issues of the campaign are two. But one is, in my mind, supreme, because it is the only guaranty and security of the other. Now, then, fellow citizens, this gentleman—Benjamin H. Bristow—is a citizen of Kentucky. But we in New York have learned afar off what those men, our neighbors in New England, also knew at a safe distance. When it was easy for me,—when it was easy for you, my own associates,—to be Republicans, Benjamin H. Bristow took his life in his hand, and marched forth a Republican. And I say, more especially to my fellow delegates from the Southern states, that the one man in this country who, since the end of the war and during the great storms and contests of reconstruction, during which hundreds and thousands fell by the wayside, was the man who, armed with the power of the government of the United States as district-attorney of Kentucky, hunted and hunted and hunted the Ku-Klux until the Ku-Klux disappeared. The life, the liberty of every man at the North,—the liberty, the life of every man at the South,—is safe in the hands of this man from Kentucky, who has known, as you of the South have bitterly learned, as we of the North have distantly seen, the mortal perils of the struggle.

And still further, Republicans, if Governor Morgan, who presided at the first convention of the Republican party, did not look yesterday on the last convention of a successful Republican party, it will be because we go into this contest with these three cries: First, absolute protection of all rights, North and South, with the utmost power of the government; second, the hardest kind of hard money, and the earliest return to it possible; and third, and more important, I say, because itself the security and the guaranty of all this, will be our cry of victory,—“No rings, no cliques, no combinations of personal interest against the interest of all the people; no personal government; nothing but the clear will of the people, clearly and directly expressed.” Therefore, not what we have said in this platform; but that which we are about to do, will speak to this country for our purpose. Beyond this, gentlemen, stands the country watching. We have been tried long; and, Republicans, you know we have not always commanded the confidence of the Republicans. You know that we have not altogether satisfied the scrutiny that has been fixed upon us. Let us now show the country that we understand ourselves. Let us now prove that we know what this country wants to-day; and we may be sure that the country will not insist upon doing it without our leadership, if it can have it with that. And one word more, and only one. The opportunity is sublime. Napoleon before Austerlitz, Washington before Yorktown, could not know the future,



but they knew the present. They had the opportunity offered. Each improved it in his own way. Napoleon became emperor of France. Washington became the saint of the American liberty. To us at this moment the opportunity is offered. Let us use it as Washington used it. Let us understand that this government must be purified if the party is to be saved, and that Benjamin H. Bristow is the one man who stands before the country as the embodiment of the spirit of governmental purification, and I know, gentlemen, what the verdict of the country must be.

Mr. Richard H. Dana, of Massachusetts, then spoke as follows:

SPEECH OF MR. DANA.

*Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention:* I am deeply grateful for my state and the delegation here that we have been permitted and invited on the part of Massachusetts to second the nomination of Benjamin H. Bristow. When that proposition was submitted to us, I asked the advice of my brethren of the Massachusetts delegation, and by a vote not quite unanimous, but representing a very large majority of the delegation, I was authorized and requested to second the nomination of General Bristow; and when this large majority of the Massachusetts delegation spoke those words to me, they spoke the voice of the old commonwealth of Massachusetts. I tell you, gentlemen of the convention, I know no other name which is sure to carry the old commonwealth of Massachusetts next November. Mark what I said: I did not say no other man would, but no other man am I sure would do it. Gentlemen may make such oral demonstrations as are in accordance with their habits and their nature. But Massachusetts has done something in the past for the Republican party, has she not? Well, I claim no credit. It was easy to be loyal and to be Republican. We rested on seventy thousand majority in our loyal state, but by one cause or another, by mismanagement, by the settling down of a great cloud over the Administration, we almost lost the state of Massachusetts. But now gentlemen, now, Mr. President, our hope returns. Let me say to you,—and I wish to speak seriously and earnestly to this convention, not for applause, but in order to present the views I am instructed to present,—let me say, therefore, first, it is the belief of Massachusetts that the body politic is laboring under a severe and dangerous disease. It is our belief that it requires the administration of strong and severe and unwelcome remedies. It is our belief that the disease must be cured by the work of a strong hand; a strong hand and a strong will of a man of mighty courage; a man who, when he is president, will devote himself to the duty of being the President of the United States.

Gentlemen, Massachusetts is satisfied with the loyalty of Benjamin H. Bristow. Every man is satisfied with the loyalty of Benjamin H. Bristow. We know that he is from the other side of the line; but we know that his loyalty has been all the more tried for that cause. It has been tried in the furnace; and, therefore, gentlemen, thanking you—I was about to say, thank you for the attention you have all given me—and knowing the respect in which you hold the commonwealth that I partially represent, and in behalf of the large part of the delegation which has honored me by placing me at its head, I second the nomination, with all my heart, of Benjamin H. Bristow.

JAMES G. BLAINE.

After the conclusion of Mr. Dana's speech, the call of the states proceeded until Illinois was reached, when Mr. Robert G. Ingersoll of that state was introduced by the president, and said:

## SPEECH OF MR. INGERSOLL.

Massachusetts may be satisfied with the loyalty of Benjamin H. Bristow. So am I. But if any man nominated by this convention cannot carry the state of Massachusetts, I am not satisfied with the loyalty of Massachusetts. If the nominee of this convention cannot carry the grand old commonwealth by seventy-five thousand majority, I would advise them to sell out Faneuil Hall as a Democratic head-quarters. I would advise them to take from Bunker Hill their old monument of glory. The Republicans of the United States demand as their leader in the great contest of 1876 a man of intellect, a man of integrity, a man of well-known and approved political opinions. They demand a statesman. They demand a reformer after as well as before the election. They demand a politician in the highest, the broadest and the best sense of that word. They demand a man acquainted with public affairs, with the wants of the people, with the requirements of the hour not only, but with the demands of the future. They demand a man broad enough to comprehend the relation of this government to the other nations of the earth. They demand a man well versed in his powers, duties, and prerogatives of each and every department of this government. They demand a man who will sacredly preserve the financial honor of the United States; one who knows enough to know that the national debt must be paid through the prosperity of this people; one who knows enough to know that all the financial theories in the world cannot redeem a single dollar; one who knows enough to know that all the money must be made, not by law, but by labor; one who knows enough to know that the people of the United States have the industry to make the money, and the honor to pay it over, just as soon as they can. The Republicans of the United States demand a man who knows that prosperity and resumption, when they come, must come together; when they come they will come hand in hand through the golden harvest fields; hand in hand by the whirling spindles and the turning wheels; hand in hand past the open furnace doors; hand in hand by the flaming forges; hand in hand by the chimneys filled with eager fire, raked and grasped by the hands of the countless sons of toil. This money must be dug out of the earth. You cannot make it by passing resolutions in a political convention. The Republicans of the United States want a man who knows that this government should protect every citizen at home or abroad; who knows that any government that will not defend its defenders, and will not protect its protectors, is a disgrace to the map of the world. They demand a man who believes in the eternal separation and divorcement of church and school. They demand a man whose political reputation is spotless as a star; but they do not demand that their candidate shall have a certificate of moral character signed by the Confederate congress. The man who has, in full, complete, and rounded measure, all of these splendid qualifications is the present grand and gallant leader of the Republican party, **James G. Blaine.**

Our country, crowned by the vast and marvellous achievements of its first century, asks for a man worthy of her past and prophetic of her future; asks for a man who has the audacity of genius; asks for a man who has the grandest combination of heart, conscience, and brain the world ever saw. That man is James G. Blaine. For the Republican hosts, led by this intrepid man, there can be no such thing as defeat. This is a grand year,—a year filled with the recollections of the Revolution; filled with proud and tender memories of the sacred past; filled with legends of liberty;—a year in which the sons of freedom will drink from the fountain of enthusiasm; a year in which the people will call for the man who has preserved in congress what their soldiers won upon the field; a year in which they call for the man who has torn from the throat of treason the tongue of slander; the man who has snatched the mask of Democracy from the hideous face of the rebellion; the man who, like the intellectual athlete, hath stood in the arena of debate challenging all com-

ers, and who up to the present moment is a total stranger to defeat. Like an armed warrior, like a plumed knight, James G. Blaine marched down the halls of the American congress and threw his shining lance full and fair against the brazen forehead of every traitor to his country and every maligner of his fair reputation. For the Republican party to desert that gallant man now is as though an army should desert their general upon the field of battle. James G. Blaine is now and has been for years the bearer of the sacred standard of the Republican party. I call it sacred, because no human being can stand beneath its folds without becoming and without remaining free.

Gentlemen of the Convention: In the name of the great republic, the only republic that ever existed upon the face of the earth; in the name of all her defenders and of all her supporters; in the name of all her soldiers living; in the name of her soldiers that died upon the field of battle; and in the name of those that perished in the skeleton clutch of famine at Andersonville and Libby, whose sufferings he so vividly remembers,—Illinois—Illinois nominates for the next president of this country that prince of parliamentarians, that leader of leaders James G. Blaine.

The next speaker was Mr. Henry M. Turner, one of the colored delegates from Georgia, who spoke as follows:

#### SPEECH OF MR. TURNER.

*Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention:* [A voice, louder!] I will be loud enough directly. When I left my home in Georgia I went eastward, and determined, in passing through several of the states, to ascertain the will of the people. I knew it would be almost impossible to give Georgia's electoral vote to any Republican, notwithstanding the dead have been raised. Everywhere I went, everywhere I mingled with the people, the name of Blaine seemed to be talismanic. It extorted a cheer, and the people seemed to be alive at the very announcement of it. I rise to-day to second the nomination of James G. Blaine, of Maine. And in doing this, Mr. President and gentlemen of the convention, I want it understood that some of the names that have been mentioned I revere with a reverence that my tongue cannot express. The name of Morton, the champion of Gov. Pinchback, the defender of the outraged people of Louisiana! I would borrow a Raphael's pen, and dip it in the sunlight of heaven, and write on Morton's brow,—“Honor, eternal honor.” But, Mr. President, I believe that we have before us now a name that will arouse the people of this great country in a remarkable manner that the name of Morton cannot. I have nothing to say against Mr. Bristow. I listened to the eloquence of the great poet (!) of New York, as he defended the name of Bristow; and I paid equal deference to that learned son of Massachusetts, our minister to England (!). But, Mr. President, in the person of James G. Blaine we have a Republican about whom there is no question. He commenced with the party, and for twenty-five years he has been in its front, and to-day he stands the champion of Republican principles, I believe, in the United States of America. He gave his own state,—so says an aged and learned doctor of divinity of Maine—to that party, and forever, I expect, buried Democracy on that sacred soil. It will never lift its head there again, I trust. He originated the spirit of the fourteenth amendment. He stood by the immortal Lincoln during the great struggle this country was passing through for freedom and justice and equality to all mankind and to chase out of this nation a set of insurgents who lifted impious hands against that flag that still floats over us, thank God. Mr. President, there is one thing I like about Mr. Blaine: he is a representative of Young America. He is no dead fossil. He is not tied on to any old constitutional barriers that shut out a parcel, a class, of God's humanity, and tie him to a set of principles that are antiquated. One thing more I wish to say of Mr. Blaine, and—I have a dozen points to make,

but will make but one now—it is this: But for Mr. Blaine you would have no Republican party to-day. Wait, and I will show it. When the Democrats carried this country, at the last election, the Republican party of those days all over this land was thunderstruck, paralyzed, dead, and bleeding. It was Blaine, standing on the floor of congress, who shook aloft the banner of the Republican party, united the party, and defied the Democracy of this nation, and breathed again the spirit of activity and hope into this prostrate Republican party. Who can deny it?

SPEECH OF MR. WM. P. FRYE, OF MAINE.

Mr. Frye said:

*Gentlemen of the Convention:* The impatience of the convention is a warning to me which I take heed of as I start, and I would not trespass one word on your patience or time did I not feel bound, as a citizen of Maine, as a Republican of Maine, to stand here before this great convention, and declare confidence in her favorite, her idol son, James G. Blaine. She is a daughter of the old commonwealth of Massachusetts. But, sir, I say here, and I say now, that whoever is nominated in this convention as the candidate of the Republican party shall carry the state of Maine by 20,000 majority. And why? It is a contest for life: it is a contest between right and wrong, between liberty and slavery, between barbarism and civilization; and in God's name, is this relic to go down now at the commencement of the second century forever and ever? Are we to take this beloved republic, baptized again and again in the blood of our sons, sanctified and purified by the prayers and tears of our fathers and our wives, and pass it over into the hands of men who, bloody-minded, within a score of years endeavored to destroy its life forever? My friends, that is the question which is to be settled here and now; and when we have nominated our candidate, we know he will sweep all the loyal Union of the whole country as a tornado sweeps the prairies of the great West. For twenty-five years, we of Maine have known James G. Blaine as we know our own households. He is honest; he is pure; he is spotless; he is sagacious; he is wise; he is brave; he is a power with us; he is a power in the congress of the United States. He will be a power to salvation as the candidate of the Republican party.

ROSCOE CONKLING.

When New York was called, Mr. Stewart L. Woodford said:

SPEECH OF MR. WOODFORD.

*Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention:* In obedience to the action of our state convention, with the thoughtful and absolute endorsement of our deliberate reflection and conviction, and with the earnest enthusiasm that his fidelity in friendship, his private worth and his public service demand, New York presents for the presidency of the republic the honorable name of Roscoe Conkling. Broad in culture, eloquent in debate, wise in council, fearless in leadership, and as true to the old Republican party as the pole,—Roscoe Conkling needs no defence nor eulogy. He is a titanic quantity in our politics. He, through the dark and trying hours, when slander and misrepresentation hissed at the silent and brave man whom we have twice placed in the presidential chair, was the faithful and true friend of our S. Grant. In presenting his name, New York fully recognizes and cordially honors all the names that have been presented upon this platform to-day. When Connecticut suggested the candidacy of Marshall Jewell, we recalled the energy, economy, and executive ability that have marked and

adorned his admirable administration of postal affairs. When Indiana preserved the name of her great war governor, our hearts went back to that day when organized rebellion seized on the legislature of Indiana, and when Oliver P. Morton strangled the treason, and won as great a victory in the council as our best and bravest soldiers in the field. When Kentucky, birthplace of Abraham Lincoln—Kentucky,—where sleep the ashes of Henry Clay—when Kentucky named the great secretary, she sought to name one whom New York gives her heartiest love and highest honor. You and I remember how all the animosities of partisanship died, when we learned that the great commoner of Maine was stricken, and the awful silence which fell upon us as we feared approaching death had settled over him. From every hearth there rose most earnest prayers,—from opponent as well as supporter, with faithful friends and loving wife were waiting by his side,—that the God of all life would spare James G. Blaine; and to-day, with the most loving of friends, New York congratulates him that his strength is renewed, and health so fully restored.

But, gentlemen, let us not nominate with our hearts, but with our heads. Four years ago we gave to Grant, and that grand old patriot, John A. B. gave 50,000 majority in the state of New York. Two years ago and that same senator gave 53,000 majority to Samuel J. Tilden. Only last spring the state of Connecticut, right on the eve of the presidential battle, gave 5,000 Democratic majority. Only the other day, as we were gathering for this convention, the wires whispered across the continent that Oregon had gone Democratic. To-day, Indiana has a Democratic governor; to-day, New Jersey has a Democratic governor; to-day Connecticut has a Democratic governor; to-day, New York has a Democratic governor; and unless you can secure the votes of Indiana, Ohio, Connecticut, and New York, or, failing one, the votes of all the States in spite of all our enthusiasm, in spite of all our zeal, we may follow the leader of our party to defeat. I do not claim that Roscoe Conkling is the best Republican who can carry the state of New York. I believe that he can. I did not so believe I would cut that hand off before I would stand in a Republican convention and plead for his nomination. Mark this, and it is in all soberness of judgment, there is in New York a vote that is neither Republican nor yet Democratic; a vote that went for Dix in 1872; a vote that went for Tilden in 1874.

Gentlemen of the convention: I pray you this hour let all personal ambition, let all pride, be put aside. Remember what Democratic victory means. It means destruction of the national credit. It means madness in all legislation touching finances and the tariff. It means that all through the Southland white Republicans must put padlocks on their lips, while the black publicans will be hunted like the wolves before the hounds.

Gentlemen of the Convention: Not for Roscoe Conkling, not for Indiana, New York, but for the ideas of the Republican party; for the cause,—for the cause that we followed, some of us, through fields of battle; in the name of the men who have died, in the name of the loyal men to whom we would give protection through all the land, in the name of all the interests of humanity that this centennial time are committed to the Republican party, I plead that to-day give us a candidate with whom and under whom we can achieve, not personal ambition, but a victory that means honesty in finance, loyalty in government, and absolute protection to the lowliest and humblest under the flag of our fathers.

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

Ohio being called, Mr. Edward F. Noyes, of that state, addressed the convention.

## SPEECH OF MR. NOYES.

*Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention:* On behalf of the forty-four delegates from Ohio, representing the entire Republican party of Ohio, I have the honor to present to this convention the name of a gentleman well known and favorably known throughout the country; one held in high respect and much beloved by the people of Ohio; a man who, during the dark and stormy days of the rebellion, when those who are invincible in peace and invisible in battle were uttering brave words to cheer their neighbors on, himself in the fore-front of battle, followed his leaders and his flag until the authority of our government was reestablished from the lakes to the gulf, and from the river around to the sea; a man who has had the rare good fortune since the war was over to be twice elected to congress from the district where he resided, and subsequently the rare fortune of beating successively, for the highest office in the gift of the people of Ohio, Allen G. Thurman, George H. Pendleton, and William Allen. He is a gentleman who has somehow fallen into the habit of defeating Democratic aspirants for the presidency; and we in Ohio all have a notion, that from long experience, he will be able to do it again. In presenting the name of Governor Hayes, permit me to say we wage no war upon the distinguished gentlemen whose names have been mentioned here to-day. They have rendered great service to their country, which entitles them to our respect and to our gratitude. I have no word to utter against them. I only wish to say that Governor Hayes is the peer of these gentlemen in integrity, in character, in ability. They appear as equals in all the great qualities which fit men for the highest positions which the American people can give them. Governor Hayes is honest; he is brave; he is unpretending; he is wise, sagacious,—a scholar and a gentleman. Enjoying an independent fortune, the simplicity of his private life, his modesty of bearing, are a standing rebuke to the extravagance, the reckless extravagance, which leads to corruption in public and in private places.

Remember now, delegates to the convention, that a responsible duty rests upon you. You can be governed by no wild impulse. You can run no fearful risks in this campaign. You must, if you would succeed, nominate a candidate here who will not only carry the old, strong Republican states, but who will carry Indiana, Ohio, and New York, as well as other doubtful states. We care not whom the man shall be, other than our own candidate. Whoever you nominate, men of the convention, shall receive our heartiest and most earnest efforts for his success. But we beg to submit that in Governor Hayes you have those qualities which are calculated best to compromise all difficulties, and to soften all antagonisms. He has no personal enmities. His private life is so pure that no man has ever dared to assail it. His public acts throughout all these years have been above suspicion even. I ask you, then, if in the lack of all these antagonisms, and with all these good qualities,—living in a state which holds its election in October, the result of which will be decisive, it may be, of the presidential campaign,—if it is not worth while to see to it that a candidate is nominated against whom nothing can be said, and who is sure to succeed in the campaign?

In conclusion, permit me to say, that if the wisdom of this convention shall decide at last that Governor Hayes's nomination is safest and is best, that decision will meet with such responsive enthusiasm here in Ohio as will insure Republican success at home, and which will be so far-reaching and wide-spreading as to make success almost certain from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

## SPEECH OF MR. BENJAMIN F. WADE.

Mr. Wade, of Ohio, said:

After what has been said by my colleague, there remains but very little for me to say. In fact, Gen. Hayes needs no second to name him as a nom-

inee for president. He is well known in Ohio. He is well known by all the Republicans of Ohio, and respected by all the Democracy of Ohio. He is a gentleman about whom nothing can be said to his discredit; a man who will run without opposition; a man who will enter the field without the fear of any opposition whatever. We of Ohio know him well. He is not unknown in official life. He has occupied high and responsible official positions, not only in the state but in the nation; and in the whole period of his official life he has acquitted himself to the entire satisfaction of those who placed him there. And two years ago, when the Republican flag seemed to be trailing, when the Republicans stood in fear that their cause might temporarily be lost, he was the man that we put up to bear the standard of this state in the face of the nation, when the eyes of the whole people were upon us, looking at us with the most intense anxiety. I need not tell you, in whatever portion of the United States you may reside, that the result of his canvass cheered the hearts of Republicans in every part of this Union, and turned the tide of victory against Democracy. Gen. Hayes has ever been a sound Republican, never deviating from his course when others have fallen, and always abetting the cause of Republicanism, spending his fortune and his power and strength to promote its interest; an undeviating Republican, in whom there was never any mistrust. He stood by the Republican party in the blackest hour of our peril. He stood by it in council and in peace, and he stood by our guns in war; and we intend to stand by him as he stood by us.

SPEECH OF MR. ST. GEM, OF MISSOURI.

*Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention:* I claim the right to raise a voice from the state of Missouri in support of the nomination of Governor Rutherford B. Hayes, of Ohio. Without reflecting upon the great and illustrious names that have been presented, yet I must say, that, in the present state and condition of the country it is the duty of the Republican party and of this convention to reflect upon the selection of a standard-bearer that will win in the contest of November. I will say, that on the nomination of Rutherford B. Hayes, of Ohio, a response will be heard, not only from the great valley of the Ohio, but from the still greater valley of the Mississippi, that has not been heard in many contests since the great Republican party was organized. The man who has been known as the citizen-soldier, and afterwards to have been so honored by the great state of Ohio as to have thrice defeated the leaders of the Democratic party, and last, but not least, when the state of Ohio rested under the cloud of defeat, was the only man who, like Cincinnatus of old, forsook the plow, saved Ohio, and defeated William Allen,—that man was Governor Rutherford B. Hayes; and, gentlemen of the convention, there will be a response of all the elements of the Republican party, and a concentration of disaffected elements that, I believe, no other man could concentrate up on the ticket. You would hear no more of Liberal Republicans, or of Reformers. It would be a general arousing of the Republican party for the ticket: it would be the most triumphant victory since the days of the illustrious and immortal Lincoln. Give us Rutherford B. Hayes as the champion of honest money and popular education, and a shout will be raised through the land that no other candidate can raise. Give us Rutherford B. Hayes as the candidate of the Republican party, and there will be no such thing as defeat.

SPEECH OF MR. J. W. DAVIS, OF WEST VIRGINIA.

*Mr. President:* In behalf of myself and of my colleagues, I heartily second the nomination of the gentleman who has preceded me. The character of Governor Hayes is irreproachable and unapproached. As a soldier, he inspired enthusiasm among his followers and respect among his foes. He has

**F**illed the highest offices of the state, civil and military, legislative and executive, state and national, and on every occasion he has been found equal to the situation which he filled. His devotion to the principles of civil liberty is such that his election would be a guaranty of the freedom of every citizen of the United States. His hand would hold firmly the reins of government. Nominate him here to-day, and he will surely be elected. Elect him, and you have a president that every American citizen, at home or abroad, will be proud to call his president. Without saying anything against anybody else, I feel sure that the nomination of Hayes is an assured fact. His election is just as certain as that the sun is to rise to-morrow morning. Nominate him, and he will be the president of the United States when the next presidential election shall occur.

JOHN F. HARTRANFT.

Mr. Linn Bartholomew, as the representative of Pennsylvania, took the platform and said:

SPEECH OF MR. BARTHLOMEW.

*Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention:* The manifest anxiety that pervades this assembly to depart, shall hasten me to a conclusion. I know well that the gentleman whose name I propose to this convention, should he direct me, would ask and request that, so far as his merits are concerned, they should be expressed with exceeding great modesty, for that is his character. I say here, as others have said before me, that I concede to the gentlemen named a great intellectual superiority over my candidate. I do not claim for General John F. Hartranft, of Pennsylvania, that he possesses great intellectuality, but I do claim for him that he knows enough to know that he does not know everything, and is willing to take and to follow good, sound, wholesome advice; and when an individual gets that far upon the road, he possesses decided merit, at least in my estimation. I can say this, gentlemen, in behalf of John F. Hartranft,—that his patriotism cannot be questioned; that his Republican principles cannot be questioned. His Republicanism was taught him under rebel fire. Before the echo of the first gun that fired on Fort Sumter had died away, John F. Hartranft was in the service of his country. He remained at the front, doing battle for his country, until material treason failed at Appomatox. His civil life has been a successful one. He has been an executive, re-elected in the state of Pennsylvania. His character is that of a Christian gentleman. He possesses the requirements for an executive officer: and let me say here to you, that he has a patriotism as large as our land. It will cover every inch of territory in our land; and in our commonwealth his name is a synonym of honesty. The people of Pennsylvania love him. You have pronounced in this convention over and over again, that Pennsylvania is a certain state. Let me say to the delegates here, that no single man upon our soil has done more to make her a pronounced Republican state than General John F. Hartranft. His administration has been economical. No word, no charge of corruption, was ever uttered successfully against his acts. Economy is his rule.—not that false economy that would send our representatives to foreign courts in nankeen pants and straw hats, but that good, wise economy of administration government that is the evidence of statesmanship; and I say here, without detaining you further, that he is with us one of our chosen.—nay, our chosen leader. This nomination on the part of Pennsylvania delegation was unsought by him. He never sought it. It was thrust upon him by the Republican party of Pennsylvania; and I ask of you here to take his claims into due consideration, because we know he is worthy. He wants in nothing to complete a good and available and successful candidate of the Republican party.



## ADJOURNMENT.

The PRESIDENT. It is not necessary to read the remaining states, as there are no other candidates.

Mr. CUMBACK, of Indiana. I move we adjourn till to-morrow morning at 10 o'clock, and that the vote be taken by the call of the states.

The PRESIDENT. The question is upon a motion that this convention adjourn until 10 o'clock to-morrow. The secretary will call the roll of the states.

The roll-call was begun. Alabama voted 20 nays; Arkansas, 11 yeas and one nay. At this point,—

Mr. EDICK, of New York. I move as an amendment that we take an informal ballot, and after that, we take an adjournment until 10 o'clock to-morrow.

Another DELEGATE. The roll-call has commenced. That motion is out of order.

Mr. Frye, of Maine, inquired if the hall could be lighted.

The PRESIDENT. I desire to say, for the information of the convention, that I am informed that the gas-lights of this hall are in such condition that they cannot be safely lighted.

On motion, the convention then adjourned at 5:15 P. M. until 10 o'clock Friday morning.

## THIRD DAY.

FRIDAY, June 16, 1876.

At 10:30 A. M. the convention was called to order by the president, who requested unauthorized persons occupying seats set apart for delegates to retire, and announced that this rule would be absolutely enforced during the session of the day.

The proceedings of the morning were opened with prayer by the Rev. Mr. Morgan, of St. John's Episcopal Church, of Cincinnati, as follows:

## OPENING PRAYER.

Almighty God, Father of all blessings, Ruler of the universe, to thee we come to ask for grace and mercy to rest upon this convention. We need thy help. We pray thee in mercy to interpose and vouchsafe unto us thy grace, as thou seest thy servants need at this time. We pray thee, O God, to look upon us graciously and bless us, gathered together in this council. We pray thee to bless the people of these United States: bless the fathers and mothers: bless our sons and our daughters. Bless, we pray thee, the chief magistrate of this nation. Bless, we pray thee, the senators and representatives of this people in congress assembled, and this national council. Vouchsafe unto them, we pray thee, the direction of thine own wisdom, that by their endeavors all things may be so ordered and settled upon the surest and best foundations, that truth and happiness, religion and piety, may be established among us for all generations. Save to us, we pray thee, the goodly heritage that thou hast bequeathed us by the hands of our fathers. Make strong and firm the hearts of the rulers; make patriotic and pious the hearts of the people of this land, we pray thee. Settle and establish our civil and religious institutions. Deliver us, we pray thee, from the blight of ignorance and supersitition. Bring to naught the machinations of evil and designing men. We pray thee, O Lord, that truth and justice may be established in our land for all generations. These and all other mercies that we need, we humbly ask in the name and for the sake of thy Son and our Saviour Jesus Christ, who hath taught us to pray, and to say,—“Our Father which art in heaven, hallowed be thy name: thy kingdom come: thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven: give us this day our daily bread: forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us: lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil:—for thine is the kingdom, the power, and the glory, forever and ever.” Amen.

The PRESIDENT. Before proceeding to general business, the chair desires to call the attention of the delegations from Alabama, from Florida, and from the District of Columbia, their privilege of naming a member of the National Committee for their respective districts, the order relative to the announcement of the committee having been passed prior to the settlement of the contests.

The chair has been requested to have the following announcements read:

The meeting of the National Executive Committee of the Union League of America will be held immediately after the final adjournment of the convention, at the head-quarters of the Illinois delegation, in the Burnet House.

WILLIAM A. NEWELL, *Chairman*

CINCINNATI, June 14, 1876

*To the President of the National Republican Convention:*

DEAR SIR: The delegates to the National Republican Convention, and their friends in attendance, are very cordially invited to visit the annual exhibit of the School of Design of the Cincinnati University, at College Hall, on Walnut street, opposite the Gibson House.

The exhibition will be open on the 14th, 15th, 16th, and 17th inst., until 10 P. M.

Very respectfully,

ALEX. H. MCGUFFEY,

GEORGE HOADLY,

RUFUS KING,

SAMUEL F. HUNT,

Also the following:

*Committee on School of Design*

*To the Republican National Convention:*

JUNE 15, 1876

GENTLEMEN: I am requested by the Board of Directors of the House of Refuge of this city to extend a cordial invitation to the members of the convention to visit this institution in a body or individually, and examine its various departments. Please designate a certain time, and every attention will be given visiting members.

Very respectfully,

E. C. KIMBALL, *Acting Secretary*

#### BALLOTING FOR PRESIDENT.

The PRESIDENT. The first business in order is the balloting for a candidate for the office of the President of the United States. If it be the pleasure of the convention, the secretary will proceed to call the roll of states, and the chairman of each delegation will announce, as distinctly as possible, from his place, the choice of the delegation.

#### FIRST BALLOT.

At twenty minutes of 11, the balloting for President began, and proceeded as follows:

STATES.	BLAINE	MORTON	COSKING	BRISTOW	HAYES	HARTMAN	WHEELER	JEWELL
Alabama	10			7	12			1
Arkansas	9	12						
California	9		1	12				
Colorado	6							10
Connecticut				12				
Delaware	3							
Florida	1	4	3					
Georgia	5	6	8	12				
Illinois	38			12	1			
Indiana		30						
Iowa	12							
Kansas	10							
Kentucky				24				
Louisiana	12	14						
Maine	14							
Maryland	16							



STATES.	BLAINE	MORTON	CONKLING	BRISTOW	HAYES	HARTMAN	WHEELER	JEWELL
Massachusetts	6			17			3	
Alabama	8		1	9	4			
California	10							
Connecticut	11	1	3					
Delaware	14	12	1	2	1			
Florida	6							
Georgia			2	3	1			
Illinois	7			3				
Indiana	13				5			
Iowa			69	1				
Kansas	9	2	7	1				
Louisiana					44			
Maine	6							
Maryland	2			6		58		
Massachusetts		13		1				
Michigan	2	5	3					
Minnesota	4	10		10				
Mississippi	1			8	1			
Missouri	16	3	3					
Montana	8				2			
Nebraska	20							
Nevada	2							
New Hampshire	2							
New Jersey	2							
New Mexico	2							
New York	2							
North Carolina	2							
North Dakota	2							
Ohio	2							
Oregon	2							
South Carolina	2							
South Dakota	2							
Tennessee	2							
Texas	2							
Vermont	2							
Virginia	2							
Washington	2							
West Virginia	2							
Wisconsin	2							
Wyoming	2							
Total	285	124	99	112	61	58	3	11

absent.

ing the call of the roll, persons in the galleries interfered considerably in the dispatch of business by applauding when the votes were announced. The galleries were annoyed by the cheers and applause, and rebuked it by hissing, which led the president to remark,—

The chair thinks he will take the responsibility of saying that there is an impropriety in hissing, whatever may be said as to the propriety of cheering.

The votes of the successive states were, however, still greeted with manifestations, and the president again reminded those in the galleries that they were interfering with the transaction of the business of the convention.

A DELEGATE from Wisconsin. I would suggest that the chair notify the members of the gallery that business will be suspended unless order is preserved.

PRESIDENT. It is very likely that the chair will reach that point in a short time, unless there be a modification of the demonstrations in the galleries.

JAMES L. ALCORN, of Mississippi. We desire to change the vote of Mississippi, as announced.

PRESIDENT. Under the rule, there can be no change at present.

BRUCE, of Mississippi. We desire to correct the vote. One of our members was absent when our state was called, but subsequently came in.

The **PRESIDENT**. The convention will please come to order, as a very important point is involved in the pending proposition. The gentleman from Mississippi made the announcement of the vote as reported from the desk. Subsequently a member from Mississippi, who was reported as absent when the vote was taken in the delegation, came into the hall and the proposition of the gentleman now is to correct the vote so as to include the vote of the gentleman who was absent when the delegation acted, and when the vote was announced. The chair desires to say that under the fourth rule adopted yesterday, this is laid down as the law: "And when any state has announced its vote, it shall so stand until the ballot is announced, unless in case of numerical error."

Another delegate from Mississippi took the floor to argue that the desired change in the vote should be made.

A **Wisconsin DELEGATE**. Let the chair rule on the proposition.

The **Mississippi DELEGATE**. The proposed change is strictly in order. The chairman of the Mississippi delegation was in error in the announcement of the vote. He certainly has or ought to have a right to correct an error made in the announcement of the vote.

The **PRESIDENT**. If the chairman of the delegation will rise and say that in the announcement of the vote he committed what is called a numerical error, the chair will hold that he has a right to correct it; but the chair rules that he has no right to change the vote so as to add one to the number of persons returned as voting.

**Mr. BRUCE**. I was in error in announcing the vote. It should have been 11 for Morton, 3 for Bristow, and 1 for Conkling. I also stated that one member was absent when we acted, but came in subsequently.

The **PRESIDENT**. Two propositions are involved. One is to correct an error made in announcing the vote, which he has a right to do, and the chair has opened the question for that purpose. Will the gentleman from Mississippi give me his attention and state how the vote would stand as corrected?

**Mr. BRUCE**. Eleven for Morton, 3 for Bristow, and 1 for Conkling.

The **PRESIDENT**. It is very important now to have everything correctly stated. The gentleman from Mississippi reports the vote of his state as standing 11 for Morton, Bristow 3, and Conkling 1. Now, upon the other point. Do you press the right of your absent delegate to vote?

**Mr. BRUCE**. I withdraw the request.

The **PRESIDENT**. The chair will announce the result of the ballot. The total number of votes cast was 754. Of these James G. Blaine received 285; Benjamin H. Bristow, 113; Roscoe Conkling, 99; John F. Hartranft, 58; Rutherford B. Hayes, 61; Marshall Jewell, 11; Oliver P. Morton, 124; William A. Wheeler 3. No one having a majority of all the votes, there is no choice. The secretary will proceed with the next call.

**Mr. H. H. BINGHAM**, of Pennsylvania. *Mr. Chairman*: I move that this convention take a recess of fifteen minutes, to allow a consultation in various delegations.

Not agreed to.

## SECOND BALLOT.

Alabama was twice called, but the delegation asked time for consultation.

Mr. WILLIAM ORTON, of New York. If it is in order, I suggest, whenever a state is not ready to respond to the call, that it be passed, and that the absentees be called at the end of the roll.

The PRESIDENT. That would create confusion, and is rather in antagonism with the spirit of the rules, which looks to the record of each vote in its order.

The convention then proceeded with the second ballot, with the following result:

STATES.	BLAINE	MORTON	CONKLING	BRISTOW	HAYES	HARTMAN	WASHBURN	WHEELER
Alabama	16			4				
Arkansas	1	11						
California	6		3		3			
Colorado	6							
Connecticut	2			9	1			
Delaware	6							
Florida	4	4						
Georgia	9	4	6	3				
Illinois	35			6	1			
Indiana		30						
Iowa	22							
Kansas	10							
Kentucky				24				
Louisiana*	3	12						
Maine	14							
Maryland	16							
Massachusetts	6			18				3
Michigan	8		1	9	4			
Minnesota	9						1	
Mississippi	1	6	3	6				
Missouri	15	11	1	2	1			
Nebraska	6							
Nevada			2			4		
New Hampshire	7			3				
New Jersey	12				6			
New York			69	1				
North Carolina*	8	2	3	1		5		
Ohio					44			
Oregon	6							
Pennsylvania	4					54		
Rhode Island	2			6				
South Carolina		13		1				
Texas	2	12	1	1				
Tennessee	8	8		8				
Vermont	1			8	1			
Virginia	14	4	4			2		
West Virginia	8							
Wisconsin	17	1		2				
Arizona	2							
Dakota	2							
Idaho	2							
Montana	1				1			
New Mexico	2							
Utah	2							
District of Columbia		2						
Washington	2							
Wyoming				2				
Totals	296	120	93	114	64	63	1	3

\*One absent.

During the roll-call the following proceedings took place:

Some of the announcements of votes being greeted by hisses in the galleries,—

A DELEGATE from New York. I move that the sergeant-at-arms be instructed hereafter to remove any person hissing in the galleries.

The PRESIDENT. I think this difficulty will be very much obviated if the mature people in the gallery will consider for a moment how improper it is for those who are here purely by favor of the convention to be interfering with the business of the convention. The chair is very reluctant to interfere with the comfort and enjoyment of any one within this building, but it may become a necessary duty for the chair to clear the galleries, because the work of the convention must go on.

Subsequently the president remarked:

The chair has been informed that persons in the rear of the hall cannot hear the announcement of the votes. If there be no objection, a person will be stationed in the rear of the hall to reannounce the votes.

The suggestion was unanimously agreed to.

The vote of Pennsylvania being announced by the chairman of the delegation as 58 for Hartranft, Mr. J. Smith Futhey, of Chester, rising to his feet, said,—

"Mr. Chairman, I rise to a point of order. The vote for Pennsylvania was not correctly announced; myself and my colleague, representing the Sixth Congressional District, composed of the counties of Chester and Delaware, wish to cast our votes for James G. Blaine. We requested the chairman of the delegation to so announce our votes, but he refused, and we now ask and demand that our votes shall now be recorded for James G. Blaine."

Two other delegates from Pennsylvania made similar requests.

The PRESIDENT. A question of privilege of that sort must be settled before we pass to the next state.

Mr. CESSNA, of Pennsylvania. I ask the attention of the chair to Rule 3.

DELEGATE on the platform. Rule 6 covers the case.

The PRESIDENT. The chair will state the case. The chairman of the Pennsylvania delegation rises in his place and reports, as the vote of that state, fifty-eight votes for John F. Hartranft. The gentleman from the Westchester District, speaking for himself and his colleague of the Sixth Pennsylvania District, and the gentleman from Pittsburgh, Mr. Hampden, of the Twenty-second District, and Mr. Stewart, from the Twenty-first District, rise to a point of order, which is that the report of the vote made by the chairman of the delegation is not the report of the vote cast in the delegation, which, of course, raises a question of the very highest privilege. That point of order being raised, the chair rules that it is the right of any and of every member equally, to vote his sentiments in this convention.

Mr. McCORMICK, of Pennsylvania. I respectfully appeal from the decision of the chair.

The **PRESIDENT**. The gentleman from Pennsylvania appeals from the decision of the chair, and the question for the convention to determine is, Shall the decision of the chair be sustained?

The question was put, and the chair was sustained.

The **PRESIDENT**. The question of the right of these gentlemen having been settled, the chair holds, under the order of this body, that the four votes of the gentlemen shall be recorded as they elect they shall be.

**Mr. CESSNA**. My colleague, Mr. McCormick, asked to be heard before that vote was taken.

The **PRESIDENT**. I did not hear him.

**Mr. McCORMICK**. The trouble is, you did not want to hear me.

The **PRESIDENT**. I will say to my colleague from Pittsburgh that his imputation upon the chair is dishonoring to him.

**Mr. R. W. THOMPSON**, of Indiana (interrupting). I protest, in this convention, against the gentleman from Pennsylvania or the chair turning this convention into an arena for their personal controversies. Their personal controversies should be settled outside of this convention. We are here to transact the business of the Republican convention. We are here as the representatives of the greatest party in the world, and this convention is not to be turned into a theatre for the settlement of their personal controversies. When any gentleman in this convention chooses to hurl a personal insult into the face of one of his colleagues by telling him that he has dishonored himself, he abuses the privileges which we have confided to him. I protest against it in the name of the American people, and I demand that this convention shall be heard upon the question as to whether it affirms or disaffirms this opinion.

The **PRESIDENT**. Will the convention hear the chair for one moment. The chair has not the least desire in the world to interfere with the exercise by this convention, and by every member of the convention, of every right and every privilege which he possesses. I hope there is no gentleman within the limits of the United States who knows me, after some years of public service, who supposes that I would intentionally abuse the powers of this position, and that I would do any injustice to any gentleman of this convention. My colleague from Pittsburgh irritated me very much when he said that I did not wish to hear some appeal which he made. I say to the convention, as I said to him, that I did not hear the appeal.

**Mr. THOMPSON**. I do not object to that, sir. You told your colleague that he dishonored himself.

The **PRESIDENT**. I am just coming to that point. The gentleman then said,—“You did not hear the appeal, because you did not wish to hear it.” Now, I appeal to the gallant gentleman from Indiana whether it was very much out of place for a young man to retort in kind a remark of that sort. I withdraw the remark I made, however.

**Mr. THOMPSON**. I desire to say, sir, in response to that question, that it is out of place for the president of the convention to use it as an instrument to hurl back his anathemas at his colleagues.



Mr. HOAR, of Massachusetts. I raise the point of order, that while the roll-call is in order, and after the announcement of a vote, nothing of this kind is in order, nothing whatever can be done.

Mr. OLIVER, of Pennsylvania. [Cries of "sit down."] Gentlemen, you have given the chairman of this convention a chance. He here publicly—[confusion.] I wish to say something which concerns the chairman.

The PRESIDENT. I withdraw the remark.

Mr. OLIVER. Gentlemen, listen to me. I will not give you any trouble. [Cries of "Order!"]

Mr. OLIVER. The chair recognized me, and I have a right to make my statement. [cries of "Order!"]

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Massachusetts rises to the point of order that the convention is in process of executing its own order and cannot be interrupted. It is a good point of order; but how are we to get out of the difficulty if a gentleman rises to announce his own vote? Perhaps it would be a good way to get rid of the difficulty, if, when an announcement is made, some gentleman interested therein should say that it is not a correct announcement, thus raising a question of privilege, and insisting upon his right to be fairly recorded.

A DELEGATE. The chair has declared the result.

Mr. CESSNA. Oh! no, we have no vote.

Mr. THORNBERG, of Tennessee. I move that the vote just taken to sustain the chair be reconsidered, for the purpose of allowing the gentleman from Pennsylvania to be heard.

Mr. HOAR. I move to lay that motion upon the table.

Mr. CESSNA. The gentleman has not the floor. Did not my friend from Tennessee yield me the floor?

Mr. THORNBERG. No, sir, I do not yield the floor. I move the previous question on my motion.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Tennessee moves to reconsider the vote by which the chair was sustained.

Several gentlemen claimed the floor.

Mr. THORNBERG. I do not yield the floor. My motion is in order to reconsider the last vote, and then the Pennsylvania delegation on both sides should be heard.

A DELEGATE from Virginia. I rise to a point of order, that nothing is now in order but to call the roll.

Mr. SENER, of Virginia. Then the gentleman can yield his time to the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. THORNBERG. I yield five minutes of my time to Mr. Cessna.

A DELEGATE from Missouri. I raise the point that this whole thing is out of order.

The PRESIDENT. That has been raised and overruled on the ground that, being a question of high personal privilege, it may be rightfully brought into the convention.

Mr. CESSNA. I trust I may come before this convention. All I ask is, ~~that~~ that the convention may understand the position which the Pennsylvania delegation to-day occupies before this convention and before the country. I feel that my colleague in the chair made his decision without a proper understanding or examination of the rules, or he would not have made it in the way he has; therefore I shall be compelled to vote for the motion of my friend from Tennessee, to reconsider the vote by which the appeal was laid upon the table. I ask the attention of my friend in the chair and of this convention to the second rule of this convention.

"Each state shall be entitled to double the number of its senators and representatives in congress, according to the last apportionment. Each territory and the District of Columbia shall be entitled to two votes. The votes of each delegation shall be reported by its chairman."

Now, the next rule provides that after the chairman of each delegation has reported, there shall be no change until the next ballot.

Mr. CESSNA. I beg now to read the authority. [Confusion.] I claim the right to read it to this convention.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman is entitled to the floor. I hope the convention will come to order. This is a very important feature.

Mr. CESSNA. I am not here to cast any firebrands. I am here in the interest of peace and harmony in Pennsylvania, and in the interest of peace and harmony in this convention and throughout this broad land. No man will be more earnest for the final result of this convention than I will, if you will allow me to state my position. The convention which elected our delegates passed unanimously a resolution instructing us to vote for Hartranft, and cast the vote of Pennsylvania as a unit, as a majority of the delegation should direct it, and it was signed by Henry M. Hoyt, chairman of the state central committee, and Edward McPherson, president of this convention. Now, my fellow members, this delegation of ours met here and authorized our chairman to cast the vote of Pennsylvania as a unit for Hartranft; and we then passed a resolution that he should continue until he was called upon by twenty members of the convention to call us up for consultation, which has not been done. This was not reconsidered, and I pray my fellow-members not to bring the matter into the convention. We can settle it outside peaceably and harmoniously, and we will add strength to the nominee when he is chosen. We will raise the banner when we get him, and carry it from Erie to Delaware, from New York to Ohio, whether it be James G. Blaine or any other man.

Mr. STEWART, of Pennsylvania. I am a delegate here representing an independent congressional district, and while I acknowledge that I am under obligations here to our gallant governor, General John F. Hartranft, I have also a duty to perform to the convention which sent me here as a delegate. I have also to perform a duty to my constituents, who sent me to this convention to represent them, and I propose to do it, if this convention will allow me the simplest justice in the world. I have tried to fulfil my duty, as I have stated: on the first ballot I tried to fulfil my duty to Hartranft, and I was

willing to have my vote cast for him. The second duty I tried to fulfil in the same way. What I consider my paramount duty is the duty I owe to my own constituents, whom I came here to represent. Those constituents sent me to this convention through the ordinary channels by which we get here, and I propose now, if this convention will award the simplest justice in the world, to represent those constituents in giving my vote, and my people are united on this subject. I propose to do that by casting my vote for James G. Blaine.

Mr. FUTHEY, of Pennsylvania. My colleague and myself represent the Sixth Congressional District of Pennsylvania, and we are here by virtue of an election held in our own district. We come here with credentials from our own district. We owe no allegiance to the state convention, and we recognize no right of that convention to say how we shall vote. We claim the right to represent our own constituents. The counties of Chester and Delaware are almost a unit for James G. Blaine, and, representing those counties, we should be false to our constituents and to ourselves if we voted for anyone else. We ask that our votes shall be recorded in accordance with our views and sentiments of our constituents. The sixth rule adopted by this convention says the chairman shall announce the number of votes for any candidate, or for or against any proposition. Our chairman did not announce our votes, and we have the right to demand, under that rule, that our votes shall be recorded.

Mr. HALE, of Maine. *Gentlemen:* Let me make a suggestion in the interest of the harmony of this convention. We should have little to do with differences arising in the Pennsylvania delegation, which we should not be called upon to settle here. I do not understand that a reflection is cast upon the chairman of the delegation in giving the vote as he did under the unit rule, but certain members of that delegation have asked that their votes be recorded as individual members of this convention. I do not believe that, when Pennsylvania retires to consider this question, the delegation from that state will insist that members shall have their votes declared contrary to their wishes; therefore I suggest that, by unanimous consent, while this roll-call proceeds, Pennsylvania be allowed to retire, and report to this convention in harmonious fashion, what are the actual wishes and votes of the individual members of the delegation. I, for one, am willing, on this proposition, to trust the old state of Pennsylvania. I ask that unanimous consent be given that the Pennsylvania delegation may retire.

Mr. THORNBERG. I object.

Mr. HALE. Then, Mr. President, I ask, in the interest of the expedition of the business of this convention, that the chair state the exact condition of the question; what is the condition of the appeal; is there to be any further action or debate upon it, or has it been sustained; and that the chair direct the secretary of the convention to announce the vote, and that then we proceed to what nine out of every ten men here earnestly desire, so close up our business in decent fashion, and go to the American people.

Mr. VAN ZANDT, of Rhode Island. We are unwilling in any way that this convention should interfere with or should suggest to any delegation in this convention whether they shall retire for consultation or otherwise. We

desire to express the views of the little state of Rhode Island on this question.

The state of Pennsylvania can take care of herself. She is big enough and noble enough to do it; and if that convention passed resolutions instructing their delegates to cast a unit vote, and those gentlemen allowed themselves to be elected upon that platform, I care not whether the immediate constituencies represented by the gentlemen were unanimously in favor of the gentleman from Maine or any other gentleman, they are bound by the platform of their convention. I say they are bound by the platform of that convention; and not only that, but that platform, as I understand, was liberally qualified by the vote of the delegation of that great and noble state, who voted that at any time when twenty members—which is far less than a majority—wished to rescind that vote, it could be rescinded.

Now, sir, I have had some fifteen years' experience in parliamentary law, and I say that this convention, if it goes on in this way, will get to be a mob. The people of this great country, from their firesides and their homes, are looking toward us to-day,—for what? For propriety, decency, and order, and instead of that we have been covering ourselves into a sort of amateur bear-garden; and I implore my friends from Pennsylvania, whether they are for the one candidate or for the other, to allow this vote to be cast by their chairman under the platform of their convention, and under the rules which they have established for themselves, and then to proceed with the roll-call. If they desire to retire for consultation, let them, and God speed the candidate they vote for, and God speed the candidate of this convention.

Mr. OLIVER, of Pennsylvania. I will only take a few minutes of your time, gentlemen, and I think it will be for your interest, and will expedite business, if you will allow me quietly to state the case. You will undoubtedly have to make this decision. I will give you the story. The state convention of Pennsylvania met. It has been the rule in Pennsylvania that the state convention, and not the separate districts, should send the delegates to the national convention. The Republicans of Chester county, a district which now and then sets up a little for itself, and thinks it is a little in advance of the balance of our state, met in county convention and elected the gentleman who spoke before me, and his colleague, as delegates to the national convention. The state convention adopted those two delegates, and they are the only two delegates in the whole list of fifty-eight that were not elected by the state convention. John F. Hartranft was proposed for president: his friends had control of that convention. The Republican party of Pennsylvania, all of them, had control of that convention, because there was no opposition to him. A delegation was to be sent to Cincinnati favorable to him. These gentlemen, every one of them, pledged themselves to John F. Hartranft. The delegates met on Tuesday morning at head-quarters here. A resolution was passed there by the delegation that our chairman be instructed to cast the vote for the entire delegation. There was scarcely any objection to that. It was decided that a meeting might be held at any time, when twenty members would call it. They never called that meeting. They never asked for any change.

Our chairman cast fifty-eight votes as he was instructed, not only by our delegation, but by the Republicans of Pennsylvania. Our chairman casts that vote. It was right; it was fair. It was in accordance with the rules of our party in our state; it was the wish of our people, and the wish of the majority of the delegation. The unit rule reads,—“And are hereby instructed to vote for John F. Hartranft,—to give him an earnest, constant, and united support: and upon all questions to be heard before or arising in the convention, to cast the vote of Pennsylvania as the majority of the delegation shall direct.” The chairman of this convention was the chairman of the convention that passed that; and you [turning to the chairman] wrote the resolution yourself, sir.

The PRESIDENT. Not that resolution.

Mr. OLIVER. Yes, sir, you did. You wrote the resolution. We have the authority of your decision. If you will stultify yourself, you are not the man that Pennsylvania put forward as her chairman.

The PRESIDENT. The chair begs now to be heard. There is no doubt whatever that the first duty of this convention is to proceed with the roll call. The first duty of the chair is to enforce the order of the convention, to direct the roll-call to proceed. Now, if the convention will recollect, the only question the chair decided was this: These parties claimed the right, in their individual capacity, to vote their particular sentiments. I, as chairman of this convention, know nothing whatever of any rules except the rules which you have laid down for my control. The chair therefore directs that the vote of Pennsylvania be recorded as fifty-four votes for John F. Hartranft and four votes for James G. Blaine, stating this, however, that if, at the end of the roll-call, it be the sense of the convention that the chair has made an erroneous ruling, or has done any one an injury or an injustice, it will then be competent for the convention to correct it, without any interruption of the roll-call.

The roll-call then proceeded, during which Mr. T. M. Pomeroy, of New York, took the chair, the president being called out in consultation with the Pennsylvania delegation.

After the roll-call, Mr. Thornberg moved the previous question upon the motion he made.

The CHAIR. The gentleman will state his motion again.

Mr. THORNBERG. My motion was to consider the vote by which the convention sustained the chair in his ruling, that certain votes which were not cast by the chairman of the delegation should be taken and recorded.

The CHAIR. The question is upon the motion to reconsider, upon which the previous question is demanded.

The motion was lost.

Mr. HALE. I do not understand the motion.

The CHAIR. The motion is to reconsider the decision of the convention, by which the four votes of Pennsylvania were changed from Mr. Hartranft to Mr. Blaine.

Mr. HALE. How does the chair decide the vote?

The CHAIR. The previous question was demanded upon it. That was lost. The question is upon the motion to reconsider. Those in favor of the motion to reconsider will say "Aye,"—those opposed, "No." The nays appear to have it.

Calls were made for a division.

Mr. HALE. That is all right. We have no objection.

The CHAIR. A division is called for, which can only be had by a call of the roll. A call of the roll is asked. Is there a second? Kentucky seconds it. The clerk will call the roll, which is upon the motion to reconsider the vote by which the chair announced that the four votes from Pennsylvania could be changed.

Mr. Sener, of Virginia, inquired whether the vote on this question would settle the general question whether each delegation must vote as a unit.

The CHAIR. In answer to the gentleman, the chair will state that it is not in his power to decide what the effect of it will be. The motion is to reconsider the decision of the convention, by which the chair was sustained in changing those votes upon which the call of the roll is demanded, and no debate is now in order. Delegates will take their seats, and all persons not in their seats will be removed from the floor by the sergeant-at-arms.

The chair recognizes nobody. No debate is in order; the call of the roll has already commenced. The chair is not entitled to recognize anybody, but by request he will again state the question, which is upon the motion to reconsider the vote of the convention in favor of the decision of the chair in allowing the change in the vote of the Pennsylvania delegation.

The clerk then called the roll, and the state delegations voted as follows:

STATES.	Ay.	No.	STATES.	Ay.	No.
Alabama	—	20	New York	56	12
Arkansas	10	2	North Carolina	12	7
California	5	7	Ohio	24	20
Colorado	—	6	Oregon	—	6
Connecticut	10	2	Pennsylvania	58	—
Delaware	—	6	Rhode Island	8	—
Florida	1	7	South Carolina	12	2
Georgia	17	5	Tennessee	8	16
Illinois	10	32	Texas	11	5
Indiana	30	—	Vermont	4	6
Iowa	—	22	Virginia	6	15
Kansas	—	10	West Virginia	2	8
Kentucky	23	1	Wisconsin	4	15
Louisiana	10	6	Arizona	—	2
Maine	—	14	Dakota	—	2
Maryland	—	16	District of Columbia	—	2
Massachusetts	5	11	Idaho	—	2
Michigan	21	1	Montana	—	2
Minnesota	2	8	New Mexico	—	2
Mississippi	8	8	Utah	—	2
Missouri	11	19	Washington	—	2
Nebraska	—	6	Wyoming	2	—
Nevada	6	—			
New Hampshire	—	9	Totals	381	353
New Jersey	5	13			

[During the roll-call the president resumed the chair.]

The PRESIDENT. The vote is reconsidered, and the question arises, Shall the decision of the chair be sustained?

Mr. INGERSOLL, of Illinois. I move to lay it on the table.

The PRESIDENT. There is no occasion for that. The question is directly on sustaining the appeal.

Mr. INGERSOLL, of Illinois. The simple question before this convention is, whether each delegate has a right to vote as he believes the people he represents wish him to vote, or whether he can be tied by packed caucuses, whether he can be tied by party machinery, and forced to vote against the sentiments of his constituents and against his own choice. I tell you that we cannot afford to go to this country upon the idea that a delegate from a state can be forced, against his will and against his conscience, to vote for a man that he does not believe his constituents want. It has been decided by a Republican convention for the United States, and it was decided in the case of Pennsylvania, that, notwithstanding an instruction to vote as a unit, the delegates had a right to vote as they pleased. What we want to find out is, who is the real choice of this convention; and what the convention wants to find out is, who is the real choice of the great Republican party of the United States. For one, I believe in allowing every delegate upon this floor the right to vote his choice, the right to represent his constituents, and I am utterly opposed to the gag law of caucus and party machinery.

Mr. THOMPSON, of Indiana. The simple question to be now decided by this convention is this: whether, after we have been sent here by our state conventions, under instructions from them, we have the individual right to violate those instructions; whether the voice of a sovereign state, declared through her state authorities, shall be defined by individuals under a claim of personal right. The Republican party of Pennsylvania has settled, in their state convention appointing their delegates to this convention, under a positive injunction, under irrevocable instructions, that they should cast their vote as a unit, not for themselves, but for the party in Pennsylvania. When they accepted their position as members of this convention, they became bound, by every consideration of justice, of right, of truth, and of honor, to obey those instructions; and I will not give my vote or my sanction to any system of rules or measures which shall disfranchise the people of Pennsylvania. I say, then, that if a gentleman accepts a position from a state convention under such instructions as these, it is his duty, if he cannot obey them, to retire, and let somebody else take his place.

Mr. HOTCHKISS, of New York. *Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of this Convention:* The simple question presented to this convention, the practical question, is, whether there are law and order and discipline in the Republican party; whether, when this convention makes its nomination, each delegate here is bound by that nomination, or whether he may go home and violate the vote of the majority here. I hold to party discipline. An individual is born into society without his choice. When he joins a political party, he does it of his own free will. When he is born into society, he gives no pledges. When he joins a political party, he gives the pledge of his honor as a man. If he violates the law that you impose upon him, he is hung as

a traitor, or ought to be; but if he violates the law that he himself has agreed to, he ought to be hung as a dastard.

Gentlemen of this convention, I represent, in part, the state of New York, the Republican state of New York. We make our own regulations here, and Pennsylvania does not interfere with them. Pennsylvania comes here with her regulations and her customs governing her representatives, and New York should not interfere with them; and it is for this convention to say whether other states should or not. Every state and every gentleman speaks here for himself. Now I beg this convention not to set the example, not to establish the precedent, that a state convention or a national convention, by its resolutions, does not bind every individual member of the party. If he does not like it, let him step out, but, as long as he belongs to that party, let him be governed by the laws of that party; and, when a delegate from Pennsylvania comes here, he comes here under the Pennsylvania constitution and Pennsylvania law. He is bound to obey that law; and I hope this convention will not excuse him. Practically, it amounts to nothing whether four votes go one way or four votes go another; but there is a principle that underlies this, which it would be dangerous to overthrow.

Mr. VAN ZANDT, of Rhode Island. I wish to say but one word, with the permission of the convention, and I wish they would allow me that particularly, because I believe I represent in a small way a small state here. I trust that we shall stick to our old rule, which has always guided the Republican party in all its former deliberations, and not vary from it. Do you know, Mr. President and gentlemen of the convention, the brink of the abyss you are standing upon when you sustain the chair? I look at it in this way,—that it would lead to the disintegration of the Republican party; for, if the convention in Pennsylvania instruct their delegates to vote as a unit, instruct them to stand upon the Republican platform and send them here as Republicans, and if those gentlemen can vary from these instructions in one respect they can in any other. I say, gentlemen of the convention, that applying that principle as correct, it may equally follow that any representatives in this convention who are dissatisfied with the choice of the convention can go home and bolt its nomination as individuals, and vote against those nominations. We are to be bound by certain rules and laws. Party lines hang loosely in this country at best, and they had better be tightened up here to-day, or the results will be disastrous with the great Republican party. I pray you, gentlemen,—and I would not have left my seat for any small or trivial reason,—I pray you not to open these great gates. The Republican convention of Pennsylvania instructed these gentlemen to vote for a certain candidate, and to vote as a unit. They have decided among themselves that when twenty of them desire to retire for consultation, the delegation will do so. It seems to me that is broad and liberal enough. These gentlemen who now desire to vote for another candidate understood those instructions when they accepted their position, and they are bound by them.

Mr. WOODFORD, of New York. *Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Convention:* Thanks for the courtesy that permits me but a moment. I



have no sympathy with the vote which that minority from Pennsylvania seeks to cast. I believe that any nomination that cannot carry the doubtful states is the burial of the Republican party in this canvass; but I believe that under the very existence alike of the nation and the Republican party, is the right of every man to cast his own vote. I want to say another thing. I love the Republican party with a love that pulses in every fibre of my being; but I love the Republican party for the ideas of the party, and not for the form and the deadness of its organization. I want to say another thing, for silence here were crime. As an honorable man I am bound, as honorable men you are bound, to abide the action of the convention; but should this or any convention make declaration of unworthy principles, or place thereon candidates whose lives and records do not represent what true Republicanism means, then let me to-day and here simply say, in words so plain that none may misunderstand, I am bound to my country and its welfare by a higher tie than that which binds me to the Republican party.

Mr. THATCHER, of Kansas. *Gentlemen:* The principle that is involved in this question is, whether the state of Pennsylvania shall make rules and laws for this convention, or whether this convention is supreme and shall make its own laws. This convention is a supreme body. No state, no caucus, has a right to make its laws and bring them in here and say that they shall bind this convention. We are supreme; we are original; we stand here representing the great Republican party of this nation, and neither Pennsylvania, nor New York, nor any other state, can come in here and bind us down with their caucus resolutions. More than that, as the speaker before me has said, the great principles of the Republican organization demand that each man shall have his vote himself, and not be bound up by some party or power that is behind him. We are not here to be handled like mere machines. We are not here to be driven in the traces. Talk about your discipline! I tell you the people of this country think there is a little too much discipline and a little too much machinery in our politics at the present time. The convention is supreme. It has the right, and it is its duty, its bounden duty, to let each delegate here represent the sentiments of his constituents, and not compel him to vote as any body shall dictate.

Mr. HALE. I only propose, Mr. President, to submit a bit of political history. In 1868, the Republican party assembled in convention in Chicago. There was unanimity of sentiment upon the question of the presidency. General Grant was nominated by every vote; but there was division upon the question of the vice-presidency, and then Pennsylvania presented one of her gifted sons for the second place in the American republic,—presented him under instructions from her state to present him, and stand by him, and vote for him. I was a delegate there myself, helping to represent the state of Maine, and the whole scene presents itself now before me, when Pennsylvania was called and her vote was cast as a unit for her war governor; but a delegate from Pittsburgh arose in his seat, and with earnestness and fervor upon his countenance and words of warning upon his lips, objected, and asserted the great principle of the individual right to be represented in that convention.

Mr. President, that appeal taken to the convention, raised then as now from the Keystone state, was sustained overwhelmingly, and the chairman was directed to cast the vote of the delegate for the individual of his choice. Now, I regret—no man can more profoundly regret—that these divisions have been brought in here. They have changed the current of this convention and endangered its turning aside, so that our attention is called from legitimate business to dissensions in state delegations. I promised, when I came up here, Mr. President, that I would only give this convention a bit of political history. We can go back on it if we choose; but if we do so, we do it by asserting that this convention nominates, not by a majority of its delegates, but by the votes of its states controlled in caucuses.

Mr. Thornberg moved the previous question. Agreed to.

The PRESIDENT. The question is, Shall the decision of the chair stand as the decision of the convention. The decision of the chair was, that the four gentlemen from Pennsylvania, who rose and declared their desire to cast their ballots for James G. Blaine, had a right, under the rules of the convention, so to do; and the chair directed their votes to be so recorded.

Mr. S. B. DUTCHER, of New York. Can't I ask a question.

The PRESIDENT. Not except by consent.

[Cries of "No!" "No!"]

Mr. DUTCHER. Then I say this is a gag proceeding. I ask by what authority the delegates from Pennsylvania came to this convention, and what was the resolution of the convention sending them here?

The PRESIDENT. I reply that that is a question with which the chairman of this convention has nothing whatever to do, and has officially no knowledge of whatever. The Sixth Rule states,—“The vote of each state, territory, and the District of Columbia shall be announced by the chairman; and in case the votes of any state, territory, or the District of Columbia shall be divided, the chairman shall announce the number of votes cast for any candidate or for any proposition.” The question is, Shall the decision of the chair stand as the judgment of the convention?

Mr. CUMBACK. I demand the vote by states.

The secretary then called the roll on the question of sustaining the decision of the chair, with the following result:

STATES.	Ay.	No.	STATES.	Ay.	No.
Alabama	20	—	Michigan	3	19
Arkansas	4	8	Minnesota	7	3
California	11	1	Mississippi	9	6
Colorado	6	—	Missouri	25	5
Connecticut	3	9	Nebraska	6	—
Delaware	5	1	Nevada	—	6
Florida	4	4	New Hampshire	10	—
Georgia	9	13	New Jersey	15	3
Illinois	38	4	New York	15	54
Indiana	1	29	North Carolina	6	13
Iowa	22	—	Ohio	14	30
Kansas	10	—	Oregon	6	—
Kentucky	1	23	Pennsylvania	1	57
Louisiana	6	10	Rhode Island	1	7
Maine	14	—	South Carolina	2	12
Maryland	16	—	Tennessee	19	5
Massachusetts	15	7	Texas	4	12

STATES.	Ay.	No.	STATES.	Ay.	No.
Vermont .....	5	5	Montana .....	2	—
Virginia .....	19	2	New Mexico .....	2	—
West Virginia .....	10	—	Utah .....	2	—
Wisconsin .....	17	3	Washington .....	2	—
Arizona .....	2	—	Wyoming .....	—	2
Dakota .....	2	—	Totals .....	395	353
District of Columbia .....	2	—			
Idaho .....	2	—			

When Pennsylvania was called, the chairman, Mr. Cameron, read the following resolution, just adopted by the delegation from that state:

*Resolved*, That the Pennsylvania delegation sustain the action of its chairman in casting the vote of the delegation as a unit.

Mr. FUTHEY. I desire to cast my vote to sustain the chair.

The PRESIDENT. The chair so ruled before, and, until changed, that is the rule of the convention. One in the affirmative.

The roll-call was then completed.

The PRESIDENT. Upon sustaining the chair, the ayes are 395, and the noes 353. The decision of the chair is sustained. I therefore decide, as the judgment of this convention, under the Sixth Rule, that it is the right of every individual member thereof to vote his individual sentiments. Accepting the rule thus established by the convention for the second ballot for the presidency, the vote stands as follows: For James G. Blaine, 296; for Oliver P. Morton, 120; for Benjamin H. Bristow, 114; for Roscoe Conkling, 93; for Rutherford B. Hayes, 64; for John F. Hartranft, 63; for William A. Wheeler, 3; for Elihu B. Washburne, 1. No one having received a majority of all the votes, a third ballot is in order, and the clerk will call the roll of states.

#### THIRD BALLOT.

The roll was called, with the following result:

STATES.	BLAINE.	BRISTOW.	CONKLING.	HARTANFT.	HAYES.	MORTON.	WHEELER.	WASHBURN.
Alabama .....	15	4	1					
Arkansas .....	1					11		
California .....	6		3			23		
Colorado .....	6							
Connecticut .....	12	8				12		
Delaware .....	6							
Florida .....	12			3				
Georgia .....	9	3	6			4		
Illinois .....	35	6			1			
Indiana .....	22					30		
Iowa .....	22							
Kansas .....	10							
Kentucky .....		24						
Louisiana .....	5					11		
Maine .....	14							
Maryland .....	16							
Massachusetts .....	5	19					3	
Michigan .....	8	10			4			
Minnesota .....	8	1						
Mississippi .....		7	12		12	5		

STATES.	BLAINE	BRISTOW	CONKLING	HARTRANFT	HAYES	MORTON	WHEELER	WASHBURN
Missouri.....	15	3			1	11		
Nebraska.....	6							
Nevada.....	1	2	2	2				
New Hampshire.....	7	3						
New Jersey.....	12				6			
New York.....		1	69					
North Carolina.....	9	1	1	8				
Ohio.....					44			
Oregon.....	6							
Pennsylvania.....	3			55				
Rhode Island.....	2	8						
South Carolina.....		1				18		
Tennessee.....	7	2				9		
Texas.....	2	1				13		
Vermont.....	1	2			1			
Virginia.....	15		3			4		
West Virginia.....	1	2			2			
Wisconsin.....	15	3				1		
Arizona.....	2							
Dakota.....	1							
District of Columbia.....	1					1		
Idaho.....	1							
Montana.....	1				1			
New Mexico.....								
Utah.....	2							
Washington.....								
Wyoming.....		2						
Totals.....	293	121	90	68	67	113	2	1

The PRESIDENT. The vote stands as follows: 755 votes. Of these votes, James G. Blaine had 293; Benjamin H. Bristow had 121; Roscoe Conkling had 90; John F. Hartranft had 68; Rutherford B. Hayes had 67; Oliver P. Morton had 113; William A. Wheeler had 2; Elihu B. Washburne had 1. No one having received a majority of the votes cast, there is no nomination, and a fourth ballot is in order, and the secretary will call the roll.

FOURTH BALLOT.

The secretary called the roll of states, with the following result:

STATES.	BLAINE	BRISTOW	CONKLING	HARTRANFT	HAYES	MORTON	WHEELER	WASHBURN
Alabama.....	16	4						
Arkansas.....	1					11		
California.....	6		2		3			
Colorado.....	6							
Connecticut.....	2	9			1			
Delaware.....	2							
Florida.....	2		2	4				
Georgia.....	2		2					1
Illinois.....	3	5			1			1
Indiana.....						30		
Iowa.....	21		1					
Kansas.....	10							
Kentucky.....		24						

## OFFICIAL PROCEEDINGS OF THE

STATES.	BLAINE	BRISTOW	CONKLING	HARTMAN	HAYES	MORTON	WHEELER	WASHBURN
Louisiana	5					11		
Maine	14							
Maryland	16							
Massachusetts	5	19					13	
Michigan	6	11				5		
Minnesota	8	1						1
Mississippi		7	2	1		1	4	
Missouri	18	3				1	8	
Nebraska	6							
Nevada		1	2	3				
New Hampshire	7	3						
New Jersey	12					6		
New York		2	68					
North Carolina	9			8		1		
Ohio					44			
Oregon	6							
Pennsylvania	3			55				
Rhode Island	2	6						
South Carolina		1					13	
Tennessee	7	10					7	
Texas	1	5				10		
Vermont		8				2		
Virginia	15						7	
West Virginia	8					2		
Wisconsin	16	3					1	
Arizona	2							
Dakota	2							
District of Columbia	1						1	
Idaho	2							
Montana	1					1		
New Mexico	12							
Utah	12							
Washington								
Wyoming		2						
Totals	292	126	84	71	68	108	2	3

The PRESIDENT. On this ballot, 754 votes were cast. Necessary to a choice, 378. James G. Blaine received 292; Benjamin H. Bristow, 126; Oliver P. Morton, 108 votes; Roscoe Conkling, 84 votes; John F. Hartranft, 71 votes; Rutherford B. Hayes, 68 votes; Elihu B. Washburne, 3 votes; William A. Wheeler, 2 votes. No one having received a majority of all the votes, there is no nomination. Another ballot will be taken, and the clerk will call the roll.

## FIRST BALLOT.

The secretary called the roll of states, the ballot resulting as follows:

STATES.	BLAINE	BRISTOW	CONKLING	HARTMAN	HAYES	MORTON	WHEELER	WASHBURN
Alabama	16	4						
Arkansas	1					11		
California	6		3		3			
Colorado	6							
Connecticut	12	8			2			

STATES.	BLAINE	BRISTOW	CONKLING	HARTMAN	HAYES	MORTON	WHEELER	WASHBURNE
Delaware	6							
Florida	3			3		3		
Georgia	3	2	6					1
Illinois	23	5			3			1
Indiana	21					30		
Iowa	21		1					
Kansas	10							
Kentucky		24						
Louisiana	5					11		
Maine	14							
Maryland	16							
Massachusetts	5	19					2	
Michigan					22			
Minnesota	9							1
Mississippi		8	2		2	4		
Missouri	20	3			2	5		
Nebraska	6							
Nevada		1	2	2	1			
New Hampshire	7	3						
New Jersey	12				6			
New York		2	68					
North Carolina				6	12	1		
Ohio					44			
Oregon	6							
Pennsylvania	5			53				
Rhode Island	2	6						
South Carolina	5	3			1	5		
Tennessee	7	10				7		
Texas	3	3		1	1	8		
Vermont		8			2			
Virginia	16			3		3		
West Virginia	7			1	2			
Wisconsin	16	3				1		
Arizona	2							
Dakota	2							
District of Columbia	1					1		
Idaho	2							
Montana	1				1			
New Mexico	2							
Utah	2							
Washington	2							
Wyoming		2						
Totals	286	114	82	69	104	95	2	3

When Michigan was reached, Mr. W. A. Howard said,—

**Mr. President:** There is a man in this section of the country who has beaten in succession three Democratic candidates for President in his own state, and we want to give him a chance to beat another Democratic candidate for the Presidency in the broader field of the United States. Michigan therefore casts her twenty-two votes for Rutherford B. Hayes, of Ohio.

The president *pro tem.* (Mr. S. L. Woodford) announced the result of the ballot as follows:

Whole number of votes cast 755, one not voting. Of these, James G. Blaine has received 286; Benjamin H. Bristow, 114; Rutherford B. Hayes, 104; Oliver P. Morton, 95; Roscoe Conkling, 82; John F. Hartranft, 69; Elihu B. Washburne, 3; William A. Wheeler, 2. No choice. What is the pleasure of the convention? The clerk will proceed with the call of the roll by states.

When Alabama was called, there was no response.

The PRESIDENT. Shall time be given the Alabama delegation for consultation? [Cries of "Object."] It is the right of delegations to consult.

Mr. MADDEN, of New York. I think it is about time that the delegations from the different large states should retire to consult. Our delegation is so large and so spread out that it is impossible for us to consult.

The PRESIDENT. Does the gentleman move for a recess?

Mr. MADDEN. If the delegations have not a chance to consult here, they ought to be allowed to retire.

The PRESIDENT. What motion does the gentleman make?

Mr. MADDEN. The chair announced that the delegations should have time to consult before announcing their vote. I move for a recess.

Mr. CUMBACK. A point of order. The roll is calling now.

Mr. MADDEN. I move we take a recess for one hour.

Mr. CUMBACK. The roll is calling, and the motion is out of order.

The PRESIDENT. The point of order is made, that the roll-call having been commenced, a motion for an adjournment or recess is not in order. The chair decides that the point is well taken.

#### SIXTH BALLOT.

The roll-call was concluded as follows:

STATES.	BLAINE	MORTON	CONEUNG	BRISTOW	HAVES	HARTMAN	WHEELER
Alabama	15			4	1		
Arkansas	1	11					
California	8		2		4		
Colorado	6						
Connecticut	22			7	2		
Delaware	6						
Florida	4	4					
Georgia	9	4	6				1
Illinois	32			5	3		2
Indiana		30					
Iowa	21				1		
Kansas	10						
Kentucky				24			
Louisiana	6	6					
Maine	14						
Maryland	16						
Massachusetts	5			9			
Michigan	9				22		1
Minnesota	9						
Mississippi	1	5		4	4		
Missouri	18	7		3	2		
Nebraska	6						
Nevada				2	1	1	
New Hampshire	7			3			
New Jersey	2				6		
New York	12		68	2	1		
North Carolina	12	1			1	5	
Ohio					44		
Oregon	6						
Pennsylvania	14					44	
Rhode Island	2			6			
South Carolina	10	2		1	1		

STATES.	BLAINE	MORTON	CONKLING	BRISTOW	HAYES	HARTMAN	WASHBURN	WHEELER
Texas .....	1	4	1	1	1	1		
Tennessee .....	1	1		1	1			
Vermont .....				1	1			
Virginia .....	13	4		1	1			
West Virginia .....	6				1			
Wisconsin .....	16	1		1				
Arizona .....	2							
Dakota .....	2							
Idaho .....	1							
Montana .....	1					1		
New Mexico .....	1							
Utah .....	1							
District of Columbia .....		1						
Washington .....	1							
Wyoming .....				2				
Totals .....	308	85	81	111	113	50	4	2

The president *pro tem.* (Mr. Woodford) announced the result of the ballot:

The total vote cast 754, two not voting. Of these, Mr. Blaine has received 308; Hayes, 113; Bristow, 111; Morton, 85; Conkling, 81; Hartranft, 50; Washburne, 4; Wheeler, 2. No choice.

#### SEVENTH BALLOT.

The secretary proceeded to call the roll.

A DELEGATE from Rhode Island. I move that we take a recess of ten minutes.

The PRESIDENT. The point of order is made, that the calling of the roll having been commenced, the motion for a recess is not in order.

Mr. EDICK. I ask permission for the New York delegation to withdraw.

The PRESIDENT. If the New York delegation desires to withdraw, they can do so on their own motion, without addressing the chair.

Colorado having been called,—

Mr. ROGERS, of New York. I ask unanimous consent that the call be suspended until the delegations which desire to do so can retire and return.

Cries of "No!" "No!" and "Yes!" "Yes!"

The PRESIDENT. It requires the unanimous consent to suspend the calling of the roll.

Several delegates made the motion.

Mr. AMBLER, of Ohio. I move that a recess be taken for fifteen minutes, to allow the delegations time to consult.

The PRESIDENT. It is not in order to make that motion pending the roll-call.

Mr. AMBLER. I move to suspend the rules.

The PRESIDENT. Neither that motion nor any other is in order while the roll is being called.



Indiana having been called, Mr. Cumback ascended the platform and said,—

*Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention:* A very unpleasant duty is now imposed upon me, as chairman of the Indiana delegation, in withdrawing from the further considerations of this convention the name of the great statesman of Indiana. I express my own deep regret as well as that of every delegate from Indiana, and every alternate and every citizen of Indiana who belongs to the Republican party. When I say he stands in the senate of the United States the peer of the noblest and best, I utter a truth that will not be disputed by any Republican in the United States of America. But we feel that the time has come for us not to ask any longer that our friends shall stand by us. We thank them for the noble support they have given us in this convention; and, in withdrawing his name, Indiana casts twenty-five votes for Rutherford B. Hayes, and five votes for Benjamin H. Bristow, of Kentucky.

When Kentucky was called, Mr. Harlan spoke as follows:

*Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention:* The Republicans of the state of Kentucky feel deeply grateful for the very cordial support which our distinguished fellow-citizen, Colonel Bristow, has received from the delegates of various states, both North and South. We feel especially grateful to those gallant men of Massachusetts and Vermont, and other states of New England, who, when it was circulated from one end of this land to the other that Benjamin H. Bristow was not to be President because he was born and reared in the South, came and said they did not believe it, but have done him and us the honor to say they believed that Bristow was true to the Republican party, and was to be trusted. Without detaining you any longer, I have come upon this stand for the purpose of withdrawing the name of Benjamin H. Bristow, and casting the entire vote of Kentucky for Rutherford B. Hayes.

Mr. Cumback (returning to the platform),—

*Mr. President:* As the name of Benjamin H. Bristow has been withdrawn, I am instructed to cast the other five votes from Indiana for Rutherford B. Hayes.

Mr. INGERSOLL, of Illinois. I hold that under the Fourth Rule this change cannot be made. The provision of the rule is, that "when any state has announced its vote, it shall so stand, unless in case of numerical error."

Mr. EDICK, of New York. I raised a similar question some time ago, and it was ruled out of order. We insist on the same ruling now.

The PRESIDENT. A question of order is always in order. This is simply a question of order referring to the immediate proposition of the delegate from Indiana to change the vote.

Mr. EDICK. If the chairman remembers, on a similar proposition to change a vote, I was ruled out of order.

The PRESIDENT. To change a vote is a matter of the highest privilege, and is always in order. The gentleman from Illinois will make his point of order.

Mr. INGERSOLL. My point is, that it is against the rule to make a change of vote while the roll-call is proceeding.

The PRESIDENT. The delegate from Indiana rises to change the vote of his delegation, upon which the delegate from Illinois rises to a point of order, that under the Fourth Rule the change cannot be made. The provision of the rule is, that when any state has announced its vote, it shall so stand. The chair decides the point well taken.

When the state of New York was called, Mr. T. M. Pomeroy ascended the platform and said,—

To indicate that the state of New York is in favor of unity and victory, she casts sixty-one votes for Rutherford B. Hayes, and nine votes for James G. Blaine.

When Pennsylvania was called, Mr. J. D. Cameron said,—

In am instructed to withdraw the name of John F. Hartranft, and to cast twenty-eight votes for Rutherford B. Hayes, and thirty for James G. Blaine.

The ballot was concluded as follows:

STATES.	BLAINE	BRISTOW	HAYES	STATES.	BLAINE	BRISTOW	HAYES
Alabama	17	3	1	New York	9	21	61
Arkansas	11	1	1	North Carolina	1	1	20
California	6	1	6	Ohio	1	1	44
Colorado	6	1	1	Oregon	6	1	1
Connecticut	6	7	3	Pennsylvania	30	1	28
Delaware	6	1	1	Rhode Island	2	1	6
Florida	8	1	1	South Carolina	1	1	1
Georgia	14	1	7	Tennessee	6	1	18
Illinois	35	5	2	Texas	1	1	15
Indiana	22	5	25	Vermont	1	1	10
Iowa	22	1	1	Virginia	14	1	8
Kansas	10	1	1	West Virginia	6	1	1
Kentucky	10	1	24	Wisconsin	16	1	1
Louisiana	14	1	2	Arizona	1	1	1
Maine	14	1	1	Dakota	1	1	1
Maryland	16	1	1	Idaho	1	1	1
Massachusetts	6	1	21	Montana	1	1	1
Michigan	1	1	22	New Mexico	1	1	1
Minnesota	9	1	1	Utah	1	1	1
Mississippi	1	1	16	District of Columbia	1	1	1
Missouri	20	1	10	Washington	1	1	1
Nebraska	6	1	1	Wyoming	1	1	1
Nevada	1	1	6				
New Hampshire	7	1	3				
New Jersey	12	1	6	Totals	351	21	384

The president said,—

*Gentlemen of the Convention:* Rutherford B. Hayes, of the state of Ohio, having received a majority of all the votes cast, is hereby declared to be the nominee of this convention for the office of President of the United States; and the question is, Shall this nomination be made unanimous?

Mr. William P. Frye, of Maine, took the platform, and said:

Mr. President: I dare say that this immense and enthusiastic convention will pardon me if I say just one word of kindness and of thanks to the glorious supporters that our candidate, Mr. Blaine, has had here. No words of

mine can express the thanks that Maine gives to you men who have stood by him as you have here to-day. God bless you forever and ever. Now, gentlemen, we recognize the fact that this convention in its wisdom has selected Governor Hayes as the standard-bearer in this next great contest for liberty, for justice, for humanity, and for civilization, and the state of Maine accepts and indorses fully and completely the choice which the convention has made. Our gallant chieftain, James G. Blaine, in September next, shall take the field in the state of Maine for the man you have selected, and we will sweep the state of Maine for Hayes by 20,000. And then, when we have finished Maine, we will go forward, under the leadership of Blaine, into the commonwealth of Massachusetts, and we will sweep her, with the help of her able men, by 60,000 majority.

Gentlemen, I will close by seconding the motion which has been made, that the nomination of Rutherford B. Hayes be made unanimous.

The motion was then carried, amid great acclamations.

Mr. J. F. LEWIS, of Virginia. I move that the chairman appoint a committee to wait upon Governor Hayes, and inform him of his unanimous nomination by this convention.

The PRESIDENT. How many?

Mr. LEWIS. Five

The chair put the motion, and it was carried.

#### VICE-PRESIDENT.

The nomination of a Vice-President being in order,—

Mr. POLAND, of Vermont. I nominate Hon. William A. Wheeler, of New York, on behalf of Vermont, for the Vice-Presidency.

Mr. E. R. HOAR, of Massachusetts, also nominated Marshall Jewell, of Connecticut, for that position.

Mr. T. C. PLATT, of New York, nominated Stewart L. Woodford, of New York.

A member of the Kansas delegation here moved that the states be called alphabetically, each to nominate its candidate for the office of Vice-President. The motion was agreed to.

On the call of Kentucky, Mr. Harlan responded, and said,—

*Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention:* I am directed, by the unanimous vote of the Kentucky delegation in this convention, to present for the high office of Vice-President of the United States that distinguished Republican leader and statesman, General Joseph R. Hawley, of the state of Connecticut.

Mr. Seldon, of Mississippi, said, when his state was called,—

*Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Convention:* I am requested by the Mississippi delegation to rise and second the nomination of one whom we believe will add strength and dignity to our ticket, especially in the South. It is very often the custom of conventions to pay but small attention to the nomination of the second man upon the ticket; but we have learned by bit-

ter experience in our country that it is as important that a good sound man should be placed upon the second place as upon the first. It is my pleasure, coming away from the Gulf as we do, to second the nomination of one living near the Lakes; and it is with pride and pleasure that Mississippi seconds the nomination of Stewart L. Woodford.

**Mr. PITNEY, of New Jersey.** *Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Convention:* I am directed, by the unanimous vote of the delegation from New Jersey, to present to this convention a name for the candidacy for the office of Vice-President of the United States. The name that I present is that of a man of spotless, untarnished reputation and character; a man whom the breath of slander has never dared to assail; one who, like Cæsar's wife, is in all respects above and beyond suspicion; a man who, during the dark days of the rebellion, devoted his whole time and energies in aiding the executive of his state in the great work of enlisting and equipping and forwarding to the front volunteers to aid in suppressing the rebellion; a man who has always served his state with great credit and ability, and, in a long course in the United States senate, has shown himself the peer of those who have stood by him there: a man who, in all times and in all circumstances, has proved himself to be a true Republican and a great statesman. The name I present is that of Frederick Theodore Frelinghuysen, of New Jersey.

**Mr. James, of New York,** briefly seconded the nomination of Mr. Wheeler for the office of Vice-President; and was followed by Mr. Russell, of Texas, who said:

*Fellow-Citizens of the Convention:* It is with great pleasure that I rise in this convention to make the nomination of that statesman and patriot from Connecticut—Marshall Jewell. There are other great names mentioned in connection with this position, fellow-citizens; but it is not disparaging to those other names to say that his is superior to any of them in all the qualities requisite to the second executive office of this nation. He is not unknown to the people of the United States. His dignity and cultured bearing at the court of the czar of Russia bears evidence of the highest type of American chivalry and lofty statesmanship. He has reformed the postal service of this country, and his mark is expressed all along the pathway he has made. He has held an honorable position in the cabinet of President Grant.

**Mr. Wheeler's** nomination having been seconded by the Pennsylvania delegation, the secretary proceeded to call the roll of states.

MR. WOODFORD WITHDRAWS.

When New York was called, Mr. Woodford took the platform and said:

*Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Convention:* It has always been my belief that no citizen should ask office, or refuse to serve the public when called on to do so, provided his business and personal obligations are such as to justify the assumption of official duty.

But to-day I am fortunately freed from all such decision. The vote of my delegation has been polled. Without any suggestion of mine, my name was mentioned. The majority of my delegation do not desire to present:

## OFFICIAL PROCEEDINGS OF THE

my name. In this I am certain they show their great good sense, and I am grateful for the privilege of working in the ranks of the party. Let me heartily assure you that all that lies in my power, from now to the ratification by the people of the work you do this day, will be most cordially done. Permit me to withdraw my name from the nomination.

The large number of votes cast for Mr. Wheeler plainly indicated that he was the choice of the convention; and, after the vote of South Carolina, which made 366 votes for Mr. Wheeler, Mr. Kellogg, of Connecticut, withdrew the name of Marshall Jewell, and moved that the rules be suspended, and that William A. Wheeler, of New York, be nominated by acclamation.

The motion was carried, and Mr. Wheeler declared the nominee for Vice-President.

As far as the ballot proceeded, it stood as follows:

STATES.	WHEELER	WOODFORD	JEWELL	HAWLEY	PERLINQVIST
Alabama	17		3		3
Arkansas	5	5			
California		12			
Colorado	6				
Connecticut	1		11		
Delaware	6				
Florida		8			
Georgia			23		
Illinois	42				
Indiana	2	20			1
Iowa	23				
Kansas	5	2			3
Kentucky					24
Louisiana	8	2			6
Maine	14				
Maryland			16		
Massachusetts	25		1		
Michigan	22				
Minnesota	10				
Mississippi	1	15			
Missouri	4		26		
Nebraska	6				
Nevada		6			
New Hampshire	10				13
New Jersey					
New York	70				
North Carolina	20				
Ohio	44				
Oregon	6				
Pennsylvania					53
Rhode Island	8				
South Carolina	12				2

Mr. Lewis, of Virginia, offered a resolution, returning thanks to the president of the convention for the able and impartial manner in which he had discharged his arduous duties. The resolution was amended so as to include the secretaries, sergeant-at-arms, and other officers of the convention, and the citizens of Cincinnati for their hospitality and kindness.

The resolution was unanimously adopted.

Mr. Benjamin Eggleston, of Cincinnati, then returned thanks to the convention, on behalf of the Republicans of Ohio, for the nominating of Governor Rutherford B. Hayes, for President.

AN ADDITION TO THE PLATFORM.

Mr. Smith, of New York, secretary of the committee on resolutions, offered the following, to be added to the platform:

We present as our candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States two distinguished statesmen, of eminent ability and character, and conspicuously fitted for those high offices, and we confidently appeal to the American people to intrust the administration of their public affairs to Rutherford B. Hayes and William A. Wheeler.

The resolution was adopted.

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

The convention then proceeded to appoint members of the Republican National Committee, as follows:

Alabama.....	Jere Haralson.	New Jersey.....	Geo. A. Halsey.
Arkansas.....	Powell Clayton.	New York.....	A. B. Cornell.
California.....	Geo. C. Gorham.	North Carolina....	Thos. B. Keogh.
Colorado.....	Samuel H. Elbert.	Ohio.....	A. T. Wikoff.
Connecticut.....	Marshall Jewell.	Oregon.....	H. W. Scott.
Delaware.....	Samuel M. Harrington.	Pennsylvania.....	Wm. H. Kemble.
Florida.....	Wm. J. Purman.	Rhode Island.....	L. W. Aldridge.
Georgia.....	James G. Deveau.	South Carolina...	John J. Patterson.
Illinois.....	James P. Root.	Tennessee.....	Wm. Rule.
Indiana.....	Will Cumback.	Texas.....	E. J. Davis.
Iowa.....	John Y. Stone.	Vermont.....	M. S. Colburn.
Kansas.....	John A. Martin.	Virginia.....	J. B. Sener.
Kentucky.....	W. C. Goodloe.	West Virginia.....	John W. Mason.
Louisiana.....	P. B. S. Pinchback.	Wisconsin.....	Elihu Enos.
Maine.....	Wm. P. Frye.	Arizona.....	R. C. McCormick.
Maryland.....	Chas. C. Fulton.	Dakota.....	Newton Edmunds.
Massachusetts.....	John M. Forbes.	Idaho.....	Thomas Donaldson.
Michigan.....	Z. Chandler.	Montana.....	Alex. H. Beattie.
Minnesota.....	John T. Averill.	New Mexico.....	Stephen B. Elkins.
Mississippi.....	G. M. Buchanan.	Utah.....	John R. McBride.
Missouri.....	Chauncey I. Filley.	District of Columbia...	S. J. Bowen.
Nebraska.....	L. W. Osborn.	Washington .....	Orange Jacobs.
Nevada.....	John P. Jones.	Wyoming.....	Jos. M. Carey.
New Hampshire...	Wm. E. Chandler.		

The president read the following dispatch from Hon. James G. Blaine:

WASHINGTON, D. C.

*To the Hon. Eugene Hale:*

I hope you will find it convenient to stop in Columbus and bear my congratulations and sincere personal respects and regards to Governor Hayes.

JAMES G. BLAINE.

Mr. W. A. Howard moved that a committee of one from each state be appointed by the chair, to wait on the candidates and give them formal

notice of their nomination. This was agreed to; and the chairman stated that he would make the appointments in the evening at his hotel, which he did, as appears below.

This completed the work of the convention, and thereupon it adjourned.

In pursuance of authority conferred upon the undersigned by the Republican National Convention, he has appointed the following named persons, being one from each state and territory, as a committee, with the president of the convention, to inform Governor Hayes of his nomination for the office of President of the United States, and to request his acceptance of it, and of the resolutions adopted by the convention:

Alabama.....	Willard Warner.	New Jersey.....	W. A. Newell.
Arkansas.....	Powell Clayton.	New York.....	J. W. Husted.
California.....	Alex. G. Abell.	North Carolina....	Thomas Powers.
Colorado.....	J. B. Chaffee.	Ohio.....	B. Eggleston.
Connecticut.....	Joseph R. Hawley.	Oregon.....	J. C. Tolman.
Delaware.....	J. R. Lofland.	Pennsylvania.....	J. D. Cameron.
Florida.....	S. B. Conover.	Rhode Island.....	C. C. Van Zandt.
Georgia.....	B. Chamberlain.	South Carolina.....	Jos. H. Rainey.
Illinois.....	George S. Bangs.	Tennessee.....	Jacob M. Thornberg.
Indiana.....	Will Cumback.	Texas.....	Edmund J. Davis.
Iowa.....	Hiram Price.	Vermont.....	Luke P. Poland.
Kansas.....	J. P. Lowe.	Virginia.....	John F. Lewis.
Kentucky.....	William C. Goodloe.	West Virginia....	Joseph W. Davis.
Louisiana.....	S. B. Packard.	Wisconsin.....	Elisha W. Keyes.
Maine.....	Eugene Hale.	Arizona.....	R. C. McCormick.
Maryland.....	W. G. Tuck.	Dakota.....	Alexander Hughes.
Massachusetts.....	E. R. Hoar.	District of Columbia...	S. J. Bowen.
Michigan.....	William A. Howard.	Idaho.....	D. W. Thompson.
Minnesota.....	Alexander Ramsey.	Montana.....	W. F. Sanders.
Mississippi.....	B. K. Bruce.	New Mexico.....	S. B. Axtell.
Missouri.....	Augustus St. Gem.	Utah.....	James B. McKean.
Nebraska.....	N. R. Pinney.	Washington.....	Orange Jacobs.
Nevada.....	J. P. Jones.	Wyoming.....	J. M. Carey.
New Hampshire.....	E. A. Straw.		

The committee will leave for Columbus at 1:30 P. M. to-day.

EDWARD MCPHERSON.

*President of the National Convention.*

CINCINNATI, Ohio, June 17, 1876

In accordance with the above notice, the committee, appointed to convey to Governor Hayes the official notification of his nomination, proceeded to Columbus from Cincinnati, headed by Mr. McPherson, the president of the convention. They proceeded to the executive chamber in the state house at 9 o'clock, where Governor Hayes received them. Mr. McPherson spoke as follows:

*Governor Hayes:* We have been deputed by the national convention of the Republican party, held at Cincinnati on the 14th of the present month, to inform you officially that you have been unanimously nominated by that convention for the office of President of the United States. The manner

in which that action was taken, and the response to it from every portion of the country, attest the strength of the popular confidence in you, and the belief that your administration will be wise, courageous, and just. We say, sir, your administration, for we believe the people will confirm the action of the convention, and thus save the country from the control of the men and the operation of the principles and policy of the Democratic party. We have also been directed to ask your attention to the summary of Republican doctrine contained in the platform adopted by the convention: and discharging this agreeable duty we find cause for congratulation. In the harmonious action of the convention and the hearty response given by the people, we see the promise of assured success. Ohio, we know, trusts and honors you. Henceforth you belong to the whole country. Under circumstances so auspicious, we trust you will indicate your acceptance of the nomination.

Governor Hayes replied:

Sir: I have only to say, in response to your information, that I accept the nomination. Perhaps at the present time it would be improper for me to say more than this, although even now I should be glad to give some expression to the profound gratitude I feel for the confidence reposed in me by yourselves and those for whom you act. At a future time I shall take occasion to present my acceptance in writing, with my views upon the platform.

Subsequently, the following letter of acceptance was received from Governor Hayes:

COLUMBUS, Ohio, July 8, 1876.

Hon. Edward McPherson, Hon. William A. Howard, Hon. Joseph H. Rainey, and others, Committee of the Republican National Convention:

GENTLEMEN: In reply to your official communication of June 17, by which I am informed of my nomination for the office of President of the United States by the Republican National Convention at Cincinnati, I accept the nomination with gratitude, hoping that, under Providence, I shall be able, if elected, to execute the duties of the high office as a trust for the benefit of all the people.

I do not deem it necessary to enter upon any extended examination of the declaration of principles made by the convention. The resolutions are in accord with my views, and I heartily concur in the principles they announce. In several of the resolutions, however, questions are considered which are of such importance that I deem it proper briefly to express my convictions in regard to them. The fifth resolution adopted by the convention is of paramount interest. More than forty years ago a system of making appointments to office grew up, based upon the maxim "To the victors belong the spoils." The old rule, the true rule, that honesty, capacity, and fidelity constitute the only real qualifications for office, and that there is no other claim, gave place to the idea that party services were to be chiefly considered. All parties, in practice, have adopted this system. It has been essentially modified since its first introduction; it has not, however, been improved. At first, the President, either directly or through the heads of departments, made all the appointments. But gradually the appointing power, in many cases, passed into the control of members of congress. The offices in these cases have become not merely rewards for party services, but rewards for services to party leaders. This system destroys the independence of the separate departments of the government. It tends directly to extravagance and official incapacity; it is a temptation to dishonesty; it hinders and impairs that careful supervision and strict accountability by which alone faithful and efficient public service can be secured; it obstructs the prompt removal and sure punishment of the unworthy; in every way it degrades the civil service and the character of the government. It is felt, I am confident,



by a large majority of the members of congress, to be an intolerable burden and an unwarrantable hindrance to the proper discharge of their legitimate duties. It ought to be abolished. The reform should be thorough, radical, and complete. We should return to the principles and practice of the founders of the government, supplying by legislation, when needed, that which was formerly the established custom. They neither expected nor desired from the public officers any partisan service. They meant that public officers should give their whole service to the government and to the people. They meant that the officer should be secure in his tenure as long as his personal character remained untarnished, and the performance of his duties satisfactory. If elected, I shall conduct the administration of the government upon these principles, and all constitutional powers vested in the executive will be employed to establish this reform.

The declaration of principles by the Cincinnati convention makes no announcement in favor of a single Presidential term. I do not assume to add to that declaration, but, believing that the restoration of the civil service to the system established by Washington, and followed by the early Presidents, can be best accomplished by an executive who is under no temptation to use the patronage of his office to promote his own re-election, I desire to perform what I regard as a duty in stating now my inflexible purpose, if elected not to be a candidate for election to a second term.

On the currency question I have frequently expressed my views in public, and I stand by my record on this subject. I regard all the laws of the United States relating to the payment of the public indebtedness, the legal tender notes included, as constituting a pledge and moral obligation of the government which must in good faith be kept. It is my conviction that the feeling of uncertainty, inseparable from an irredeemable paper currency, with its fluctuations of value, is one of the great obstacles to a revival of confidence and business, and to a return of prosperity. That uncertainty can be ended in but one way,—the resumption of specie payments. But the longer the instability of our money system is permitted to continue, the greater will be the injury inflicted upon our economical interests, and all classes of society. If elected, I shall approve every appropriate measure to accomplish the desired end, and shall oppose any step backward.

The resolution with respect to the public school system is one which should receive the hearty support of the American people. Agitation upon this subject is to be apprehended, until by constitutional amendment the schools are placed beyond all danger of sectarian control or interference. The Republican party is pledged to secure such an amendment.

The resolution of the convention on the subject of the permanent pacification of the country, and the complete protection of all its citizens in the free enjoyment of all their constitutional rights, is timely and of great importance. The condition of the Southern States attracts the attention and commands the sympathy of the people of the whole Union. In their progressive recovery from the effects of the war, their first necessity is an intelligent and honest administration of government, which will protect all classes of citizens in their official and private rights. What the South most needs is "peace," and peace depends upon the supremacy of the law. There can be no enduring peace if the constitutional rights of any portion of the people are habitually disregarded. A division of political parties resting merely upon sectional lines is always unfortunate, and may be disastrous. The welfare of the South, alike with that of every other part of this country, depends upon the attractions it can offer to labor and immigration, and to capital. But laborers will not go, and capital will not be ventured, where the constitution and the laws are set at defiance, and distraction, apprehension, and alarm take the place of peace-loving and law-abiding social life. All parts of the constitution are sacred, and must be sacredly observed,—the parts that are new, no less than the parts that are old. The moral and national prosperity of

the Southern states can be most effectually advanced by a hearty and generous recognition of the rights of all by all,—a recognition without reserve or exception. With such a recognition fully accorded, it will be practicable to promote, by the influence of all legitimate agencies of the general government, the efforts of the people of those states to obtain for themselves the blessings of honest and capable local government. If elected, I shall consider it not only my duty, but it will be my ardent desire, to labor for the attainment of this end. Let me assure my countrymen of the Southern states that if I shall be charged with the duty of organizing an administration, it will be one which will regard and cherish their truest interests,—the interests of the white and of the colored people both, and equally; and which will put forth its best efforts in behalf of a civil policy which will wipe out forever the distinction between North and South in our common country.

With a civil service organized upon a system which will secure purity, experience, efficiency, and economy, a strict regard for the public welfare in appointments, and the speedy, thorough, and unsparing prosecution and punishment of all public officers who betray official trusts; with a sound currency; with education, unsectarian and free to all; with simplicity and frugality in public and private affairs; and with a fraternal spirit of harmony pervading the people of all sections and classes, we may reasonably hope that the second century of our existence as a nation will, by the blessing of God, be pre-eminent as an era of good feeling, and a period of progress, prosperity, and happiness.

Very respectfully, your fellow-citizen,

R. B. HAYES.

MR. WHEELER'S LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE.

MALONE, July 15, 1876.

Hon. Edward McPherson, and others, of the Committee of the Republican National Convention:

GENTLEMEN: I received, on the 6th instant, your communication advising me that I had been unanimously nominated by the national convention of the Republican party, held at Cincinnati on the 14th ultimo, for the office of Vice-President of the United States, and requesting my acceptance of same, and asking my attention to the summary of Republican doctrines contained in the platform adopted by the convention.

A nomination made with such unanimity implies a confidence on the part of the convention which inspires my profound gratitude. It is accepted with a sense of the responsibility which may follow. If elected, I shall endeavor to perform the duties of the office in the fear of the Supreme Ruler, and in the interest of the whole country.

To the summary of doctrines enunciated by the convention I give my cordial assent. The Republican party has intrenched in the organic law of our land the doctrine that liberty is the supreme, unchangeable law for every foot of American soil. It is the mission of that party to give full effect to this principle by "securing to every American citizen complete liberty and exact equality in the exercise of all civil, political, and public rights." This will be accomplished only when the American citizen, without regard to color, shall wear this panoply of citizenship as fully and as securely in the canebrakes of Louisiana as on the banks of the St. Lawrence.

Upon the question of our Southern relations, my views were recently expressed as a member of the committee of the United States house of representatives upon Southern affairs. These views remain unchanged, and were thus expressed: We of the North delude ourselves in expecting that the masses of the South, so far behind in many of the attributes of enlightened

improvement and civilization, are, in the brief period of ten or fifteen years, to be transformed into our model Northern communities. That can only come through a long course of patient waiting to which no one can now set certain bounds.

There will be a good deal of unavoidable friction which will call for forbearance, and which will have to be relieved by the temperate, fostering care of the government. One of the most potent if not indispensable agencies in this direction will be devising of some system to aid in the education of the masses. The fact that there are whole counties in Louisiana in which there is not a solitary school-house is full of suggestion. We compelled these people to remain in the Union, and now duty and interest demand that we leave no just means untried to make them good, loyal citizens.

How to diminish the friction, how to stimulate the elevation of this portion of the country, are problems addressing themselves to our best and wisest statesmanship. The foundation for these efforts must be laid in satisfying the Southern people that they are to have equal, exact justice accorded to them. Give them to the fullest extent every blessing which the government confers upon the most favored. Give them no just cause for complaint, and then hold them, by every necessary means, to an exact, rigid observance of all their duties and obligations, under the constitution and its amendments, to secure to all within their borders manhood and citizenship, with every right thereto belonging.

The just obligations to public creditors created when the government was in the throes of threatened dissolution, and as an indispensable condition of its salvation, guaranteed by the lives and blood of thousands of its brave defenders, are to be kept with religious faith, as are all the pledges subsidiary thereto and confirmatory thereof.

In my judgment, the pledge of congress of Jan. 14, 1875, for the redemption of the notes of the United States in coin, is the plighted faith of the nation; and national honor, simple honesty, and justice to the people whose permanent welfare and prosperity are dependent upon true money as the basis of their pecuniary transactions, all demand the scrupulous observance of this pledge, and it is the duty of congress to supplement it with such legislation as shall be necessary for its strict fulfilment.

In our system of government, intelligence must give safety and value to the ballot;—hence the common schools of the land should be preserved in all their vigor, while in accordance with the spirit of the constitution, they and all their endowments should be secured by every possible and proper guaranty against every form of sectarian influence or control.

There should be the strictest economy in expenditures of government consistent with its effective administration, and all unnecessary offices should be abolished. Offices should be conferred only upon the basis of high character and particular fitness, and should be administered only as public trusts, and not for private advantage.

The foregoing are chief among the cardinal principles of the Republican party, and to carry them into full, practical effect is the work it now has in hand. To the completion of its great mission we address ourselves in hope and confidence, cheered and stimulated by the recollection of its past achievements,—remembering that, under God, it is to that party that we are indebted in this centennial year of our existence for a preserved, unbroken Union; for the fact that there is no master or slave throughout our broad domains; and that emancipated millions look upon the ensign of the republic as the symbol of the fulfilled declaration that all men are created free and equal, and the guaranty of their own equality, under the law, with the most highly favored citizen of the land.

To the intelligence and conscience of all who desire good government, good-will, good money, and universal prosperity, the Republican party, not

unmindful of the imperfections and shortcomings of human organizations,  
 yet with the honest purposes of its masses promptly to retrieve all errors and  
 to summarily punish all offenders against the laws of the country, confidently  
 submits its claims for the continued support of the American people.

Respectfully,

WILLIAM A. WHEELER.



APPENDIX.

ROLL OF DELEGATES AND ALTERNATES

TO THE

# Republican National Convention

HELD AT

CINCINNATI, OHIO, JUNE 14, 15 AND 16, 1876.

With Post Office Address of Each.

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TOGETHER WITH A STATEMENT OF NUMBER OF DELEGATES TO WHICH EACH STATE WAS  
ENTITLED; NAMES OF OFFICERS OF THE NATIONAL, CONGRESSIONAL AND  
STATE COMMITTEES, AND THE CALLS AND

PLATFORMS OF ALL THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTIONS  
SINCE 1856.

# NAMES AND POST OFFICE ADDRESS OF DELEGATES AND ALTERNATES TO THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION OF 1876.

ALABAMA.	
DELEGATES.	ALTERNATES.
	AT LARGE.
Jeremiah Haralson.	Janus Q. Smith.
Willard Warner.	Charles W. Buckley.
Samuel F. Rice.	George M. Duskln.
Wm. H. Smith.	George F. Sommerville.
	DISTRICTS.
1—Morris D. Wickersham.	.....
Frank H. Threatt.	.....
2—Robert A. Knox.	Patrick Robinson.
Hershal D. Cashin.	George W. Sewell.
3—M. S. Patterson.	James R. Treadwell.
Robert T. Smith.	J. A. C. Parker.
4—James V. McDuffie.	.....
Green S. W. Lewis.	.....
5—Charles H. Miller.	.....
William H. Nichols.	.....
6—J. A. Cowdery.	.....
William Miller.	.....
7—Joseph W. Burke.	.....
Robert A. Mosely.	.....
8—J. R. Coffrey.	.....
Thomas Masterson.	.....

ARKANSAS.	
DELEGATES.	
Powell Clayton.....	Washington, D. C.
S. W. Dorsey.....	Washington, D. C.
John M. Peck.....	Washington, D. C.
John McClure.....	Little Rock
M. W. Benjamin.....	Little Rock
Joseph Brooks.....	Little Rock
Henry M. Cooper.....	Little Rock
Asa Hodges.....	Little Rock
James Torrans.....	Little Rock
M. W. Gibbs.....	Little Rock
O. A. Hadley.....	Little Rock
O. P. Snyder.....	Pine Bluff
R. A. Dawson.....	Pine Bluff
J. F. Vaughn.....	Pine Bluff
J. H. Clendenning.....	Fort Smith
Wm. Keener.....	Yellville
H. A. Millen.....	Camden
R. A. Caldwell.....	Fayetteville
John H. Johnson.....	Augusta
W. P. Walsh.....	Hot Springs
J. N. Sarber.....	Clarksville
E. A. Fulton.....	Monticello
Frank Gallagher.....	Clarendon
C. C. Waters.....	Helena.

CALIFORNIA.	
AT LARGE.	
Alexander G. Abell.....	San Francisco.
Charles F. Reed.....	Tolo co.
George S. Evans.....	San Joaquin co.
J. M. PePirce.....	San Diego co.
DISTRICTS.	
1—Isaac Hecht.....	San Francisco.
John Martin.....	San Francisco.
2—L. H. Foote.....	Sacramento.
E. H. Dyer.....	Alameda.
3—A. P. Whitney.....	Sonora.
N. D. Rideout.....	Yuba.
4—Josiah Belden.....	Santa Clara.
M. E. Gonzales.....	Monterey.

COLORADO.

DELEGATES.

Jerome B. Chaffee.....Denver.  
J. B. Belford.....Central City.  
John L. Routt.....Central City.  
W. B. Osborn.....Greeley.  
Henry McAllister.....Colorado Springs.  
George W. Morgan.....Pueblo.

ALTERNATES.

J. M. Paul.....Fair Play.  
W. H. Woods.....Central City.  
Daniel Ransom.....Boulder City.  
A. B. Osborn.....Laramie co.  
H. R. Crosby.....La Plata co.  
T. C. Bowen.....San Juan co.

CONNECTICUT.

AT LARGE.

Joseph R. Hawley.....Hartford.  
Stephen W. Kellogg.....Waterbury.  
Joseph Selden.....Norwich.  
John T. Rockwell.....Winsted.

DISTRICTS.

1—Martin J. Sheldon.....Suffield.  
Dwight Marcy.....Rockville.  
2—Lynde Harrison.....New Haven.  
John M. Douglass.....Middletown.  
3—John A. Tibbits.....New London.  
John M. Hall.....Willimantic.  
4—Samuel Fessenden.....Stanford  
Wm. B. Rudd.....Lakeville.

DELAWARE.

Eli R. Sharp.....Seaford, Sussex co.  
David W. Moore.....Laurel, Sussex co.  
J. H. Hoffecker.....Smyrna, Kent co.  
J. R. Lofland.....Milford, Kent co.  
James Scott.....  
.....Wilmington, Newcastle co.  
R. G. Smith.....  
.....Middletown, Newcastle co.

Jacob Moore.....  
.....Georgetown, Sussex co.  
Daniel I. Laybod.....  
.....Georgetown, Sussex co.  
John T. Jakes.....Wyoming, Kent co.  
John Dounhan.....  
.....Canterbury, Kent co.  
L. D. Cappin.....  
.....Wilmington, Newcastle co.  
J. H. Hoffecker, Jr.....  
.....Wilmington, Newcastle co.

FLORIDA.

AT LARGE.

S. C. Conover.....  
W. J. Purman.....  
John G. Long.....  
John R. Scott.....

DISTRICTS.

1—Manuel Gorin.....  
Peter W. Bryant.....  
2—Harrison Reed.....  
J. W. Menard.....

GEORGIA.

AT LARGE.

Henry P. Farrow.....Atlanta.  
James Atkins.....Savannah.  
Henry M. Turner.....Savannah.  
George Wallace.....Macon.

William H. Smyth.....Atlanta.  
Eugene R. Belcher.....Augusta.  
Benjamin Conley.....Atlanta.  
W. J. White.....Augusta.

DISTRICTS.

1—John H. De Vaux.....Savannah.  
J. T. Collins.....Brunswick.  
2—Edward C. Wade.....Quitman.  
Francis F. Putney.....Albany.  
3—S. Wise Parker.....Americus.  
Elbert Head.....Americus.  
4—Randolph L. Mott.....Columbus.  
Walter H. Johnson.....West Point.  
5—George B. Chamberlin.....Atlanta.  
Jones O. Winbush.....Atlanta.

W. M. Craft.....Savannah.  
Stephen T. Moore.....Savannah.  
Charles L. Bradwell.....Thomasville.  
William H. Noble.....Albany.  
Peter Griffin.....Americus.  
Curtis Bell.....Columbus.  
John M. Ward.....West Point.  
L. W. Wimby.....Atlanta.  
George W. Ware.....Atlanta.



GEORGIA—*Cont.*

DELEGATES.	DISTRICTS.	ALTERNATES.
6—Jefferson F. Long.....Macon.	.....George Wallace.....Macon.	
James B. De Vaux.....Macon.	.....W. W. Brown.....Macon.	
7—William L. Goodwin.....Cartersville.	.....W. H. Higginbotham.....Rome.	
J. N. Van Meter.....Kingston.	.....Jesse A. Glenn.....Dalton.	
8—Edwin Belcher.....Augusta.	.....J. W. Lyons.....Augusta.	
C. H. Prince.....Augusta.	.....John Heard.....Greensboro.	
9—Isham S. Fannin.....Augusta.	.....Jefferson J. Findley.....Gainesville.	
Madison Davis.....Athens.	.....Richard S. Taylor.....Athens.	

## ILLINOIS.

## AT LARGE.

Joseph Robbins.....Quincy.	.....H. H. Spencer.....Cairo.
Robert G. Ingersoll.....Peoria.	.....Cairo D. Trimble.....Ottawa.
Green B. Raum.....Golconda.	.....R. W. McLaughry.....Joliet.
George S. Bangs.....Chicago.	.....E. B. Warner.....Sterling.

## DISTRICTS.

1—Sydney Smith.....Chicago.	.....Geo. M. How.....Chicago.
George M. Bogue.....Chicago.	.....L. C. Clark.....Chicago.
2—John McArthur.....Chicago.	.....U. R. Hawley.....Chicago.
S. K. Dow.....Chicago.	.....E. B. Sherman.....Chicago.
3—F. W. Palmer.....Chicago.	.....H. F. Waite.....Waukegan.
Charles B. Farwell.....Chicago.	.....A. L. Chetlain.....Chicago.
4—William Coffin.....Batavia.	.....W. H. Watson.....Aurora.
E. E. Ayers.....Harvard.	.....G. A. Pfiffrangle.....Aurora.
5—R. L. Burchell.....Erie.	.....S. D. Atkins.....Freeport.
Alexander Walker.....Stillman's Valley.	.....I. C. Smith.....Galena.
6—A. R. Mock.....Cambridge.	.....A. S. Comstock.....Cambridge.
Joel W. Hopkins.....Granville.	.....A. G. Scott.....Quincy.
7—Jeremiah Everts.....Yorkville.	.....James Hastings.....Minooka.
George N. Chittenden.....Joliet.	.....E. Henderson.....Mendota.
8—Joseph F. Culver.....Pontiac.	.....Charles Holt.....Kankakee.
A. Buck.....Kankakee.	.....J. J. Cassells.....El Paso.
9—Thomas A. Boyd.....Lewiston.	.....George V. Dietrich.....Galesburg.
Enoch Emery.....Peoria.	.....Miles A. Fuller.....Toulon.
10—D. G. Tunncliffe.....Carthage.	.....Edgar L. Larkin.....New Windsor.
David McDill.....Biggsville.	.....Daniel Wilcox.....Quincy.
11—J. M. Davis.....Carrollton.	.....I. N. Allen.....Mt. Sterling.
George W. Ware.....Jerseyville.	.....Horace Chapin.....Jacksonville.
12—William Prescott.....Springfield.	.....L. H. Tichenon.....Springfield.
N. W. Branson.....Petersburg.	.....James Tuttle.....Atlanta.
13—C. R. Cummings.....Pekin.	.....B. F. Funk.....Bloomington.
R. E. Latham.....Lincoln.	.....J. C. Walker.....Tuscola.
14—D. D. Evans.....Danville.	.....James H. Clark.....Mattoon.
L. J. Bond.....Monticello.	.....Geo. D. Chaffee.....Shelbyville.
15—Benson Wood.....Effingham.	.....W. O. Pinnell.....Paris.
Thomas J. Golden.....Marshall.	.....Rufus E. Cope.....Flora.
16—James S. Martin.....Salem.	.....I. M. Truett.....Hillsboro.
George S. McCord.....Greenville.	.....James R. Miller.....Collinsville.
17—John I. Rinaker.....Carlinville.	.....John M. Pearson.....Godfrey.
H. S. Baker.....Alton.	.....J. M. Neeley.....Duquoin.
18—William McAdams.....Chester.	.....George W. McKeag.....Cairo.
Isaac Clements.....Carbondale.	.....Robert Bell.....Mt. Carmel.
19—C. D. Ham.....Mt. Vernon.	.....Thomas W. Scott.....Fairfield.
W. A. Robinson.....Fairfield.	

## INDIANA.

## AT LARGE.

Richard W. Thompson.....Terre Haute.	.....Isaac Jenkinsen.....Richmond.
Will Cumbach.....Greensburgh.	.....Charles H. Mason.....Cannelton.
James N. Tyner.....Peru.	.....Henry A. Matison.....Evansville.
Thomas M. Browne.....Winchester.	.....David C. Branham.....Madison.

## DISTRICTS.

1—William Hellman.....Evansville.	.....Robert Nichols.....Evansville.
R. T. Kercheval.....Rockport.	.....Jas. C. Denny.....Washington.
2—Laz Noble.....Vincennes.	.....S. M. Smith.....Sullivan.
N. R. Peckinpugh.....Leavenworth.	.....A. W. Springer.....Sullivan.

INDIANA—*Cont.*

DELEGATES.	DISTRICTS.	ALTERNATES.
3—J. H. McCampbell.....Charleston	.....John P. Clark.....Brownstown.	.....James B. Hicks.....Salem.
Simeon Stansifer.....Columbus	.....A. D. Vanarsdel.....Madison.	.....John B. Coles.....Rising Sun.
4—J. H. Tripp.....North Vernon.	.....Asahel Stone.....Winchester.	.....Chester Meeker.....Connersville.
William J. Baird.....Vevay.	.....S. P. Oyler.....Franklin.	.....W. R. Hough.....Greenfield.
5—R. M. Haworth.....Liberty.	.....G. H. Williamson.....Green Castle.	.....G. W. Grubbs.....Martinsville.
John Schwartz.....Lawrenceburg.	.....Charles Craft.....Terre Haute.	.....J. A. Y. Cummings.....Brazil.
6—Simon T. Powell.....New Castle.	.....P. S. Kennedy.....Crawfordsville.	.....Samuel H. Doyle.....Frankfort.
Asbury Steele.....Marion.	.....A. B. Wade.....Rensselaer.	.....C. D. Wood.....Winamac.
7—L. M. Campbell.....Danville.	.....C. C. Cowgill.....Wabash.	.....S. D. Taylor.....Tipton.
J. C. S. Harrison.....Indianapolis.	.....J. W. Baker.....Columbia City.	.....William M. Twibill.....Hartford City.
8—Amzi L. Munson.....Mitchell.	.....John P. Jones.....La Grange.	.....John W. Irwin.....Elkhart.
William K. Edwards.....Terre Haute.		
9—M. H. Bunnell.....Lebanon.		
Henry Taylor.....La Fayette.		
10—E. S. Merrifield.....Valparaiso.		
Edwin Nicar.....South Bend.		
11—K. G. Shyrook.....Rochester.		
J. R. Gray.....Noblesville.		
12—George Arnold.....Bluffton.		
A. W. DeLong.....Huntington.		
13—B. L. Davenport.....Goshen.		
James S. Frazer.....Warsaw.		

IOWA.

AT LARGE.

Hiram Price.....Davenport.	.....Samuel P. Merrill.....Polk.
James F. Wilson.....Fairfield.	.....C. F. Clarkson.....Grundy.
John Y. Stone.....Mills.	.....Alexander Clark.....Muscatine.
Geo. D. Perkins.....Woodbury.	.....A. W. Thomas.....Allamakee.

DISTRICTS.

1—Frank Hatton.....Burlington.	.....Geo. A. Henry.....Van Buren co.
Samuel M. Clarke.....Keokuk	.....Geo. W. McAdam.....Henry co.
2—Wm. T. Shaw.....Anamosa.	.....Jerome Caskshaddan.....Muscatine co.
E. S. Bailey.....Clinton.	.....B. F. Thomas.....Jackson co.
3—W. G. Donnan.....Buchanan co.	.....Samuel Murdock.....Clayton co.
A. F. Tipton.....Clayton co.	.....Joseph Hobson.....Fayette co.
4—S. W. Mackenzie.....Franklin co.	.....A. A. Noyes.....Cerro Gordo co.
J. H. Brush.....Mitchell co.	.....John Mabin.....Black Hawk co.
5—S. F. Cooper.....Benton co.	.....E. C. McMillan.....Marshall co.
E. T. Johnson.....Benton co.	.....Leander Clark.....Tama co.
6—R. L. Tilden.....Wapello co.	.....Val Mendal.....Monroe co.
S. G. Smith.....Jasper co.	.....C. Mastellar.....Marion co.
7—J. J. Steadman.....Clarke co.	.....J. J. Hutchings.....Madison co.
R. C. Webb.....Polk co.	.....J. O. Parish.....Decatur co.
8—John T. Baldwin.....Pottawattamie co.	.....G. W. Beymer.....Union co.
M. L. Brooks.....Taylor co.	.....N. Hanna.....Montgomery co.
9—A. C. Call.....Kossuth co.	.....L. G. Coffin.....Webster co.
J. D. Hunter.....Hamilton co.	.....E. J. Hartshorn.....Palo Alto co.

KANSAS.

David P. Lowe.....Fort Scott.	.....E. A. Wasser.....Girard, Crawford co.
F. M. Shaw.....Paola, Miami co.	.....John T. Lanter.....Garnett, Anderson co.
T. Dwight Thacher.....Lawrence, Douglas co.	.....G. W. Higginbotham.....Manhattan, Riley co.
A. L. Redden.....Eldorado, Butler co.	.....James Burgess.....Topeka, Shawnee co.
O. H. Sheldon.....Burlingame, Osage co.	.....C. L. Hubbs.....Kinsley, Eldorado co.
Cyrus Leland, Jr.....Troy, Doniphan co.	.....D. H. Baker.....Salina, Saline co.
A. J. Banta.....Beloit, Mitchell co.	.....G. W. Shriner.....Washington, Washington co.
Albert H. Horton.....Atchison, Atchison co.	.....John K. Wright.....Junction City, Davis co.
T. C. Sears.....Ottawa, Franklin co.	.....R. B. Taylor.....Wyandotte, Wyandotte co.
William Martindale.....Madison, Greenwood co.	.....R. W. P. Muse.....Newton, Harvey co.

## OFFICIAL PROCEEDINGS OF THE

## KENTUCKY.

## DELEGATES.

## AT LARGE.

J. M. Harlan.....Louisville.  
W. H. Wadsworth.....Maysville.  
W. C. Goodloe.....Lexington.  
Robert Boyd.....London.

## ALTERNATES.

John B. Bowman.....Lexington.  
W. J. Berry.....Hartford.  
J. C. Jackson.....Lexington.  
James Bell.....Lancaster.

## DISTRICTS.

1—J. T. Long.....Princeton.  
J. R. Puryear.....Paducah.  
2—E. H. Murray.....Louisville.  
E. R. Weer, Sr.....Greenville.  
3—E. L. Motley.....Bowling Green.  
E. G. Sebree.....Trenton.  
4—W. H. Hays.....Springfield.  
T. E. Burns.....Lebanon.  
5—James Speed.....Louisville.  
Madison Minnis.....Louisville.  
6—J. J. Landram.....Warsaw.  
J. W. Finnell.....Covington.  
7—T. O. Shackelford.....Shelbyville.  
Gabriel Burdett.....Nicholasville.  
8—A. R. Burnam.....Richmond.  
T. Z. Morrow.....Somerset.  
9—J. H. Wilson.....London.  
H. C. Rainey.....Mt. Sterling.  
10—W. W. Culbertson.....  
Reuben Gudgeall.....

Edwin Farley.....Paducah.  
J. T. Long.....Eddyville.  
E. C. Hubbard.....Hartford.  
C. J. Pratt.....Madisonville.  
W. G. Hunter.....Burksville.  
J. N. Henry.....Glasgow.  
O. P. Ross.....Elizabethtown.  
H. Scott.....Hardinsburg.  
W. Krippenstaple.....Louisville.  
W. H. Ward.....Louisville.  
Wm. Blackburn.....Covington.  
C. P. Wilcox.....Covington.  
Thomas Todd.....Shelbyville.  
E. W. Hammond.....Paris.  
W. H. Lucas.....Danville.  
Wm. Berkle.....Lancaster.  
J. H. Wilson.....Barbourville.  
A. J. Auxler.....Piketon.  
N. Cooper.....  
D. W. Steele.....

## LOUISIANA.

## AT LARGE.

William P. Kellogg.....New Orleans.  
S. B. Packard.....New Orleans.  
P. B. S. Pinchback.....New Orleans.  
W. G. Brown.....New Orleans.

## DISTRICTS.

1—C. J. Adolphe.....  
W. F. Loan.....  
2—H. Dumas.....  
R. H. Chadbourne.....  
3—Chester B. Darrall.....  
Pierre Landry.....  
4—George L. Smith.....  
J. Y. Kelso.....  
5—David Young.....  
G. B. Hamlet.....  
6—C. E. Nash.....  
J. H. Burch.....

Y. H. Campbell.....Orleans Parish.  
W. R. Chapman.....Jefferson Parish.  
George Drury.....Assumption Parish.  
Samuel Wakefield.....Iberia Parish.  
W. J. Q. Baker.....Ouachita Parish.  
J. Ross Stewart.....Tensas Parish.  
E. L. Weber.....  
West Feliciana Parish.  
J. E. Breaux.....Point Coupee Parish.

## MAINE.

## AT LARGE.

Nelson Dingley, Jr.....Lewiston.  
Josiah H. Drummond.....Portland.  
John L. Stevens.....Augusta.  
Frank Cobb.....Rockland.

Charles Hamlin.....Presque Isle.  
Jos. H. West.....Franklin.  
W. H. Rounds.....Richmond.  
Thomas Tarbox.....Biddeford.

## DISTRICTS.

1—John B. Brown.....Portland.  
James M. Stone.....Kennebunk.  
2—W. P. Frye.....Lewiston.  
Enoch Foster, Jr.....Bethel.  
3—R. B. Shepherd.....Skowhegan.  
Edwin Flye.....New Castle.  
4—Chas. A. Boutelle.....Bangor.  
Josiah B. Mayo.....Foxcroft.  
5—Eugene Hale.....Ellsworth.  
S. L. Milliken.....Belfast.

Stanley T. Pullen.....Portland.  
Frederic Robie.....Portland.  
J. W. Wakefield.....  
Nelson Dingley.....  
W. H. Bigelow.....Readfield.  
Henry H. Lovell.....Waldoboro.  
Henry R. Downes.....Presque Isle.  
J. L. Crosby.....  
John S. Case.....Rockland.  
Ambrose White.....Bucksport.

MARYLAND.

DELEGATES.	AT LARGE.	ALTERNATES.
Joseph B. Pugh.....	.....	.....
.....Port Deposit, Cecil co.	.....	.....
John L. Thomas, Jr.....	.....	.....
.....Baltimore, Baltimore co.	.....	.....
C. C. Fulton.....	.....	.....
.....Baltimore, Baltimore co.	.....	.....
Edward Wilkins.....	.....	.....
.....Chestertown, Kent co.	.....	.....

DISTRICTS.

1—E. G. Waters.....	Cambridge.	J. C. Mullikin .....
William Perkins .....	Cambridge.	Joseph Godfrey .....
2—John T. Ensor.....	.....	J. J. Weaver.....
.....Towsontown, Baltimore co.	.....	.....
W. A. McKillup.....	Westminster.	H. C. Longnecker...Towsontown.
3—Robert Turner.....	Baltimore.	N. C. Groome.....Baltimore.
Peter Thompson.....	Baltimore.	Jacob Seaton.....Baltimore.
4—Samuel M. Shoemaker...	Baltimore.	J. McCurley, Jr.....Baltimore.
Samuel Case.....	Baltimore.	W. J. Gray.....Baltimore.
5—W. G. Tuck.....	Annapolis.	N. R. Henderson, Ellicott's Mills.
J. A. Gary.....	Baltimore city.	W. W. Dannenhauer.....
6—F. M. Darby.....	Hagerstown.	William Moodie.....
L. H. Steiner.....	Frederick.	J. A. Crockett.....

MASSACHUSETTS.

AT LARGE.

E. R. Hoar.....	.....
Richard H. Dana, Jr.....	.....
Paul A. Chadbourne.....	.....
John M. Forbes.....	.....

DISTRICTS.

1—Wm. T. Davis.....	Plymouth.	.....
Robert T. Davis.....	Fall River.	.....
2—John E. Sanford.....	.....	.....
Edward L. Pierce.....	.....	.....
3—Henry D. Hyde.....	.....	.....
J. Felt Osgood.....	.....	.....
4—Alpheus Hardy.....	Boston.	.....
C. R. McLean.....	.....	.....
5—James M. Shute.....	Somerville.	.....
James F. Dwinall.....	Winchester.	.....
6—George B. Loring.....	Salem.	.....
Henry Carter.....	Bradford.	.....
7—Wm. A. Russell.....	Lawrence.	E. C. Whitney.....Marlboro.
C. H. Waters.....	Groton.	C. A. Stott.....Lowell.
8—James F. Clark.....	.....	.....
James R. Lowell.....	.....	.....
9—A. J. Bartholomew.....	Worcester.	.....
Geo. F. Hoar.....	.....	.....
10—James F. Moore.....	.....	.....
William Whiting.....	.....	.....
11—Edward Learned.....	Pittsfield.	.....
S. R. Phillips.....	Springfield.	.....

MICHIGAN.

AT LARGE.

H. P. Baldwin.....	Detroit.	E. J. Penniman.....Plymouth.
Wm. A. Howard.....	Grand Rapids.	John P. Hoyt.....Vassar.
J. J. Woodman.....	Paw Paw.	W. J. Baxter.....Jonesville.
D. L. Flier.....	Ludington.	C. E. Holland.....Houghton.

DISTRICTS.

1—W. G. Thompson.....	Detroit.	Alfred Russell.....Detroit.
Herman Keifer.....	Detroit.	Otto Kirchner.....Detroit.
2—Rice A. Beal.....	Ann Arbor.	H. A. Conant.....Monroe.
Charles Rynd.....	Adrian.	Jno. A. Armstrong.....Hillsdale.
3—W. H. Withington.....	Jackson.	S. V. Irwin.....Albion.
E. S. Lacey.....	Charlotte.	Adam Elliott.....
.....	.....	Hickory Corners, Barry co.

MICHIGAN—*Cont.*

## DELEGATES.

## DISTRICTS.

## ALTERNATES.

4—N. A. Hamilton.....	St. Joseph, Berrien co.	.....R. R. Pealer.....	Three Rivers.
.....	Geo. Hannahs.....	.....L. C. Chapin.....	Kalamazoo.
5—A. B. Watson.....	Grand Rapids.	.....Geo. W. Webber.....	Ionia.
.....	B. D. Fritchard.....	.....Chauncey Davis.....	Muskegon.
6—Wm. L. Smith.....	Flint.	.....Josiah Turner.....	Owosso.
.....	W. S. George.....	.....Peter Dow.....	Pontiac.
7—J. C. Waterbury.....	Lexington.	.....Townsend North.....	Vassar.
.....	S. J. Tomlinson.....	.....Jeremiah Jenks.....	.....
8—Theodore F. Shepard.....	Bay City.	.....H. M. Hinds.....	Rock Falls, Huron co.
.....	H. H. Hoyt.....	.....B. F. Smith.....	Greenville.
9—W. H. C. Mitchell.....	Traverse City.	.....W. M. Dunham.....	Manistee.
.....	John C. Merriam.....	.....A. B. Milton.....	Mackinac.

## MINNESOTA.

## AT LARGE.

Alexander Ramsey.....	St. Paul.	.....Theodore Sander.....	St. Paul.
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## DISTRICTS.

1—J. B. Wakefield.....	Faribault.	.....	.....
.....	M. C. Fosness.....	.....C. C. Crane.....	Mower.
.....	W. G. Ward.....	.....Wm. Thomas.....	Blue Earth.
2—John T. Ames.....	Northfield, Rice co.	.....C. A. Baker.....	Dakotah co.
.....	Albert Knight.....	.....P. J. Temple.....	Brown co.
.....	L. Boegen.....	.....H. E. Lewis.....	Carver, Carver co.
3—R. B. Langdon.....	Hennepin	.....T. A. Perrine.....	Wright.
.....	N. P. Clark.....	.....John L. Merriam.....	Ramsey.
.....	D. M. Sabin.....	.....George W. Bennidict.....	Benton.

## MISSISSIPPI.

## AT LARGE.

B. K. Bruce.....	R. M. Tindal.	.....	.....
Adelbert Ames.....	H. R. Pease.	.....	.....
J. L. Alcorn.....	.....	.....	.....
R. C. Powers.....	.....	.....	.....

## DISTRICTS.

1—J. M. Bynum.....	Corinth.	.....W. D. Frazee.....	Okolona.
.....	F. H. Little.....	.....J. L. Stafford.....	.....
2—George M. Buchanan.....	.....	.....J. H. Pierce.....	Oxford.
.....	J. T. Settle.....	.....S. R. Bland.....	.....
3—Jason Niles.....	Kosciusko.	.....D. P. Coffee.....	.....
.....	T. J. White.....	.....M. H. Tuttle.....	Carrollton.
4—H. W. Warren.....	Jackson.	.....R. J. Ross.....	Canton.
.....	J. J. Spellman.....	.....R. J. Simmons.....	Panola.
5—Jas. A. Hoskins.....	Brookhaven.	.....	.....
.....	M. Shaughnessey.....	.....	.....
6—C. W. Clarke.....	Greenville.	.....W. Muller.....	.....
.....	J. D. Cessor.....	.....W. W. Edwards.....	Vicksburg.

## MISSOURI.

## AT LARGE.

B. F. Loan.....	S. H. Boyd.	.....	.....
R. T. Van Horn.....	F. A. Jones.	.....	.....
G. A. Finkelnburg.....	John B. Henderson.	.....	.....
James T. Smith.....	J. H. Storer.	.....	.....

## DISTRICTS.

1—Hugo Auler.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	George Bain.....	.....	.....
2—Chauncey I. Filley.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	M. A. Rosenblatt.....	.....	.....
3—William H. Cornell.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	John H. Pohlman.....	.....	.....
4—Augustus St. Gem.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	John A. Weber.....	.....	.....

MISSOURI—*Cont.*

DELEGATES.	DISTRICTS.	ALTERNATES.
5—Amous P. Foster. W. J. Wallace.	.....	.....
6—H. E. Havens. A. L. Cahn.	.....	.....
7—Milo Blair. Mack J. Leaming.	.....	.....
8—D. S. Twitchell. A. U. Holcombe.	.....	.....
9—A. E. Wyatt. Charles G. Comstock.	.....	.....
10—M. A. Lowe. J. P. Jones.	.....	.....
11—A. F. Denny. M. L. De Mott.	.....	.....
12—J. Sands. S. W. Birch.	.....	.....
13—Theodore Breuere. T. J. C. Fagg.	.....	.....

NEBRASKA.

N. R. Pinney..Nebraska City, Otoe co.	.....
R. G. Brown.....Sutton, Clay co.	.....
L. W. Osborne, Blair, Washington co.	.....
Albinus Nance.....Osceola, Polk co.	.....
H. S. Kaley..Red Cloud, Webster co.	.....
C. F. Bayha, West Point, Cumming co.	.....

NEVADA.

AT LARGE.

John P. Jones, Gold Hill.	E. A. Sherman.
C. N. Harris.	C. E. De Long.
Frank Bell.	R. S. Messick.
R. S. Clapp.	Joseph Munckton.
Thomas Wren.	R. H. Rand.
A. A. Curtis.	.....

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

AT LARGE.

Daniel Hall.....Dover.	.....
Nathaniel White.....Concord.	.....
C. H. Burns.....Wilton.	.....
Ira Colby, Jr.....Claremont.	.....

DISTRICTS.

1—Alonzo Nute.....Farmington.	.....Samuel Adams.....Portsmouth.
Geo. W. Marston.....Portsmouth.	.....Charles M. Murphy.....Dover.
2—E. A. Straw.....Manchester.	.....J. H. Gallinger.....Concord.
Jesse Gault.....Hooksett.	.....Gilman C. Scripture.....Nashua.
3—Benjamin F. Whidden, Lancaster.	.....Tilleyton A. Barker.....Keene.
Thomas C. Rand.....Keene.	.....G. A. Greeley.....Lebanon.

NEW JERSEY.

AT LARGE.

Wm. J. Sewell.....Camden.	.....Wm. Bettle.....Camden.
Frederick A. Potts.....	.....John W. Griggs.....Paterson.
.....Pittstown, Hunterdon co.	
George A. Halsey.....Newark.	.....E. L. Dobbins.....Newark.
Garret A. Hobart.....Paterson.	.....Benjamin G. Clark.....Jersey City.

DISTRICTS.

1—Richard S. Leaming.....	.....F. F. Patterson.....Woodbury.
.....Dennisville, Cape May co.	
Wm. E. Potter.....Bridgeton.	.....Benj. Acton.....Salem.
2—Frederick W. Roebing.....Trenton.	.....George D. Horner.....Tom's River.
James N. Stratton.....Mt. Holly.	.....Joseph Carr.....Mt. Holly.

NEW JERSEY—*Cont.*

DELEGATES.	DISTRICTS.	ALTERNATES.
3—Wm. A. Newell.....Allentown.	.....Jonathan Edgar.....Summit	.....
Wm. J. Magie.....Elizabeth.	.....John A. Howland.....Long Branch.	.....
4—John I. Blair.....Blairstown.	.....Charles A. Skillman.....Lambertville.	.....
Isaiah N. Dilts.....Somerville.	.....O. P. Armstrong.....Lafayette.	.....
5—Henry C. Pitney.....Morristown.	.....Geo. Richards.....Dover.	.....
J. Wyman Jones.....Englewood.	.....Cornelius H. Blauvelt.....	.....
6—John L. Blake.....Orange.	.....Hackensack	.....
S. V. C. Van Rensselaer.....Newark.	.....Samuel Morrow.....Newark.	.....
7—L. H. Kendrick.....Hoboken.	.....James W. Grover.....Newark.	.....
M. T. Newbold.....Jersey City.	.....John F. Jenney.....Jersey City.	.....
	.....Henry F. White.....Jersey City.	.....

## NEW YORK.

## AT LARGE.

Alonzo B. Cornell.....New York.	.....Edwin A. Merritt.....Potsdam.
Henry Highland Garnett.....Ithaca.	.....George B. Sloane.....Oswego.
Theodore M. Pomeroy.....Auburn.	.....Albert C. Judson.....Albany.
James M. Matthews.....Buffalo.	

## DISTRICTS.

1—L. Bradford Prince.....Flushing.	.....George T. Hewlett.....Woodsburgh.
George William Curtis.....	.....James Otis.....Belleport.
.....West New Brighton.	
2—Abiel A. Low.....Brooklyn.	.....Andrew J. Perry.....Brooklyn.
Silas B. Dutcher.....Brooklyn.	.....William A. Rowan.....Brooklyn.
3—Stewart L. Woodford.....Brooklyn.	.....Timothy C. Cronin.....Brooklyn.
Benjamin D. Sillman.....Brooklyn.	.....Benjamin W. Wilson.....Brooklyn.
4—Jacob Worth.....Brooklyn.	.....Benjamin Estes.....Brooklyn.
David Williams.....Brooklyn.	.....John Mitchell.....Brooklyn.
5—William Orton.....New York.	.....Pierre C. Van Wyck.....New York.
Abraham Lent.....New York.	.....Charles V. Lewis.....New York.
6—Benjamin K. Phelps.....New York.	.....Nathan H. Hall.....New York.
Abram J. Dittenhoefer.....New York.	.....John C. Limbeck.....New York.
7—De Witt C. Wheeler.....New York.	.....Bernard Rourke.....New York.
Thomas Murphy.....New York.	.....Joseph C. Pinckney.....New York.
8—George F. Merkle.....New York.	.....Hugh Gardner.....New York.
John D. Lawson.....New York.	.....Isaac Dayton.....New York.
9—Marshall O. Roberts.....New York.	.....Henry G. Leaske.....New York.
Joel W. Mason.....New York.	.....Richard H. Greene.....New York.
10—Clarence A. Seward.....New York.	.....Isaac H. Bailey.....New York.
Rufus B. Cowing.....New York.	.....Charles E. Holmes.....New York.
11—Edwin D. Morgan.....New York.	.....Salem H. Wales.....New York.
George Opdyke.....New York.	.....Charles A. Peabody, Jr.....
	.....New York.
12—William H. Robertson.....Katonah.	.....Amherst Wight.....Portchester.
James W. Husted.....Peekskill.	.....T. Astley Atkins.....Yonkers.
13—John H. Ketcham.....Dover Plains.	.....Abiah W. Palmer.....Amenia.
Jacob W. Hoysradt.....Hudson.	.....John T. Hogeboom.....Ghent.
14—Edward M. Madden.....Middletown.	.....George H. Clark.....Newburgh.
John W. Ferdon.....Sparkill.	.....C. V. R. Luddington.....Monticello.
15—William S. Kenyon.....Kingston.	.....Jacob Lefever.....New Paltz.
Joshua Fiero, Jr.....Catskill.	.....James Harroway.....Richmondville.
16—Charles E. Smith.....Albany.	.....Alfred Le Roy.....Cohoes.
John F. Smyth.....Albany.	.....Nathan D. Wendell.....Albany.
17—Isaac V. Baker, Jr.....	.....A. Dallas Walt.....Fort Edward.
.....Comstock's Landing.	
Gilbert Robertson, Jr.....Troy.	.....John A. Quackenboss.....Troy.
18—George Cahoon.....Ausable Forks.	.....Nathan Lapham.....Peru.
Franklin W. Tobey.....Port Henry.	.....Robert Waddell.....Johnsburg.
19—Wells S. Dickinson.....Bangor.	.....Leslie W. Russell.....Canton.
Henry R. James.....Ogdensburg.	.....E. D. Brooks.....Potsdam.
20—James M. Marvin.....Saratoga Springs.	.....John B. Clute.....Schenectady.
Stephen Sanford.....Amsterdam.	.....Chauncey Argensinger.....
	.....Johnstown.
21—Hugh G. Crozier.....Smithville.	.....Albert F. Gladding.....Norwich.
Samuel S. Edick.....Cooperstown.	.....David Wilbur.....Milford.
22—Amos V. Smiley.....Lowville.	.....James W. Walton.....Prospect.
James C. Feeter.....Little Falls.	.....John C. Knowlton.....Watertown.
23—Charles M. Dennison.....Whitestown.	.....William Lewis.....Steuben.
Arthur B. Johnson.....Utica.	.....Edward Evans.....Rome.

NEW YORK—*Cont.*

DELEGATES.	DISTRICTS.	ALTERNATES.
John C. Churchill.....Oswego	George M. Case.....Fulton.	
Benjamin R. Wendell.....Cazenovia.	Garrett A. Forbes.....Canastota.	
George N. Crouse.....Syracuse.	J. C. Carmichael.....Cortlandville.	
Frank Hiscock.....Syracuse.	Asel F. Wilcox.....De Witt.	
John H. Camp.....Lyons.	T. G. Yeomans.....Walworth.	
William B. Woodin.....Auburn.	William A. Halsey.....Port Byron.	
Mathorn Burt.....Mount Morris.	Reynold M. Peck.....West Bloomfield.	
John S. Sheppard.....Penn Yan.	James B. Gardner.....Hopewell.	
Thomas C. Platt.....Owego.	Charles W. Clauharty.....Havana.	
Charles W. Hotchkiss.....Binghamton.	Anson W. Knettles.....	
	.....South Lansing.	
William M. Smith.....Angelica.	Orrin Stacy.....Rushford.	
Charles Hakes.....Hornellsville.	Charles H. Thomson.....Corning.	
Charles E. Fitch.....Rochester.	John Van Voorhees.....Rochester.	
Henry A. Glidden.....Albion.	Edwin L. Pitts.....Medina.	
Volcott J. Humphrey.....Warsaw.	Willard A. Cobb.....Lockport.	
William Pool.....Niagara Falls.	Holden T. Miller.....Byron.	
Philip Becker.....Buffalo.	Frederick H. James.....Lancaster.	
Norman S. Rogers.....Buffalo.	Charles M. King.....Buffalo.	
Walter L. Sessions.....Panama.	John Manley.....Little Valley.	
Leonzo Hawley.....Hillsdale.	Winfield S. Cameron.....Jamestown.	

NORTH CAROLINA.

AT LARGE.

James Powers.....Newbern.	J. W. Alberton.....Hertford.
James H. Harris.....Raleigh.	W. D. Jones.....Wake Forest.
James H. Wheeler.....Salem.	Rufus Barringer.....Charlotte.
James S. Lusk.....Asheville.	George W. Logan.....Rutherfordton.

DISTRICTS.

William John.....Elizabeth City.	John R. Page.....Edenton.
J. Martin.....Williamston.	George McDonald.....Camden.
P. Mabson.....Tarboro.	Joseph Dixon.....Snow Hill.
R. Page.....Kinston.	.....
James Heaton.....Wilmington.	.....
William A. Smith.....Princeton.	John A. McDonald.....Raleigh.
Charles C. Badger.....Raleigh.	Washington Dake.....Durham.
Thomas M. Owen.....Greensboro.	Thomas B. Keogh.....Greensboro.
Bert M. Douglas.....Greensboro.	J. W. Bean.....Franklinsville.
R. Nocho.....Charlotte.	T. D. McAlpine.....Charlotte.
M. Norment.....Lumberton.	A. F. Dockray.....Mangum.
J. Mott.....	.....
M. Cooper.....	.....
John G. Heap.....Bakersville.	T. P. Axley.....Henderson.
William Rollins.....Asheville.	J. B. Eaves.....Rutherfordton.

OHIO.

AT LARGE.

John F. Wade.....Jefferson.	Charles H. Grosvenor.....Athens.
John F. Noyes.....Cincinnati.	Clark Waggoner.....Toledo.
William Kelfer.....Springfield.	Lewis Welzel.....Cincinnati.
John H. Upson.....Akron.	Samuel Craighead.....Dayton.

DISTRICTS.

Benjamin Eggleston.....Cincinnati.	Lawrence Spath.....Cincinnati.
Christian Moerlein.....Cincinnati.	M. B. Hagans.....Cincinnati.
Henry Kessler.....Cincinnati.	E. P. Ransom.....Cincinnati.
C. Weir.....Cincinnati.	William M. Yeatman.....Cincinnati.
L. Morey.....Hamilton.	Mills Gardner.....Washington C. H.
Frank Browning.....Wilmington.	Watts McMurchy.....Batavia.
William D. Bickham.....Dayton.	C. Folkern.....Eaton.
Collins.....Greenville.	John Little.....Xenia.
James L. Price.....Van Wert.	J. L. H. Long.....Ottawa.
James Irvine.....Lima.	Brice Hilton.....Brunersburg.
M. Howard.....Toledo.	Alexander Reed.....Toledo.
Earl W. Merry.....Bowling Green.	D. B. Ainger.....Bryan.
Samuel H. Hurst.....Chillicothe.	Chambers Baird.....Ripley.
John A. Smith.....Hillsborough.	Smith Grimes.....West Union.



## OFFICIAL PROCEEDINGS OF THE

## OHIO—Cont.

DELEGATES.	DISTRICTS.	ALTERNATES.
8—H. W. Smith.....London.	.....Milton Steen.....	De Graff.
A. R. Byrckett.....Troy.	.....John Howell.....	Springfield.
9—T. C. Jones.....Delaware.	.....W. G. Beatty.....	Cardington.
Hylas Sabin.....Richwood.	.....S. E. De Wolf.....	Marion.
10—R. P. Buckland.....Fremont.	.....Frank Sawyer.....	Norwalk.
J. B. Rothchild.....Findlay.	.....James A. Blair.....	Tiffin.
11—H. C. Jones.....McArthur.	.....Elias Nigh.....	Ironton.
S. H. Bright.....Logan.	.....H. A. Towne.....	Portsmouth.
12—L. J. Critchfield.....Columbus.	.....A. J. Ashbrook.....	Somerset.
John Groce.....Circleville.	.....Peter Bope.....	Lancaster.
13—E. L. Lybarger.....Coshocton.	.....Elmer J. Rambo.....	Dresden.
J. L. McIlvaine.....New Philadelphia.	.....W. R. Shields.....	Newcomerstown.
14—D. W. Wilson.....Belleville.	.....J. C. Cook.....	Nevada.
H. C. Carhart.....Gallion.	.....T. B. Cunningham.....	Millersburg.
15—V. B. Horton.....Pomeroy.	.....William T. Hunter.....	Woodsfield.
Jewett Palmer.....Marietta.	.....George W. Baker.....	Athens.
16—J. T. Updegraff.....Mount Pleasant.	.....J. D. Taylor.....	Cambridge.
John Lemmox.....Caldwell.	.....W. B. Hearn.....	Cadiz.
17—C. Aultman.....Canton.	.....J. H. Taylor.....	Carrollton.
J. A. Ambler.....Salem.	.....George Brook.....	Ellsworth.
18—A. S. McClure.....Wooster.	.....J. H. Greene.....	Medina.
Geo. T. Perkins.....	.....S. S. Warner.....	Wellington.
19—H. B. Perkins.....Warren.	.....S. A. Northway.....	Jefferson.
George H. Ford.....Burton.	.....Aaron Wilcox.....	Palmsville.
20—Edwin C. Cowles.....Cleveland.	.....W. S. Streater.....	Cleveland.
Julius C. Schenck.....Cleveland.	.....Julius C. Schenck.....	Cleveland.

## OREGON.

## AT LARGE.

J. C. Tolman.....Ashland.	.....	.....	.....	.....
J. B. David.....Portland.	.....	.....	.....	.....
B. C. Van Houghton.....Eugene City.	.....	.....	.....	.....
J. H. Foster.....Albany.	.....	.....	.....	.....
H. K. Hines.....Dallas.	.....	.....	.....	.....
H. W. Scott.....Portland.	.....	.....	.....	.....

## PENNSYLVANIA.

## AT LARGE.

J. D. Cameron.....Harrisburg.	.....David Aiken.....	Pittsburgh.
Wm. R. Leeds.....Philadelphia.	.....Henry Harly.....	Titusville.
Henry M. Hoyt.....Wilkesbarre.	.....John N. Purviance.....	Butler.
R. W. Mackey.....Philadelphia.	.....	.....

## DISTRICTS.

Henry H. Bingham.....Philadelphia.	.....John O'Donnell.....	Philadelphia.
Wm. J. Pollock.....Philadelphia.	.....H. C. Selby.....	Philadelphia.
John L. Hill.....Philadelphia.	.....A. C. Roberts.....	Philadelphia.
Morton McMichael.....Philadelphia.	.....Geo. S. Jones.....	Philadelphia.
Geo. W. Fairman.....Philadelphia.	.....Thomas Smith.....	Philadelphia.
M. Hall Stanton.....Philadelphia.	.....John B. Sepler.....	Philadelphia.
Wm. B. Mann.....Philadelphia.	.....Geo. D. Whelen.....	Philadelphia.
Wm. H. Kemble.....Philadelphia.	.....E. H. Jeffries.....	Philadelphia.
J. M. Byram.....Philadelphia.	.....James Whitaker.....	Philadelphia.
Joseph Johnson.....Philadelphia.	.....James S. Tull.....	Philadelphia.
H. T. Darlington.....Doyleston.	.....J. Paul Knight.....	Feasterville.
Alan Wood, Jr.....Conshohocken.	.....John Wood.....	Conshohocken.
G. E. Darlington.....Media.	.....Isaac W. Vanlear.....	.....
J. Smith Futhy.....West Chester.	.....Wallace, Chester co.	.....
W. S. McManus.....Reading.	.....W. H. Osborn.....	Media.
E. E. Griesemer.....Reading.	.....J. K. Sterrett.....	Reading.
B. F. Eshelman.....Lancaster.	.....L. H. Smith.....	Reading.
Henry S. Eberly.....Lancaster.	.....B. F. Eshelman.....	Lancaster.
H. J. Reeder.....Easton.	.....A. Craig.....	Columbia.
E. B. Young.....Allentown.	.....R. Clay Hammersly.....	Allentown.
Charles Albright.....Mauch Chunk.	.....B. E. Schuman.....	.....
D. A. Beckley.....Bloomsburg.	.....J. Lantz.....	Stroudsburg.
J. B. Van Bergen.....Scranton.	.....Edgar Pinchot.....	Milford.
H. W. Palmer.....Wilkesbarre.	.....J. B. Van Bergen.....	Kingston.
Lin Bartholomew.....Pottsville.	.....L. C. Darte.....	Carbondale.
	.....Wallace Guss.....	Tamaqua.

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## PENNSYLVANIA—*Cont.*

### DELEGATES.

### DISTRICTS.

### ALTERNATES.

Daniel P. Miller.....	Pinegrove.	E. Wilvert.....	Sunbury.
Samuel F. Barr.....	Harrisburg.	W. H. Oram.....	Shamokin.
J. W. Grove.....	Lebanon.	A. P. Stevens.....	Great Bend.
J. E. Carmalt.....	Montrose.	George J. Bentley.....	Honesdale.
Wm. T. Davis.....	Towanda.	W. M. Dietrick.....	Williamsport.
John R. Bowen.....	Wellsboro.	J. C. Johnson.....	Emporium.
Lucius Rogers.....	Smethport.	Benj. L. Hewitt.....	Holidaysburg.
John Cessna.....	Bedford.	R. A. Clark.....	Altoona.
Edward Scull.....	Somerset.	W. H. Woods.....	Huntingdon.
John Stewart.....	Chambersburg.	Franklin Schoch.....	Silingsgrove.
John Wister.....	Duncannon.	A. Koser.....	Mechanicsburg.
Chas. H. Mullen.....	Mt. Holly Springs.	G. Ed. Hersh.....	York.
Ed. McPherson.....	Gettysburg.	J. H. Hagerty.....	Ridgway.
H. T. Harvey.....	Lock Haven.	John B. Linn.....	Harrisburg.
T. H. Murray.....	Clearfield.	C. W. Baker.....	
D. S. Atkinson.....	Greensburg.	William Parshall.....	
Andrew Stewart.....	Uniontown.	C. W. Bachelor.....	Pittsburgh.
C. L. Magee.....	Pittsburgh.	J. A. McDevitt.....	Pittsburgh.
J. H. Hampton.....	Pittsburgh.	Walton Woolsey.....	Allegheny.
H. W. Oliver, Jr.....	Pittsburgh.	Hugh McNeill.....	Allegheny.
J. A. Chambers.....	Pittsburgh.	F. S. Reeder.....	New Brighton.
M. S. Quay.....	Beaver.	John W. Donan.....	
W. S. Moore.....	Washington.	E. L. Davis.....	
R. Rulofson.....	Strattanville.	Jos. Henderson.....	
Simon Truby.....	Brush Valley.	C. A. Sullivan.....	Butler.
L. G. Linn.....	Butler.	Geo. S. McMullen.....	Conneautville.
Henry C. Bloss.....	Titusville.	W. S. Brown.....	Erle.
Thomas M. Walker.....	Erle.	E. W. Smiley.....	Franklin.
E. W. Smiley.....	Franklin.		

## RHODE ISLAND.

Charles C. Van Zandt.....	Newport.	Edward W. Lawton.....	Newport.
Charles Nourse.....	Woonsocket.	Lyman A. Cook.....	Woonsocket.
Nelson W. Aldrich.....	Providence.	Edward R. Dawley.....	Providence.
Gorham P. Pomeroy.....	Providence.	Abraham Payne.....	Providence.
Edward L. Freeman.....	Central Falls.	James Davis.....	Pawtucket.
Henry Howard.....	Providence.	Thomas W. Chase.....	Providence.
Isaac F. Williams.....	Bristol.	Lewis B. Smith.....	Nayatt.
James M. Pendleton.....	Westerly.	Nathaniel P. S. Thomas.....	Providence.

## SOUTH CAROLINA.

### AT LARGE.

Robert B. Elliott.....	Columbia.	Benj. F. Whittemore.....	Darlington C. H.
Daniel H. Chamberlain.....	Columbia.	A. O. Jones.....	Charleston.
Richard H. Gleaves.....	Beaufort.	Warren Minton.....	Charleston.
John J. Patterson.....	Columbia.	Charles M. Wilder.....	Columbia.

### DISTRICTS.

1—Stephen A. Swalls.....	Kingstree.	Thomas B. Johnston.....	Sumter.
Joseph H. Rainey.....	Georgetown.	Henry J. Maxwell.....	Bennettsville.
2—Henry G. Worthington.....	Charleston.	A. B. Knowlton.....	Orangeburg.
Wm. J. McKinlay.....	Charleston.	R. H. Cain.....	Charleston.
3—Henry C. Corwin.....	Newberry.	A. W. Curtis.....	Columbia.
Wm. B. Nash.....	Columbia.	T. N. Tolbert.....	Abbeville C. H.
4—A. S. Wallace.....	Yorkville.	C. C. Macoy.....	Chester.
John Winsmith.....	Spartanburg C. H.		
5—Robert Smalls.....	Beaufort.	Wm. M. Thomas.....	Summerville.
Lawrence Cain.....	Edgefield C. H.	Fred. A. Palmer.....	Alken.

## TENNESSEE.

### AT LARGE.

J. M. Thornburg.....	Knox co.	G. W. Levere.....	
J. C. Napier.....	Davidson co.	A. M. Hughes.....	
David A. Nunn.....	Haywood co.	W. W. Murray.....	
J. T. Wilder.....	Hamilton co.	Abe Smith.....	

## OFFICIAL PROCEEDINGS OF THE

## TENNESSEE—Cont.

DELEGATES.	DISTRICTS.	ALTERNATES.
1—R. R. Butler.....Johnson co.	.....Charles P. Tonery.....	
T. H. Reeves.....Washington co.	.....W. P. Gillenwaters.....	
2—E. C. Camp.....Knox co.	.....J. M. Meek.....New Market.	
William Rule.....Knox co.	.....J. C. Tate.....Clinton co.	
3—A. G. Sharp.....Bradley co.	.....H. S. Chamberlain.....	
T. L. Cate.....Bradley co.	.....Samuel Parker.....White co.	
4—James Peacock.....	.....C. M. Johnson.....	
W. L. Waters.....	.....J. H. Harding.....	
5—J. A. Warder.....Bedford co.	.....W. T. Nicks.....Lincoln.	
W. Y. Elliott.....Rutherford co.	.....Jefferson Brown.....	
6—H. H. Harrison.....Davidson co.	.....Sanford Griffin.....	
J. H. Burres.....	.....P. J. O'Rourke.....	
7—M. T. Weir.....	.....D. B. Cliffe.....	
G. W. Blackburn.....	.....Commodore Perry.....	
8—S. W. Hawkins.....	.....R. H. Thorn.....	
E. G. Ridgely.....	.....T. C. Muse.....	
9—A. A. Freeman.....	.....W. M. Hall.....	
J. W. Boyd.....	.....H. A. Gibson.....	
10—Edward Shaw.....	.....John T. Lattin.....	
William M. Randolph.....	.....R. H. Patterson.....	

## TEXAS.

## AT LARGE.

Edmund J. Davis.....Austin.	.....W. A. Price.....Galveston.
S. H. Russell.....Harrison.	.....J. H. Washington.....Grimes.
A. Zadek.....Nevarro.	.....Nathan Patton.....Walker.
A. B. Norton.....Dallas.	.....J. J. Hamilton.....Travis.

## DISTRICTS.

1—L. W. Cooper.....Houston.	.....S. D. Wood.....Smith.
S. T. Newton.....Bexar.	.....E. B. Dwyer.....Houston.
2—A. G. Malloy.....Marlon.	.....S. T. Carter.....Fairview.
F. W. Minor.....Lamar.	.....Wm. Lewis.....Marlon.
3—I. L. L. McCall.....Parker.	.....J. R. Burns.....Collin.
L. W. Williams.....Grayson.	.....Daniel Webster.....Grayson.
4—R. Allen.....Harris.	.....John Armstrong.....
J. R. Burns.....McLennan.	.....C. F. Moore.....Bryan, Brazos co.
5—N. W. Cuncy.....Galveston.	.....W. H. Holland.....Wharton.
S. A. Hackworth.....Brenham.	
6—J. P. Newcomb.....San Antonio.	.....Ridge Paschal.....Corpus Christi.
Wm. Billings.....Victoria.	.....Frank Green.....Columbus.

## VERMONT.

## AT LARGE.

Luke P. Poland.....St. Johnsbury.	.....Bliss N. Davis.....Danville.
Wheelock G. Veazie.....Rutland.	.....Pitt W. Hyde.....Castleton.
George Howe.....Brattleboro.	.....W. W. Lynde.....Marlboro.
Geo. H. Bigelow.....Burlington.	.....Philip K. Gleed.....Morristown.

## DISTRICTS.

1—Mason S. Colburn.....	.....J. Halsey Cushmam..Bennington.
Manchester (P.O. Factory Point)	
Fred E. Woodbridge.....Vergennes.	.....James M. Slade.....Middlebury.
2—Warren C. French.....Woodstock.	.....Wm. H. Walker.....Ludlow.
Roswell Farnham.....Bradford.	.....John W. Rowell.....West Randolph.
3—Silas P. Carpenter.....Richford.	.....D. D. Wead.....Sheldon.
John L. Mason.....Richmond.	.....Walter D. Crane.....Newport.

## VIRGINIA.

## AT LARGE.

W. H. H. Stowell.....Washington, D. C.	.....J. W. Woltz.....Fredericksburg.
John F. Lewis.....Linnwood.	.....W. C. Wickham.....Richmond.
Richard H. Carter.....	.....Edgar Allen.....Farmville.
Salem Fauquier, Fauquier Cape.	
W. N. Stevens.....Stony Creek.	.....C. J. Malord.....Richmond.

VIRGINIA—*Cont.*

DELEGATES.		DISTRICTS.	ALTERNATES.
1	B. Sener.....Fredericksburg.	.....L. R. Stewart.....Warsaw.	
2	J. Carter.....Franktown.	.....E. W. Massey.....West Point.	
3	F. Desendorf.....Norfolk.	.....Wm. Stevens.....Stony Creek.	
4	M. Dawson.....Williamsburg.	.....M. McDivitt.....Norfolk.	
5	H. Russell.....Richmond.	.....J. R. Popham.....Richmond.	
6	W. Poindexter.....Louisa C. H.	.....J. Crump.....	
7	V. L. Fernald.....Burkeville.	.....G. S. Richardson.....Petersburg.	
8	W. S. Hamilton.....Boydton.	.....J. R. Hooper.....Farmville.	
9	S. Lewis.....Danville.	.....J. B. Stovall.....Meadsville.	
10	B. Dehaven.....Rocky Mount.	.....J. F. Hannibal.....Meadsville.	
11	H. Rives.....Lynchburg.	.....S. Patterson.....Lynchburg.	
12	Geo. V. Case.....Liberty.	.....L. F. Loux.....Fincastle.	
13	W. Porter.....Charlottesville.	.....R. J. Shelton.....Staunton.	
14	Joseph Harrison.....Greenville.	.....E. Terry.....Charlottesville.	
15	Vm. Miller.....Winchester.	.....F. L. Van Auker.....Alexandria.	
16	Blanchard.....Herndon.	.....R. Bundy.....Berryville.	
17	Jacob Wagner.....Wytheville.	.....W. F. Slater.....Wytheville.	
18	V. S. Oakley.....Salem.	.....J. M. Rose.....Abingdon.	

WEST VIRGINIA.

AT LARGE.		DISTRICTS.
Thomas H. Logan.....Wheeling	.....Geo. W. Brown.....Grafton.	
Edman L. Willey.....Morgantown.	.....Richard Burk.....Union, Monroe co.	
James W. Davis.....Lewisburg.	.....	
R. W. Simmons.....Parkersburg.	.....	
1	V. E. Stephenson.....Parkersburg.	.....
2	J. Goff, Jr.....Clarksburg.	.....
3	John E. Schley.....Shepherdstown.	.....E. S. Troxell.....Martinsburg.
4	Wm. S. Moore.....Fairmount.	.....A. M. Pomedstone.....Buckhannon.
5	D. Ramsdall.....Ceredo, Wayne co.	.....G. F. Taylor.....Braxton C. H.
6	Eugene Dana.....Boon C. H.	.....C. W. Willard.....

WISCONSIN.

AT LARGE.		DISTRICTS.
David Atwood.....Madison, Dane co.	.....Llywelyn Breeze.....	
Philmetus Sawyer.....	.....Portage City, Columbia co.	
James H. Howe.....Oshkosh, Winnebago co.	.....Jno. T. Kingston.....	
Mark Douglass.....Kenosha, Kenosha co.	.....J. S. Crane.....Necedah, Juneau co.	
.....Melrose, Jackson co.	.....E. M. Rogers.....Burlington, Racine co.	
.....	.....	.....Viroqua, Vernon co.
1	Ellhu Enos.....	.....James Aram.....
2	James Bintliff.....Waukesha, Waukesha co.	.....Delavan, Walworth co.
3	.....Janesville, Rock co.	.....A. L. Phillips.....Racine, Racine co.
4	Ellsha W. Keyes.....Madison, Dane co.	.....George B. Burrows.....Madison, Dane co.
5	James T. Lewis.....Columbus, Columbia co.	.....Geo. W. Burchard.....Fort Atkinson, Jefferson co.
6	Wm. H. Brisbane.....Arena, Iowa co.	.....A. Ludlow.....Monroe, Green co.
7	Ephraim Bowen.....	.....J. C. Holloway.....
8	Edward Sanderson.....Brodhead, Green co.	.....Lancaster, Grant co.
9	.....Milwaukee, Milwaukee co.	.....E. S. Turner.....Ozaukee, Ozaukee co.
10	Irving M. Bean.....Milwaukee, Milwaukee co.	.....Fred C. Winkler.....Milwaukee, Milwaukee co.
11	Cal. E. Lewis.....Beaver Dam, Dodge co.	.....Geo. F. Wheeler.....Waupun, Dodge co.
12	J. H. Mead.....Sheboygan, Sheboygan co.	.....Geo. Marsh.....
13	R. L. D. Potter.....Wautoma.	.....Sheboygan, Sheboygan co.
14	George Grimmer.....	.....Wm. J. Flisk.....Fort Howard.
15	.....Kewaunee, Kewaunee co.	.....A. J. Reid.....Appleton, Outagamie co.

WISCONSIN—*Cont.*

DELEGATES.	DISTRICTS.	ALTERNATES.
7.—E. O. Rudd.....	.....J. G. Callahan.....	.....
.....Rudd's Mills, Monroe co.	.....Eau Claire, Eau Claire co.	.....
John Comstock.....	.....A. W. Newman.....	.....
.....Hudson, St. Croix co.	.....Trempealeau, Trempealeau co.	.....
8.—Geo. C. Ginty.....	.....F. M. Washburne.....	.....
.....Chippewa Falls, Chippewa co.	.....Elroy, Juneau co.	.....
Myron H. McCord.....	.....R. W. Button.....	.....
.....Jenny, Lincoln co.	.....Angelica, Shawano co.	.....

## TERRITORIES.

## ARIZONA.

R. C. McCormick.....	Tucson	.....	.....
De Forest Porter.....	.....	.....	.....

## DAKOTA.

Alex. Hughes....	Elk Point, Union co.	.....G. P. Flannery.....	.....
A. McHench.....	Fargo, Cass co.	.....Bismarck, Burleigh co.	.....
		.....Geo. H. Hand.....	.....
		.....Yankton, Yankton co.	.....

## DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

Sayles J. Bowen.....	.....	.....C. Crusor.....	.....
A. M. Green.....	.....	.....Andrew Gleason.....	.....

## IDAHO.

D. P. Thompson.....	Boise City.	.....Thomas Donaldson.....	Boise City.
Austin Savage.....	Boise City.	.....J. A. Pinney.....	Boise City.

## MONTANA.

W. F. Sanders.....	Helena.	.....B. H. Tatem.....	Helena.
R. O. Hickman.....	Virginia City.	.....	.....

## NEW MEXICO.

S. B. Axtel.....	.....	.....	.....
William Breeden.....	.....	.....	.....

## UTAH.

James B. McKean.....	.....	.....John P. McBride.....	.....
George A. Black.....	.....	.....John W. Graham.....	.....

## WASHINGTON.

Elwood Evans.....	Olympia.	.....	.....
Thomas T. Miner.....	Port Townsend.	.....J. B. George.....	Walla Walla.

## WYOMING.

J. M. Carey....	Cheyenne, Laramie co.	.....F. Wolcott.....	Cheyenne, Laramie co.
Wm. Hinton.....	Evanston, Uinta co.	.....J. W. Meldrum.....	.....
		.....Laramie City, Albany co.	.....

NUMBER OF DELEGATES TO WHICH EACH STATE AND TERRITORY WAS ENTITLED, UNDER THE CALL OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

STATES.		STATES.	
Alabama	20	North Carolina	20
Arkansas	12	Ohio	44
California	12	Oregon	6
Colorado	6	Pennsylvania	58
Connecticut	12	Rhode Island	8
Delaware	6	South Carolina	14
Florida	8	Tennessee	24
Georgia	22	Texas	16
Illinois	42	Vermont	10
Indiana	30	Virginia	22
Iowa	22	West Virginia	10
Kansas	10	Wisconsin	20
Kentucky	24		
Louisiana	16	TERRITORIES.	
Maine	14	Arizona	2
Maryland	16	Dakota	2
Massachusetts	26	District of Columbia	2
Michigan	22	Idaho	2
Minnesota	10	Montana	2
Mississippi	16	New Mexico	2
Missouri	30	Utah	2
Nebraska	6	Washington	2
Nevada	6	Wyoming	2
New Hampshire	10		
New Jersey	18	Total	756
New York	70		
Number of Electors.....369			
Majority of Electoral Votes.....185			



# REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTIONS.

## CALLS AND PLATFORMS.

### CALL FOR THE CONVENTION AT PHILADELPHIA, 1856.

The people of the United States, without regard to past political differences or divisions, who are opposed to the repeal of the Missouri compromise, to the policy of the present administration, to the extension of slavery into the territories, in favor of the admission of Kansas as a free state, and of restoring the action of the federal government to the principles of Washington and Jefferson, are invited by the National Committee, appointed by the Pittsburgh Convention of the 22nd of February, 1856, to send from each state three delegates from every congressional district, and six delegates at large, to meet in Philadelphia, on the seventeenth day of June next, for the purpose of recommending candidates to be supported for the offices of President and Vice-President of the United States.

E. D. MORGAN, N. Y.  
JOHN M. NILES, Conn.  
A. P. STONE, Ohio.  
JOHN Z. GOODRICH, Mass.  
ABNER R. HALLOWELL, Me.  
CHARLES DICKEY, Mich.  
A. J. STEVENS, Iowa.  
LAWRENCE BRAINERD, Vt.  
WYMAN SPOONER, Wis.  
E. D. WILLIAMS, Del.  
JAMES REDPATH, Mo.

FRANCIS P. BLAIR, Md.  
DAVID WILMOT, Penn.  
WILLIAM M. CHASE, R. I.  
GEO. RYE, Va.  
E. S. LELAND, Ill.  
GEO. G. FOGG, N. H.  
CORNELIUS COLE, Cal.  
WILLIAM GROSE, Ind.  
C. M. K. PAULISON, N. J.  
JOHN G. FEE, Ky.  
LOUIS CLEPHANE, D. C.

*National Committee.*

WASHINGTON, March 29, 1856.

### PLATFORM ADOPTED AT PHILADELPHIA, 1856.

This convention of delegates, assembled in pursuance of a call addressed to the people of the United States, without regard to past political differences or divisions, who are opposed to the repeal of the Missouri compromise, to the policy of the present administration, to the extension of slavery into free territory, in favor of admitting Kansas as a free state, of restoring the action of the federal government to the principles of Washington and Jefferson, and who purpose to unite in presenting candidates for the offices of President and Vice-President, do resolve as follows:

I. That the maintenance of the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence and embodied in the federal constitution is essential to the preservation of our republican institutions, and that the federal constitution,



the rights of the states, and the union of the states, shall be preserved; that, with our republican fathers, we hold it to be a self-evident truth, that all men are endowed with the inalienable rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, and that the primary object and ulterior design of our federal government were to secure these rights to all persons within its exclusive jurisdiction; that, as our republican fathers, when they had abolished slavery in all our national territory, ordained that no person should be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, it becomes our duty to maintain this provision of the constitution, against all attempts to violate it for the purpose of establishing slavery in the United States, by positive legislation prohibiting its existence or extension therein; that we deny the authority of congress, of a territorial legislature, of any individual or association of individuals to give legal existence to slavery in any territory of the United States while the present constitution shall be maintained.

2. That the constitution confers upon congress sovereign power over the territories of the United States for their government, and that in the exercise of this power it is both the right and the duty of congress to prohibit in the territories those twin relics of barbarism,—polygamy and slavery.

3. That, while the constitution of the United States was ordained and established by the people "in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty," and contains ample provisions for the protection of the life, liberty, and property of every citizen, the dearest constitutional rights of the people of Kansas have been fraudulently and violently taken from them; their territory has been invaded by an armed force; spurious and pretended legislative, judicial, and executive officers have been set over them, by whose usurped authority, sustained by the military power of the government, tyrannical and unconstitutional laws have been enacted and enforced; the right of the people to keep and bear arms has been infringed; test-oaths of an extraordinary and entangling nature have been imposed as a condition of exercising the right of suffrage and holding office; the right of an accused person to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury has been denied; the right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, has been violated; they have been deprived of life, liberty, and property without due process of law; the freedom of speech and of the press has been abridged; the right to choose their representatives has been made of no effect; murders, robberies, and arsons have been instigated and encouraged, and the offenders have been allowed to go unpunished; that all these things have been done with the knowledge, sanction, and procurement of the present administration,—and that for this high crime against the constitution, the Union, and humanity, we arraign the administration, the President, his advisers, agents, supporters, apologists, and accessories, either *before* or *after* the fact, before the country, and before the world; and that it is our fixed purpose to bring the actual perpetrators of these atrocious outrages and their accomplices to a sure and condign punishment hereafter.

4. That Kansas should be immediately admitted as a state of the Union, with her present free constitution, as at once the most effectual way of securing to her citizens the enjoyment of the rights and privileges to which they are entitled, and of ending the civil strife now raging in her territory.

5. That the highwayman's plea, that "might makes right," embodied in the Ostend circular, was in every respect unworthy of American diplomacy, and would bring shame and dishonor upon any government or people that gave it their sanction.

6. That a railroad to the Pacific ocean by the most central and practicable route is imperatively demanded by the interests of the whole country, and

that the federal government ought to render immediate and efficient aid in its construction; and, as an auxiliary thereto, to the immediate construction of an emigrant route on the line of the railroad.

7. That appropriations by congress for the improvement of rivers and harbors of a national character, required for the accommodation and security of our existing commerce, are authorized by the constitution and justified by the obligation of government to protect the lives and property of its citizens.

8. That we invite the affiliation and co-operation of freemen of all parties, however differing from us in other respects, in support of the principles herein declared; and, believing that the spirit of our institutions, as well as the constitution of our country, guarantees liberty of conscience and equality of rights among citizens, we oppose all legislation impairing their security.

CALL FOR THE CONVENTION AT CHICAGO, 1860.

A National Republican Convention will meet at Chicago, on Wednesday, the 13th day of June next, at 12 o'clock, noon, for the nomination of candidates to be supported for President and Vice-President at the next election.

The Republican electors of the several states, the members of the People's party of Pennsylvania, and of the Opposition party of New Jersey, and all others who are willing to co-operate with them in support of the candidates who shall there be nominated, and who are opposed to the policy of the present administration; to federal corruption and usurpation; to the extension of slavery into the territories; to the new and dangerous political doctrine, that the constitution, of its own force, carries slavery into all the territories of the United States; to the reopening of the African slave trade; to any inequality of rights among citizens; and who are in favor of the immediate admission of Kansas into the Union under the constitution recently adopted by its people; of restoring the federal administration to a system of rigid economy, and to the principles of Washington and Jefferson; of maintaining inviolate the rights of the states, and defending the soil of every state and territory from lawless invasion; and of preserving the integrity of this Union and the supremacy of the constitution, and laws passed in pursuance thereof, against the conspiracy of the leaders of a sectional party to resist the majority principle as established in this government at the expense of its existence, are invited to send from each state two delegates from every congressional district and four delegates at large to the convention.

EDWIN D. MORGAN, N. Y.  
JOSEPH BARTLETT, Me.  
GEORGE G. FOGG, N. H.  
LAWRENCE BRAINERD, Vt.  
JOHN T. GOODRICH, Mass.  
WM. M. CHASE, R. I.  
GIDEON WELLES, Conn.  
THOMAS WILLIAMS, Penn.  
GEORGE HARRIS, Md.  
ALFRED CALDWELL, Va.  
THOMAS SPOONER, Ohio.

CASSIUS M. CLAY, Ky.  
JAMES RITCHIE, Ind.  
NORMAN B. JUDD, Ill.  
ZACHARIAH CHANDLER, Mich.  
JOHN H. TWEEDY, Wis.  
ALEXANDER H. RAMSEY, Minn.  
ANDREW J. STEVENS, Iowa.  
ASA S. JONES, Mo.  
MARTIN F. CONWAY, Kan.  
LEWIS CLEPHANE, D. C.

PLATFORM ADOPTED AT CHICAGO, 1860.

*Resolved*, That we, the delegated representatives of the Republican electors of the United States, in convention assembled, in discharge of the duty we owe to our constituents and our country, unite in the following declarations:

1. That the history of the nation during the last four years has fully established the propriety and necessity of the organization and perpetuation of the Republican party, and that the causes which called it into existence are permanent in their nature, and now, more than ever before, demand its peaceful and constitutional triumph.

2. That the maintenance of the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence and embodied in the federal constitution,—“that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed,”—is essential to the preservation of our republican institutions; and that the federal constitution, the rights of the states, and the union of the states must and shall be preserved.

3. That to the union of the states this nation owes its unprecedented increase in population, its surprising development of material resources, its rapid augmentation of wealth, its happiness at home, and its honor abroad: and we hold in abhorrence all schemes for disunion, come from whatever source they may: and we congratulate the country that no Republican member of congress has uttered or countenanced the threats of disunion so often made by Democratic members without rebuke, and with applause from their political associates: and we denounce those threats of disunion in case of a popular overthrow of their ascendancy, as denying the vital principles of a free government, and as an avowal of contemplated treason, which it is the imperative duty of an indignant people sternly to rebuke and forever silence.

4. That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the states, and especially the right of each state to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depends: and we denounce the lawless invasion by armed force of the soil of any state of territory, no matter under what pretext, as among the gravest of crimes.

5. That the present Democratic administration has far exceeded our worst apprehensions, in its measureless subservency to the exactions of a sectional interest, as especially evinced in its desperate exertions to force the infamous Lecompton constitution upon the protesting people of Kansas: in construing the personal relation between master and servant to involve an unqualified property in persons; in its attempted enforcement everywhere, on land and sea, through the intervention of congress and of the federal courts, of the extreme pretensions of a purely local interest; and in its general and unvarying abuse of the power entrusted to it by a confiding people.

6. That the people justly view with alarm the reckless extravagance which pervades every department of the federal government. That a return to rigid economy and accountability is indispensable to arrest the systematic plunder of the public treasury by favored partisans, while the recent startling developments of frauds and corruptions at the federal metropolis show that an entire change of administration is imperatively demanded.

7. That the new dogma, that the constitution, of its own force, carries slavery into any or all of the territories of the United States, is a dangerous political heresy, at variance with the explicit provisions of that instrument itself, with contemporaneous exposition, and with legislative and judicial precedent; is revolutionary in its tendency, and subversive of the peace and harmony of the country.

8. That the normal condition of all the territory of the United States that of freedom; that, as our republican fathers, when they had abolished slavery in all our national territory, ordained that no person should be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, it becomes our duty, by legislation, whenever such legislation is necessary, to maintain the provision of the constitution against all attempts to violate it; and we deny the authority of congress, of a territorial legislature, or of any individuals, to give legal existence to slavery in any territory of the United States.

9. That we brand the recent reopening of the African slave trade under the cover of our national flag, aided by perversions of judicial power, as a crime against humanity, and a burning shame to our country and age; and we call upon congress to take prompt and efficient measures for the total and final suppression of that execrable traffic.

10. That in the recent vetoes, by their federal governors, of the acts of the legislatures of Kansas and Nebraska, prohibiting slavery in those territories, we find a practical illustration of the boasted democratic principle of non-intervention and popular sovereignty, embodied in the Kansas-Nebraska bill, and a demonstration of the deception of fraud involved therein.

11. That Kansas should, of right, be immediately admitted as a state under the constitution recently formed and adopted by her people and accepted by the house of representatives.

12. That while providing revenue for the support of the general government by duties upon imports, sound policy requires such an adjustment of these imposts as to encourage the development of the industrial interest of the whole country; and we commend that policy of national exchanges which secures to the workmen liberal wages, to agriculture remunerating prices, to mechanics and manufacturers an adequate reward for their skill, labor and enterprise, and to the nation commercial prosperity and independence.

13. That we protest against any sale or alienation to others of the public lands held by actual settlers, and against any view of the free homestead policy which regards the settlers as paupers or suppliants for public bounty; and we demand the passage by congress of the complete and satisfactory homestead measure which has already passed the house.

14. That the Republican party is opposed to any change in our naturalization laws, or any state legislation, by which the rights of citizenship hitherto accorded to immigrants from foreign lands shall be abridged or impaired; and in favor of giving a full and efficient protection to the rights of all classes of citizens, whether native or naturalized, both at home and abroad.

15. That appropriations by congress for river and harbor improvements of a national character, required for the accommodation and security of an existing commerce, are authorized by the constitution, and justified by the obligation of government to protect the lives and property of its citizens.

16. That a railroad to the Pacific ocean is imperatively demanded by the interests of the whole country; that the federal government ought to render immediate and efficient aid in its construction; and that, as preliminary thereto, a daily overland mail should be promptly established.

17. Finally, having thus set forth our distinctive principles and views, we invite the co-operation of all citizens, however differing on other questions, who substantially agree with us in their affirmance and support.

## OFFICIAL PROCEEDINGS OF THE

## CALL FOR THE CONVENTION AT BALTIMORE, 1864.

The undersigned, who, by original appointment, or subsequent designation to fill vacancies, constitute the executive committee created by the national convention held at Chicago on the 16th day of May, 1860, do hereby call upon all qualified voters who desire the unconditional maintenance of the Union, the supremacy of the constitution, and the complete suppression of the existing rebellion, with the cause thereof, by vigorous war and all apt and efficient means, to send delegates to a convention to assemble at Baltimore, on Tuesday, the 7th day of June, 1864, at 12 o'clock, noon, for the purpose of presenting candidates for the offices of President and Vice-President of the United States. Each state having a representation in congress will be entitled to as many delegates as shall be equal to twice the number of electors to which such state is entitled in the electoral college of the United States.

EDWIN D. MORGAN, N. Y.,  
*Chairman.*

CHARLES J. GILMAN, Me.

E. H. ROLLINS, N. H.

L. BRAINERD, Vt.

J. Z. GOODRICH, Mass.

THOMAS G. TURNER, R. I.

GIDEON WELLES, Conn.

DENNING DUER, N. J.

EDWARD MCPHERSON, Penn.

N. B. SMITHERS, Del.

J. F. WAGNER, Md.

THOMAS SPOONER, Ohio.

H. S. LANE, Ind.

SAMUEL L. CASEY, Ky.

E. PECK, Ill.

HERBERT M. HOXIE, Iowa.

AUSTIN BLAIR, Mich.

CARL SCHURZ, Wis.

W. D. WASHBURN, Minn.

CORNELIUS COLE, Cal.

WM. A. PHILLIPS, Kan.

O. H. IRISH, Neb.

JOS. GERHARDT, D. C.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 22, 1864.

## PLATFORM ADOPTED AT BALTIMORE, 1864.

1. *Resolved*, That it is the highest duty of every American citizen to maintain against all their enemies the integrity of the Union and the paramount authority of the constitution and laws of the United States; and that, laying aside all differences of political opinion, we pledge ourselves, as Union men, animated by a common sentiment, and aiming at a common object, to do everything in our power to aid the government in quelling, by force of arms, the rebellion now raging against its authority, and in bringing to the punishment due to their crimes the rebels and traitors arrayed against it.

2. *Resolved*, That we approve the determination of the government of the United States not to compromise with the rebels, or to offer them any terms of peace, except such as may be based upon an unconditional surrender of their hostility, and a return to their just allegiance to the constitution and laws of the United States, and that we call upon the government to maintain this position, and to prosecute the war with the utmost possible vigor to the complete suppression of the rebellion, in full reliance upon the self-sacrificing patriotism, the heroic valor, and the undying devotion of the American people to their country and its free institutions.

3. *Resolved*, That as slavery was the cause and now constitutes the strength of this rebellion, and as it must be, always and everywhere, hostile to the principles of Republican government, justice and the national safety demand its utter and complete extirpation from the soil of the republic; and that, while we uphold and maintain the acts and proclamations by which the government in its own defence has aimed a death-blow at this gigantic evil, we are in favor, furthermore, of such an amendment to the constitu-

tion, to be made by the people in conformity with its provisions, as shall terminate and forever prohibit the existence of slavery within the limits or the jurisdiction of the United States.

4. *Resolved*, That the thanks of the American people are due to the soldiers and sailors of the army and navy who have perilled their lives in defence of their country and in vindication of the honor of its flag; that the nation owes to them some permanent recognition of their patriotism and their valor, and ample and permanent provision for those of their survivors who have received disabling and honorable wounds in the service of the country; and that the memories of those who have fallen in its defence shall be held in grateful and everlasting remembrance.

5. *Resolved*, That we approve and applaud the practical wisdom, the unselfish patriotism, and the unswerving fidelity to the constitution and the principles of American liberty with which Abraham Lincoln has discharged, under circumstances of unparalleled difficulty, the great duties and responsibilities of the presidential office; that we approve and endorse, as demanded by the emergency and essential to the preservation of the nation, and as within the provisions of the constitution, the measures and acts which he has adopted to defend the nation against its open and secret foes; that we approve, especially, the Proclamation of Emancipation, and the employment as Union soldiers of men heretofore held in slavery; and that we have full confidence in his determination to carry these and all other constitutional measures essential to the salvation of the country into full and complete effect.

6. *Resolved*, That we deem it essential to the general welfare that harmony should prevail in the national councils; and we regard as worthy of public confidence and official trust those only who cordially indorse the principles proclaimed in these resolutions, and which should characterize the administration of the government.

7. *Resolved*, That the government owes to all men employed in its armies, without regard to distinction of color, the full protection of the laws of war, and that any violation of these laws, or of the usages of civilized nations in time of war, by the rebels now in arms, should be made the subject of prompt and full redress.

8. *Resolved*, That foreign immigration, which in the past has added so much to the wealth, development of resources, and increase of power to this nation,—the asylum of the oppressed of all nations,—should be fostered and encouraged by a liberal and just policy.

9. *Resolved*, That we are in favor of a speedy construction of the railroad to the Pacific coast.

10. *Resolved*, That the national faith, pledged for the redemption of the public debt, must be kept inviolate, and that for this purpose we recommend economy and rigid responsibility in the public expenditures, and a vigorous and just system of taxation; and that it is the duty of every loyal state to sustain the credit and promote the use of the national currency.

11. *Resolved*, That we approve the position taken by the government, that the people of the United States can never regard with indifference the attempt of any European power to overthrow by force or to supplant by fraud the institutions of any republican government on the Western Continent; and that they will view with extreme jealousy, as menacing to the peace and independence of their own country, the efforts of any such power to obtain new footholds for monarchical governments, sustained by foreign military force, in near proximity to the United States.

## OFFICIAL PROCEEDINGS OF THE

## CALL FOR THE CONVENTION AT CHICAGO, 1868.

The undersigned, constituting the national committee designated by the convention held at Baltimore on the 7th of June, 1864, do appoint that a convention of the Union Republican party be held at the city of Chicago, on Wednesday, the 20th day of May next, at 12 o'clock m., for the purpose of nominating candidates for the offices of President and Vice-President of the United States.

Each state in the United States is authorized to be represented in said convention by a number of delegates equal to twice the number of senators and representatives to which each state is entitled in the national congress.

We invite the co-operation of all citizens who rejoice that our great civil war has happily terminated in the discomfiture of rebellion; who would hasten the unity and integrity of the republic, and maintain its paramount right to defend to the utmost its existence, whether imperilled by a secret conspiracy or armed force; of an economical administration of the public expenditures; of the complete extirpation of the principles and policy of slavery, and of the speedy reorganization of those states whose governments were destroyed by the rebellion, and the permanent restoration to the proper practical relations with the United States, in accordance with the true principles of a republican government.

JNO. D. DEFREE, Ind.,  
*Secretary.*

MARCUS L. WARD, N. J.,  
*Chairman.*

J. B. CLARK, N. H.  
A. B. GARDNER, Vt.  
S. A. PURVIANCE, Penn.  
B. C. COOK, Ill.  
D. B. STUBBS, Iowa.  
H. C. HOFFMAN, Md.  
W. J. COWING, Va.  
C. L. ROBINSON, Fla.  
HORACE GREELEY, N. Y.  
B. R. COWEN, Ohio.  
N. EDMUNDS, Da.  
THOS. G. TURNER, R. I.  
S. J. ROWEN, D. C.

S. F. HERSEY, Me.  
WM. CLAFLIN, Mass.  
J. S. FOWLER, Tenn.  
MARSH GIDDINGS, Mich.  
A. W. CAMPBELL, W. Va.  
N. B. SMITHERS, Del.  
W. A. PILE, Mo.  
S. JUDD, Wis.  
H. H. STARKWEATHER, Ct.  
WM. WINDOM, Minn.  
D. R. GOODLOE, N. C.  
SAMUEL CRAWFORD, Kan.  
J. P. CHAFFEE, Col.

## PLATFORM ADOPTED AT CHICAGO, 1868.

The National Union Republican party of the United States, assembled in national convention, in the city of Chicago, on the 20th day of May, 1868, make the following declaration of principles:

1. We congratulate the country on the assured success of the reconstruction policy of congress, as evinced by the adoption, in a majority of the states lately in rebellion, of constitutions securing equal civil and political rights to all, and regard it as the duty of the government to sustain those constitutions, and to prevent the people of such states from being remitted to a state of anarchy or military rule.
2. The guaranty by congress of equal suffrage to all loyal men at the South was demanded by every consideration of public safety, of gratitude and of justice, and must be maintained; while the question of suffrage all the loyal states properly belongs to the people of those states.
3. We denounce all forms of repudiation as a national crime; and national honor requires the payment of the public indebtedness in the utmost good faith to all creditors at home and abroad, not only according to the letter but the spirit of the laws under which it was contracted.

4. It is due to the labor of the nation that taxation should be equalized, and reduced as rapidly as national faith will permit.

5. The national debt, contracted as it has been for the preservation of the Union for all time to come, should be extended over a fair period for redemption; and it is the duty of congress to reduce the rate of interest thereon whenever it can honestly be done.

6. That the best policy to diminish our burden of debt is to so improve our credit that capitalists will seek to loan us money at lower rates of interest than we now pay, and must continue to pay so long as repudiation, partial or total, open or covert, is threatened or suspected.

7. The government of the United States should be administered with the strictest economy; and the corruptions which have been so shamefully nursed and fostered by Andrew Johnson call loudly for radical reform.

8. We profoundly deplore the untimely and tragic death of Abraham Lincoln, and regret the accession of Andrew Johnson to the presidency, who has acted treacherously to the people who elected him and the cause he was pledged to support; has usurped high legislative and judicial functions; has refused to execute the laws; has used his high office to induce other officers to ignore and violate the laws; has employed his executive powers to render insecure the property, peace, liberty, and life of the citizen; has abused the pardoning power; has denounced the national legislature as unconstitutional; has persistently and corruptly resisted, by every means in his power, every proper attempt at the reconstruction of the states lately in rebellion; has perverted the public patronage into an engine of wholesale corruption; and has been justly impeached for high crimes and misdemeanors, and properly pronounced guilty thereof by the votes of thirty-five senators.

9. The doctrine of Great Britain and other European powers, that because a man is once a subject he is always so, must be resisted at every hazard by the United States, as a relic of the feudal times, not authorized by the law of nations, and at war with our national honor and independence. Naturalized citizens are entitled to be protected in all their rights of citizenship, as though they were native born; and no citizen of the United States, native or naturalized, must be liable to arrest and imprisonment by any foreign power, for acts done or words spoken in this country; and if so arrested and imprisoned, it is the duty of the government to interfere in his behalf.

10. Of all who were faithful in the trials of the late war, there were none entitled to more especial honor than the brave soldiers and seamen who endured the hardships of campaign and cruise, and imperilled their lives in the service of the country. The bounties and pensions provided by law for these brave defenders of the nation are obligations never to be forgotten. The widows and orphans of the gallant dead are the wards of the people,—a sacred legacy bequeathed to the nation's protecting care.

11. We highly commend the spirit of magnanimity and forgiveness with which the men who have served the rebellion, but now frankly and honestly co-operate with us in restoring the peace of the country and reconstructing the Southern state governments upon the basis of impartial justice and equal rights, are received back into the communion of the loyal people; and we favor the removal of the disqualifications and restrictions imposed upon the late rebels in the same measure as the spirit of disloyalty will die out, and as may be consistent with the safety of the loyal people.

12. We recognize the great principles laid down in the immortal Declaration of Independence as the true foundation of democratic government; and we hail with gladness every effort towards making these principles a living reality on every inch of American soil.



13. Foreign immigration, which in the past has added so much to the wealth, development of resources, and increase of power to this nation,—the asylum of the oppressed of all nations,—should be fostered and encouraged by a liberal and just policy.

14. This convention declares its sympathy with all the oppressed peoples which are struggling for their rights.

#### CALL FOR THE CONVENTION AT PHILADELPHIA, 1872.

The undersigned, constituting the National Committee designated by the convention held at Chicago on the 20th of May, 1868, hereby call a convention of the Union Republican party, at the city of Philadelphia, on Wednesday, the 5th day of June next, at 12 o'clock, noon, for the purpose of nominating candidates for the offices of President and Vice-President of the United States.

Each state is authorized to be represented in the convention by delegates equal to twice the number of senators and representatives to which it will be entitled in the next national congress, and each organized territory is authorized to send two delegates.

In calling this convention, the committee remind the country that the promises of the Union Republican Convention of 1868 have been fulfilled. The states lately in rebellion have been restored to their former relations to the government. The laws of the country have been faithfully executed, public faith has been preserved, and the national credit firmly established. Governmental economy has been illustrated by the reduction at the same time of the public debt and of taxation; and the funding of the national debt at a lower rate of interest has been successfully inaugurated. The rights of naturalized citizens have been protected by treaties, and immigration encouraged by liberal provisions. The defenders of the Union have been gratefully remembered, and the rights and interests of labor recognized. Laws have been enacted, and are being enforced, for the protection of persons and property in all sections. Equal suffrage has been engrafted on the national constitution, the privileges and immunities of American citizenship have become a part of the organic law, and a liberal policy has been adopted toward all who engaged in the rebellion. Complications in foreign relations have been adjusted in the interest of peace throughout the world, while the national honor has been maintained. Corruption has been exposed, offenders punished, responsibility enforced, safeguards established, and now, as heretofore, the Republican party stands pledged to correct all abuses and carry out all reforms necessary to maintain the purity and efficiency of the public service. To continue and firmly establish its fundamental principles, we invite the co-operation of all the citizens of the United States.

WM. F. CHANDLER, N. H.  
*Secretary.*

JOHN A. PETERS, Me.  
LUKE P. POLAND, Vt.  
L. B. FRIEZE, R. I.  
H. H. STARKWEATHER, Ct.  
JAMES GOPSILL, N. J.  
WM. H. KEMBLE, Penn.  
HOWARD M. JENKINS, Del.  
B. R. COWEN, Ohio.  
JOHN COBURN, Ind.  
C. B. FARWELL, Ill.  
ZACH CHANDLER, Mich.  
J. T. AVERILL, Minn.

WILLIAM CLAFLIN, Mass.,  
*Chairman.*

THOMAS W. OSBORN, Fla.  
L. C. CARPENTER, S. C.  
JOHN H. CALDWELL, Ga.  
JAMES P. STOW, Ala.  
M. H. SOUTHWORTH, La.  
A. C. FISK, Miss.  
S. C. POMEROY, Kan.  
B. F. RICE, Ark.  
JOHN B. CLARK, Mo.  
A. A. BURTON, Ky.  
HORACE MAYNARD, Tenn.  
E. B. TAYLOR, Nch.

DAVID ATWOOD, Wis.	JAMES W. NYE, Nev.
GEORGE W. MCCREARY, Iowa.	H. W. CORBETT, Or.
C. C. FULTON, Md.	GEORGE C. GORHAM, Cal.
FRANKLIN STEARNS, Va.	JOHN B. CHAFFEE, Col.
JOHN R. HUBBARD, W. Va.	W. A. BURLEIGH, Da.
WILLIAM SLOAN, N. C.	SAYLES J. BOWEN, D. C.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Jan. 11, 1872.

PLATFORM ADOPTED AT PHILADELPHIA, 1872.

The Republican party of the United States, assembled in national convention in the city of Philadelphia, on the 5th and 6th days of June, 1872, again declares its faith, appeals to its history, and announces its position upon the questions before the country.

1. During eleven years of supremacy, it has accepted with grand courage the solemn duties of the time. It suppressed a gigantic rebellion, emancipated four millions of slaves, decreed the equal citizenship of all, and established universal suffrage. Exhibiting unparalleled magnanimity, it criminally punished no man for political offences, and warmly welcomed all who proved loyalty by obeying the laws, and dealing justly with their neighbors. It has steadily decreased with a firm hand the resultant disorders of a great war, and initiated a wise and humane policy towards the Indians. The Pacific Railroad and similar vast enterprises have been generously aided and successfully conducted, the public lands freely given to actual settlers, immigration protected and encouraged, and a full acknowledgment of the naturalized citizen's rights secured from European powers. A uniform national currency has been provided, repudiation frowned down, the national credit sustained under the most extraordinary burdens, and new bonds negotiated at lower rates. The revenues have been carefully collected and honestly applied. Despite large annual reductions of the rates of taxation, the public debt has been reduced during General Grant's presidency at the rate of a hundred millions a year, great financial crises have been avoided, and peace and plenty prevail throughout the land. Menacing foreign difficulties have been peacefully and honorably composed, and the honor and power of the nation kept in high respect throughout the world. This glorious record of the past is the party's best pledge for the future. We believe the people will not entrust the government to any party or combination of men composed chiefly of those who have resisted every step of this beneficent progress.

2. The recent amendments to the national constitution should be cordially sustained because they are right,—not merely tolerated because they are laws,—and should be carried out according to their spirit by appropriate legislation, the enforcement of which can safely be entrusted only to the party that secured those amendments.

3. Complete liberty and exact equality in the enjoyment of all civil, political, and public rights should be established and effectually maintained throughout the Union by efficient and appropriate state and federal legislation. Neither the law nor its administration should admit any discrimination in respect of citizens by reason of race, creed, color, or previous condition of servitude.

4. The national government should seek to maintain honorable peace with all nations, protecting its citizens everywhere, and sympathizing with all peoples who strive for greater liberty.

5. Any system of the civil service, under which the subordinate positions of the government are considered rewards for mere party zeal, is fatally demoralizing, and we therefore favor a reform of the system by laws which

shall abolish the evils of patronage, and make honesty, efficiency, and fidelity the essential qualifications for public positions, without practically creating a life-tenure of office.

6. We are opposed to further grants of the public lands to corporations and monopolies, and demand that the national domain be set apart for free homes for the people.

7. The annual revenue, after paying current expenditures, pensions, and the interest on the public debt, should furnish a moderate balance for the reduction of the principal, and that revenue, except so much as may be derived from a tax upon tobacco and liquors, should be raised by duties upon importations, the details of which should be so adjusted as to aid in securing remunerative wages to labor, and to promote the industries, prosperity, and growth of the whole country.

8. We hold in undying honor the soldiers and sailors whose valor saved the Union. Their pensions are a sacred debt of the nation, and the widows and orphans of those who died for their country are entitled to the care of a generous and grateful people. We favor such additional legislation as will extend the bounty of the government to all our soldiers and sailors who were honorably discharged, and who, in the line of duty, became disabled, without regard to the length of service or the cause of such discharge.

9. The doctrine of Great Britain and other European powers concerning allegiance—"once a subject always a subject"—having at last, through the efforts of the Republican party, been abandoned, and the American idea of the individual's right to transfer allegiance having been accepted by European nations, it is the duty of our government to guard with jealous care the rights of adopted citizens against the assumption of unauthorized claims by their former governments; and we urge continued careful encouragement and protection of voluntary immigration.

10. The franking privilege ought to be abolished, and the way prepared for a speedy reduction in the rates of postage.

11. Among the questions which press for attention is that which concerns the relations of capital and labor; and the Republican party recognizes the duty of so shaping legislation as to secure full protection and the amplest field for capital,—and for labor, the creator of capital, the largest opportunities and a just share of the mutual profits of these two great servants of civilization.

12. We hold that congress and the President have only fulfilled an imperative duty in their measures for the suppression of violent and treasonable organizations in certain lately rebellious regions, and for the protection of the ballot-box, and therefore they are entitled to the thanks of the nation.

13. We denounce repudiation of the public debt, in any form or disguise, as a national crime. We witness with pride the reduction of the principal of the debt, and of the rates of interest upon the balance, and confidently expect that our excellent national currency will be perfected by a speedy resumption of specie payment.

14. The Republican party is mindful of its obligations to the loyal women of America for their noble devotion to the cause of freedom. Their admission to wider fields of usefulness is viewed with satisfaction, and the honest demand of any class of citizens for additional rights should be treated with respectful consideration.

15. We heartily approve the action of congress in extending amnesty to those lately in rebellion, and rejoice in the growth of peace and fraternal feeling throughout the land.

16. The Republican party proposes to respect the rights reserved by the people to themselves, as carefully as the powers delegated by them to the

state and to the federal government. It disapproves of the resort to unconstitutional laws for the purpose of removing evil, by interference with rights not surrendered by the people to either the state or national government.

17. It is the duty of the general government to adopt such measures as may tend to encourage and restore American commerce and shipbuilding.

18. We believe that the modest patriotism, the earnest purpose, the sound judgment, the practical wisdom, the incorruptible integrity, and the illustrious services of Ulysses S. Grant have commended him to the heart of the American people, and with him at our head we start to-day upon a new march to victory.

19. Henry Wilson, nominated for the Vice-Presidency, known to the whole land from the early days of the great struggle for liberty as an indefatigable laborer in all campaigns, an incorruptible legislator, and a representative man of American institutions, is worthy to associate with our great leader, and share the honors which we pledge our best efforts to bestow upon them.

CALL FOR THE CONVENTION AT CINCINNATI, 1876.

The next Union Republican National Convention, for the nomination of candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States, will be held in the city of Cincinnati, on Wednesday, the fourteenth day of June, 1876, at 12 o'clock, noon, and will consist of delegates from each state equal to twice the number of its senators and representatives in congress, and of two delegates from each organized territory and the District of Columbia.

In calling the conventions for the election of delegates, the committees of the several states are recommended to invite all Republican electors, and all other voters, without regard to past political differences or previous party affiliations, who are opposed to reviving sectional issues, and desire to promote friendly feeling and permanent harmony throughout the country by maintaining and enforcing all the constitutional rights of every citizen, including the full and free exercise of the right of suffrage without intimidation and without fraud; who are in favor of the continued prosecution and punishment of all official dishonesty, and of an economical administration of the government by honest, faithful, and capable officers; who are in favor of making such reforms in government as experience may from time to time suggest; who are opposed to impairing the credit of the nation by depreciating any of its obligations, and in favor of sustaining in every way the national faith and financial honor; who hold that the common-school system is the nursery of American liberty, and should be maintained absolutely free from sectarian control; who believe that, for the promotion of these ends, the direction of the government should continue to be confided to those who adhere to the principles of 1776, and support them as incorporated in the constitution and the laws; and who are in favor of recognizing and strengthening the fundamental principle of national unity in this centennial anniversary of the birth of the republic.

E. D. MORGAN, *Chairman.*

WM. E. CHANDLER, *Secretary.*  
*Republican National Committee.*

WASHINGTON, Jan. 13, 1876.

[FOR PLATFORM OF 1876, SEE PROCEEDINGS ANTE PAGE 279.]

## REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE, 1876

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JERE HARALSON.....	Selma, Alabama (M. C., Washington, D. C.)
POWELL CLAYTON.....	Little Rock, Arkansas (M. C., Washington, D. C.)
GEO. C. GORHAM, San Francisco, California (Secretary U. S. Senate, Wash- ington, D. C.)	
SAM'L H. ELBERT.....	Colorado (address Washington, D. C.)
MARSHALL JEWELL.....	Hartford, Connecticut
SAM'L M. HARRINGTON.....	Wilmington, Delaware
WM. J. PURMAN.....	Tallahassee, Florida (M. C., Washington, D. C.)
JAMES G. DEVEAUX.....	Macon, Georgia
JAMES P. ROOT.....	Chicago, Illinois
WILL CUMBACK.....	Greensburg, Indiana
JOHN Y. STONE.....	Glenwood, Iowa
JOHN A. MARTIN.....	Atchison, Kansas
WM. CASSIUS GOODLOE.....	Lexington, Kentucky
P. B. S. PINCHBACK.....	New Orleans, Louisiana
WM. P. FRYE.....	Lewiston, Maine (M. C., Washington, D. C.)
C. C. FULTON.....	Baltimore, Maryland
JOHN M. FORBES.....	Boston, Massachusetts
ZACH. CHANDLER.....	Detroit, Michigan (address Washington, D. C.)
JOHN T. AVERILL.....	St. Paul, Minnesota
G. M. BUCHANAN.....	Holly Springs, Mississippi
C. I. FILLEY.....	St. Louis, Missouri
L. W. OSBORN.....	Blair, Nebraska
JOHN P. JONES.....	Gold Hill, Nevada (M. C., Washington, D. C.)
WM E. CHANDLER.....	Concord, New Hampshire
GEO. A. HALSEY.....	Newark, New Jersey
ALONZO B. CORNELL.....	New York, N. Y.
THO'S B. KEOGH.....	Greensboro', North Carolina
EDWARD F. NOYES*.....	Cincinnati, Ohio
H. W. SCOTT.....	Portland, Oregon
WM. H. KEMBLE.....	Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
NELSON W ALDRIDGE.....	Providence, Rhode Island
JOHN J. PATTERSON... Columbia, South Carolina (M. C., Washington, D. C.)	
WM. RULE.....	Knoxville, Tennessee
E. J. DAVIS.....	Austin, Texas
M. S. COLBURN.....	Factory Point, Vermont
J. B. SENER.....	Fredericksburg, Virginia
JOHN W. MASON.....	Grafton, West Virginia
ELIHU ENOS.....	Waukesha, Wisconsin
R. C. MCCORMICK, Tucson, Arizona (address 5th Avenue Hotel, New York city.)	
NEWTON EDMUNDS.....	Yankton, Dakota
S. J. BOWEN.....	Washington, District of Columbia
THO'S DONALDSON, Boise City, Idaho (address Centennial Committee, Phila- delphia, Pa.)	
ALEX. H. BEATTIE.....	Helena, Montana
STEPHEN B. ELKINS... Santa Fe, New Mexico (M. C., Washington, D. C.)	
JOHN R. MCBRIDE.....	Salt Lake City, Utah
ORANGE JACOBS.....	Seattle, Washington Territory
JOS. M. CAREY.....	Cheyenne, Wyoming

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\* Appointed by State Committee in place of A. T. Wikoff resigned.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, 1876.

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Z. CHANDLER.....	<i>Chairman.</i>
R. C. McCORMICK.....	<i>Secretary.</i>
A. B. CORNELL.....	New York.
JOHN M. FORBES.....	Boston.
MARSHALL JEWELL.....	Hartford, Conn.
GEORGE A. HALSEY.....	Newark, N. J.
WM. H. KEMBLE.....	Philadelphia.
WM. E. CHANDLER.....	Concord, N. H.
CHARLES C. FULTON.....	Baltimore.
EDWARD F. NOYES.....	Cincinnati.
W. CUMBACK.....	Greensburg, Ind.
JAMES P. ROOT.....	Chicago.
C. I. FILLEY.....	St. Louis.
GEO. C. GORHAM.....	San Francisco (Washington).
JOHN T. AVERILL.....	St. Paul, Minn.
JOHN J. PATTERSON.....	Columbia, S. C. (Washington).
JOHN Y. STONE.....	Glenwood, Iowa.
ELIHU ENOS.....	Waukesha, Wis.

HEAD-QUARTERS:—*Fifth Avenue Hotel, New York City.*

WESTERN HEAD-QUARTERS:—*Chicago.*

OFFICIAL PROCEEDINGS OF THE  
Republican Congressional Committee, 1876.

CHARLES HAYS.....	Alab
S. W. DORSEY.....	Arka
A. A. SARGENT.....	Califo
JNO. T. WAIT.....	Connect
S. B. CONOVER.....	Flo
JNO. A. LOGAN.....	Illi
M. C. HUNTER.....	Ind
JAMES WILSON.....	I
WM. A. PHILLIPS.....	Kan
JNO. D. WHITE.....	Kent
J. R. WEST.....	Louisiana
EUGENE HALE.....	Maine
HENRY L. PIERCE.....	Massachu
JAY A. HUBBELL.....	Mich
H. B. STRAIT.....	Minnesota
J. L. ALCORN.....	Missis
P. W. HITCHCOCK.....	Nebraska
WM. WOODBURN.....	Nevada
A. H. CRAGIN.....	New Hampshire
C. H. SINNICKSON.....	New Jersey
THO'S C. PLATT.....	New York
JNO. A. HYMAN.....	North Carolina
CHAS. FOSTER.....	Ohio
JNO. H. MITCHELL.....	Oregon
SIMON CAMERON.....	Pennsylvania
L. W. BALLOU.....	Rhode Island
A. S. WALLACE.....	South Carolina
JACOB M. THORNBERG.....	Tennessee
MORGAN HAMILTON.....	Texas
C. H. JOYCE.....	Vermont
WM. H. H. STOWELL.....	Virginia
J. M. RUSK.....	Wisconsin
J. P. KIDDER.....	Dakota
S. B. ELKINS.....	New Mexico
ORANGE JACOBS.....	Washington Territory

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

SIMON CAMERON, *Chairman*.  
A. H. CRAGIN.  
JOHN A. LOGAN.  
J. R. WEST.  
S. W. DORSEY.

THOMAS C. PLATT.  
JAY A. HUBBELL.  
J. M. RUSK.  
C. H. SINNICKSON.

*Committee on Finance.*  
Messrs. RUSK, PLATT, and WEST.

*Committee on Printing.*  
Messrs. DORSEY, HUBBELL, and SIN-  
NICKSON.

J. M. EDMUNDS, *Secretary*; JACOB TOME, *Treasurer*; E. T. GETCHELL,  
*Chief Clerk*.

HEAD-QUARTERS:—1,006 F Street N. W., Washington, D. C.

NAMES AND POST-OFFICE ADDRESSES

OF

CHAIRMEN AND SECRETARIES

OF

REPUBLICAN STATE COMMITTEES.

---

ALABAMA.....	Chairman—Charles E. Mayer, Montgomery. Secretary—Henry Turner, Montgomery.
ARKANSAS.....	Chairman—S. W. Dorsey, Helena (U. S. S., Washington, D. C.) Secretary—James Torrans, Little Rock.
CALIFORNIA.....	Chairman—A. G. Abell, San Francisco. Secretary—M. D. Boruck, San Francisco.
COLORADO.....	Chairman—J. C. Wilson, Colorado Springs. Secretary—W. R. Beattie, Denver.
CONNECTICUT.....	Chairman—Lynde Harrison, New Haven. Secretary—Edward B. Bennett, Hartford.
DELAWARE.....	Chairman—Henry F. Pickels, Wilmington. Secretary— — — —
FLORIDA.....	Chairman—Dennis Egan, Tallahassee. Secretary—H. S. Harmon, Gainesville.
GEORGIA.....	Chairman—John E. Bryant, Savannah. Secretary—S. A. Darnell, Atlanta.
ILLINOIS.....	Chairman—A. C. Babcock, Chicago. Secretary—Daniel Shepard, Chicago.
INDIANA.....	Chairman—Geo. W. Friedley, Indianapolis. Secretary—D. S. Alexander, Indianapolis.
IOWA.....	Chairman—Henry C. Leighton, Oskaloosa. Secretary— — — —
KANSAS.....	Chairman—John Guthrie, Topeka. Secretary—J. Jay Buck, Topeka.
KENTUCKY.....	Chairman State Com.—W. J. Landrum, Lancaster. Secretary—Frank P. Schmitt, Louisville. Chairman Executive Com.—R. M. Kelly, Louisville. Secretary—Thomas S. Speed, Louisville.



- LOUISIANA..... *Chairman*—S. B. Packard, New Orleans.  
*Secretary*—Charles Hill, New Orleans.
- MAINE..... *Chairman*—James G. Blaine, Augusta.  
*Secretary*—Zimri A. Smith, Portland.
- MARYLAND..... *Chairman*—John L. Thomas, Jr., 128 West Balt. street,  
 Baltimore.  
*Secretary*—Albert Small, Baltimore.
- MASSACHUSETTS.. *Chairman*—Alanson W. Beard, Boston.  
*Secretaries*—Geo. S. Merrill, Cadwallader Curry.  
 Headquarters, 383 Washington street, Boston.
- MICHIGAN..... *Chairman*—S. D. Bingham, Lansing.  
*Secretary*—S. S. Olds, Lansing.
- MINNESOTA..... *Chairman*—D. M. Sabin, Stillwater.  
*Secretary*—J. C. Braden, Litchfield.
- MISSISSIPPI..... *Chairman*—Wm. M. Hancock, Quitman.  
*Secretary*—J. L. Lake, Jr., Jackson.
- MISSOURI..... *Chairman*—George H. Shields, St. Louis.  
*Secretary*—D. C. Coleman.
- NEBRASKA..... *Chairman*—J. W. Dawes, Crete, Saline Co.  
*Secretary*—G. L. Brown, Omaha.
- NEVADA..... *Chairman*—Isaac L. Requa, Virginia City.  
*Secretary*—Geo. A. King, Virginia City.
- NEW HAMPSHIRE. *Chairman*—Daniel Hall, Dover.  
*Secretary*—B. F. Prescott, Concord.
- NEW JERSEY..... *Chairman*—Joseph Coult, 766 Broad street, Newark.  
*Secretary*—John Y. Foster, Newark.
- NEW YORK..... *Chairman*—A. B. Cornell, 5th Avenue Hotel, New York.  
*Secretary*—Henry A. Glidden, 5th Avenue Hotel, New  
 York.
- NORTH CAROLINA. *Chairman*—Thomas B. Keogh, Greensboro'.  
*Secretary*—F. M. Sorrell, Raleigh.
- OHIO..... *Chairman*—A. T. Wikoff, Columbus.  
*Secretary*—J. C. Donaldson, Columbus.
- OREGON..... *Chairman*—George A. Steele, Portland.  
*Secretary*— — — — —
- PENNSYLVANIA... *Chairman*—Henry M. Hoyt, Wilkesbarre.  
*Secretary*—A. Wilson Norris, Harrisburg.  
 Head-quarters, 1303 Chestnut street, Philadelphia.
- RHODE ISLAND... *Chairman*—Charles R. Brayton, Providence.  
*Secretary*—N. P. S. Thomas, Providence.
- SOUTH CAROLINA. *Chairman*—R. B. Elliott, Columbia.  
*Secretary*—James Kennedy, Columbia.

- TENNESSEE**..... *Chairman*—D. B. Cliffe, Nashville.  
*Secretary*—G. N. Tillman, Shelbyville.
- TEXAS**..... *Chairman*—Edmund J. Davis, Austin.  
*Secretary*—N. W. Cuney, Galveston.
- VERMONT**..... *Chairman*—George W. Grandey, Vergennes.  
*Secretary*—George Nichols, Northfield.
- VIRGINIA**..... *Chairman*—C. P. Ramsdell, Petersburg.  
*Secretary*—J. D. Brady, Portsmouth.  
*Chairman Executive Committee*—S. E. Chamberlain, Petersburg.
- WEST VIRGINIA**... *Chairman*—O. G. Scofield, Parkersburg.  
*Secretary*—George W. Brown, Grafton.  
*Chairman Executive Committee*—J. W. Mason, Grafton.
- WISCONSIN**..... *Chairman*—E. W. Keyes, Madison.  
*Secretary*—Frank Leland, Delavan.
- ARIZONA**..... *Chairman*—A. P. K. Safford, Tucson.  
*Secretary*—Levi Bashford, Prescott.
- DAKOTA**..... *Chairman*—George H. Hand, Yankton.  
*Secretary*—L. D. F. Poore, Springfield.
- IDAHO**..... *Chairman*—L. F. Carter, Boise City.  
*Secretary*—J. S. Gray, Boise City.
- MONTANA**..... *Chairman*—Wesley W. Jones, Deer Lodge.  
*Secretary*—E. S. Stackpole, Deer Lodge.
- NEW MEXICO**.... *Chairman*—Wm. Breeden, Santa Fe.  
*Secretary*—W. W. Griffin, Santa Fe.
- UTAH**..... *Chairman*—John R. McBride, Salt Lake City.  
*Secretary*— — — —
- WASHINGTON**.... *Chairman*—Thomas T. Minor, Port Townsend.  
*Secretary*—W. McMicken, Olympia.
- WYOMING**..... *Chairman*—E. P. Snow, Cheyenne.  
*Secretary*— — — —
- DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA** *Chairman*—Geo. Holmes, Washington.  
*Secretary*—J. L. N. Bowen, Washington.

1

1880.

PROCEEDINGS  
OF THE  
Republican National Convention

HELD AT

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS,

Wednesday, Thursday, Friday Saturday, Monday and Tuesday,  
June 2d, 3d, 4th, 5th, 7th and 8th, 1880.

Resulting in the Following Nominations:

FOR PRESIDENT:

JAMES A. GARFIELD,

OF OHIO.

FOR VICE-PRESIDENT:

CHESTER A. ARTHUR,

OF NEW YORK.

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Reported by EUGENE DAVIS, Official Stenographer to the Convention.

CHICAGO, ILL.:  
THE JNO. B. JEFFERY PRINTING AND PUBLISHING HOUSE.  
1881.

*Note.—The Official Proceedings of 1868, 1872, 1876 and 1880 inclusive are reprinted by authority of the following resolution adopted by the Republican National Convention held at Philadelphia in 1900:*

*"Resolved, That the Secretary of this Convention be requested to republish the Official Proceedings of preceding Republican National Conventions now out of print, under the direction of the National Committee."*

CHARLES W. JOHNSON, Secretary.

Philadelphia, June 21, 1900.

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1903.

## REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

1880.

## PROCEEDINGS.

FIRST DAY—WEDNESDAY, JUNE 2, 1880.

The REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION assembled in Exhibition Hall, Chicago, at twelve o'clock, noon, of this day, and was called to order by Hon. Donald Cameron, Chairman of the Republican National Committee, who announced that Rev. Dr. Kittredge, of Chicago, would open the proceedings with prayer.

Rev. Dr. Kittredge then offered the following

## PRAYER.

*Let us unite in prayer:* Our Father in Heaven, we thank Thee that at the opening of this Convention we can unite our hearts at the mercy seat and seek Thy blessing. We thank Thee that Thou hast promised to hear those who come to Thee with penitent, believing hearts. And so wilt Thou pardon us all our sins as we bow before Thee, and wilt Thou give us such a blessed mighty faith in Thee that our prayer shall bring down a blessing from Thy love. We thank Thee this morning for the unity of our hearts in Thy Fatherhood. We thank Thee, gathered as we are from so many different homes, so many States, with so many different experiences and different views, that, as we look up into Thy face, we lose sight of all these differences as we call Thee "Our Father which art in heaven." We thank Thee this morning for all Thy blessings to our dear land; that, as Thou didst lead Thine Israel of old, and didst go before them in the cloud by day and in the pillar of fire by night, so Thou hast led our Nation during these many years, and though Thou hast led us as Thou didst Thine Israel through the Red Sea of blood, and through the wilderness of sorrow, we thank Thee that Thou hast never left us. We thank Thee that Thy discipline has purified us. We thank Thee this morning that we are a united Nation—one Nation in love one to the other. We thank Thee, Heavenly Father, for the names and the memories that are so sacred to us to-day; for that name of Washington, for that name of Lincoln, and for all the memories of great and good men through whom Thou hast blessed our country.

And now we come to Thee this morning because Thou art an unchangeable God, because Thou art our God, as Thou wast our father's God. We

come to pray that Thou wouldst bless our land to-day, and that Thy blessing may rest upon it in the future. Bless North and South, East and West, every State, every city and town, and every home. We thank Thee for all that Thou hast accomplished for the strength and the beauty of our country through that party whose representatives meet here to-day. We thank Thee for the chains of bondage that are forever broken. We thank Thee for re-united States. We thank Thee for the principles of justice, and equality, and righteousness which underlie the foundations of our Government.

And now, Heavenly Father, bless this Convention. Guide all its deliberations by Thy Holy Spirit. May we look to Thee, who hast promised to give us wisdom if we only ask in faith. Wilt Thou help us in these days by Thy grace, to lose sight of all individual desires and opinions, and to seek only Thy glory, and the unity and the power of our dear land. We ask that thou wouldst bless the dear ones at home—homes from which so many of us have come to this city. Watch over them in our absence. Be as a wall of fire about our homes, and may we be re-united again to the dear ones from whom we are absent. Hear this our prayer. Bless us; bless this whole land. God of our fathers, may Thy blessing ever go before us, and at last wilt Thou gather us all into the Father's house, where they never go out, and where love, and truth, and friendship are perfect. We ask it all in the name of our blessed Redeemer. Amen.

#### READING THE CALL.

Mr. CAMERON. The Secretary of the National Committee will now read the call for the Convention.

Col. THOS. B. KEOGH, Secretary of the Republican National Committee, then read the Call, as follows:

WASHINGTON, JANUARY, 1880.

A National Convention of the Republican party will meet at Chicago, Wednesday, the 2d day of June next, for the nomination of candidates to be supported for President and Vice-President at the next election. Republicans and all who will co-operate with them in supporting the nominees of the party, are invited to choose two delegates from each Congressional district, four at large from each State, two from each Territory and two from the District of Columbia, to represent them in the Convention.

J. D. CAMERON, *Chairman*.

THOS. B. KEOGH, *Secretary*.

#### ADDRESS OF THE CHAIRMAN OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

Mr. CAMERON then delivered the following opening address:

*Gentlemen of the Convention:* I ask your attention for a single moment. During the canvass just ended there has been manifested in many sections of the country considerable bitterness, which, I trust, will entirely disappear before we enter upon the grave duties devolved upon us. Let there be but one motive governing our action, and let that be a determination to place in nomination the strongest possible candidates—men strong in themselves, men strong in the confidence and affections of the people, and men who will command the respect of the civilized world. Our country, of which we are justly

**P**roud, has grown so rapidly in population, wealth and influence during the **e**xistence of the Republican party, that we have attained a position as one of **t**he leading powers of the world; and we can no longer be satisfied with our **i**solation. Recognizing the changed condition, we must place in position men **w**hose familiarity with other nations will enable them to direct our affairs **s**o that we will take the lead in commerce, as we have in agriculture and in **m**anufactures. Do not for a moment doubt the strength of our institutions. **T**hey have been tried in blood and have come through the contest better, **s**tronger, and purer than the most ardent patriot had dared to hope. No **c**ombination of circumstances, no coterie of individuals, no personal ambition, **c**an ever prevail against the intelligence and inborn love of liberty which are **i**mplanted in the hearts of Americans. When the nominations are made and **t**he Convention has completed its work, let there be but one sentiment animat-  
**i**ng all earnest, sincere, and unselfish Republicans, and let that be that each **s**hall vie with the other in carrying our grand old party through the coming **c**ontest to victory.

I have been instructed by the Republican National Committee to place in **n**omination as Temporary Chairman, Hon. GEORGE F. HOAR, of Massachusetts.

The nomination being unanimously agreed to, the Chair appointed Ex-  
**G**ov. E. J. DAVIS, of Texas, Hon. WILLIAM P. FRYE, of Maine, and Hon.  
**G**REEN B. RAUM, of Illinois, a committee to conduct the Chairman to his seat.

The Committee then conducted Mr. HOAR to the chair.

Mr. CAMERON. *Gentlemen of the Convention:* I have the great pleasure  
of introducing to you the Honorable GEORGE F. HOAR, of Massachusetts.

#### ADDRESS OF THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN.

On taking the chair, Mr. HOAR said:

*Gentlemen of the Convention:* Accept my thanks for this distinguished  
mark of your confidence.

The framers of the Constitution expected that the President would be  
chosen by Electors, who were to assemble in their respective States, and, on  
consultation with each other, cast their ballots for a Chief Magistrate. In  
case of failure by the Electors, the House of Representatives, voting by States,  
were to make choice from the four who had the highest number of votes in  
the Electoral College. So far from direct popular action did the Constitution  
remove the choice of an Executive. But the people, by the customs they have  
established, have baffled the expectation of the framers of the Constitution.  
The Elector to-day is but a scribe. The Conventions of the great political  
parties designate each a man for whom the people vote directly through their  
agents, the Presidential Electors, and to a choice between whom they are  
practically restricted. The function of this Convention, therefore, is to name  
one of two men from whom the people of the United States are to select their  
President. If it perform its duties wisely, fearlessly, and freely, it is to name  
the man whom the people will make their President. Your term of office is  
but brief; but scarcely any duty is intrusted to the most honored citizens of  
the Republic which, in dignity, in authority, in far-reaching public importance,  
equals this.

It is twenty years since the Republican Convention met in this city, and  
after a stormy but friendly contest, put in nomination Abraham Lincoln and  
Hannibal Hamlin. Lincoln has gone to his rest. His companion upon the  
ticket, in fresh and vigorous age, is present with us to-day, to give counsel  
from the stores of an experience gathered from a life of honorable public ser-  
vice. Lincoln has gone to his rest. Douglas and Breckenridge, his two com-  
petitors for the great office of the Presidency, sleep by his side. But.



the parties which confronted, each other *then*, confront each other now, unchanged in purpose, in temper, and in character. The Democratic party was ruled then, as now, by the South. The single purpose of its being was to give political supremacy to the oligarchs of the South, and office, without influence, to their subservient Northern allies.

In the pursuit of that end, every great public interest was sacrificed or disregarded. Expending little for public improvements, either on the coast or on inland river or lake, in 1860 the credit of the Nation was poor, its treasury empty, its six per cent. bonds below par. Our unprotected manufactures contended at fearful odds with the pauper labor of Europe, on whose workshops we depended for a large portion of the necessities and comforts of life. Our little navy was scattered over the four quarters of the globe. Four millions of our countrymen were in hopeless bondage. To them every new State, as it took its place in the great family, but added a new dungeon to their gloomy prison-house.

At last, as the Democratic party let go its hold on power, the National flag itself seemed about to be folded and laid aside, to be regarded thenceforth as a miserable symbol of the futility and folly of the last great experiment of self-government. The Democratic party confronts us to-day, as I said, unchanged in purpose, in temper, and in character. United in nothing else, proposing no other measure of policy, it wages its warfare upon the safeguards which the Nation has thrown around the purity of its elections. It can see nothing else of evil except that a freeman should cast a free vote under the protection of the National authority.

In Louisiana and Mississippi it is the accomplice of the White League and the Ku-Klux. In South Carolina it takes the honest ballot from the box, and stuffs tissue ballots in its place. In New York it issues fraudulent naturalization papers, three score thousand in number. In Maine its ambitious larceny tries to pilfer a whole State Government at once. In Delaware it stands complacently by the whipping-post. As in war it found in the Constitution nothing which could protect the National life, so in peace it finds nothing there which can protect the National honor. Can you find in the history of the Democratic party for sixteen years anything that it has either done or tried to do, except to break down the legal safeguards which make free elections possible?

My friends, the Republican party has no such miserable history. It tells you of rebellion subdued; of slaves freed; of great public ways constructed; of rivers and harbors opened to commerce; of homestead laws for the settlers; of treaties protecting the rights of our naturalized citizens abroad; of public credit re-established; of debt diminished; of sound currency restored; of a flag floating everywhere, honored and respected, over peaceful seas and welcomed everywhere in friendly ports.

But not for these things alone does the Republican party challenge your respect or demand your confidence. National wealth may exist, manufactures may flourish, commerce may increase, in a nation whose people are degraded and enslaved. The keynote of every Republican platform, the principle of every Republican union, is found in its respect for the dignity of the individual man. Until that becomes the pervading principle of the Republic, from Canada to the Gulf, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, our mission is not ended. The Republic lives, the Republican party lives, but for this: That every man within our borders may dwell secure in a happy home, may cast and have counted his equal vote, and may send his child at the public charge to a free school.

Until these things come to pass, the mission of our party is not accomplished, nor is its conflict with its ancient adversary ended.

My friends, I thank you again for this distinguished mark of your confidence, which I will endeavor to merit by performing the duties of the Chair

during the brief space in which I shall fill it, without respect of person or of desire among the delegates of this Convention.

The National Executive Committee have instructed the Chair to propose to the Convention for its acceptance the following names for the offices of Temporary Secretaries, Reading Clerks, and Stenographer: JOHN H. ROBERTS, of Illinois, and C. L. MAGEE, of Pennsylvania, Temporary Secretaries; CHARLES W. CLISBEE, of Michigan, and JAMES C. BROADWELL, of Missouri, Reading Clerks; EUGENE DAVIS, of New York, Stenographer.

These nominations were unanimously agreed to, and the gentlemen named took their seats upon the platform.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the pleasure of the Convention?

#### APPOINTMENT OF COMMITTEES.

Mr. HALE, of Maine. *Mr. President:* I offer the following resolution:

*Resolved.* That the roll of the States and Territories be called, and the chairman of each delegation announce the names of the persons selected to serve on the Committees, as follows: "Permanent Organization," "Rules and Order of Business," "Credentials," and "Resolutions."

The resolution was adopted.

The CHAIRMAN. The Secretary will now call the roll of States and Territories, if no other direction be given by the Convention, in alphabetical order. The chairmen of the respective delegations are requested to announce the names of the persons proposed to serve on the several Committees, and then to send, in writing, to the Secretary the names which they announce.

As the States were called the names were announced in their order, and upon the conclusion of the Roll Call the several Committees were announced, as follows:

#### COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS.

Alabama.....	Isaac Heyman.	New Hampshire....	W. E. Chandler.
Arkansas.....	Powell Clayton.	New Jersey.....	Chilion Robbins.
California.....	Creed Haymond	New York.....	Benjamin F. Tracy.
Colorado.....	George T. Clark.	North Carolina....	Geo. W. Price, Jr.
Connecticut.....	Samuel Fessenden.	Ohio.....	Warner M. Bateman.
Delaware.....	James R. Lofland.	Oregon.....	John H. Mitchell.
Florida.....	Joseph E. Lee.	Pennsylvania.....	John Cessna.
Georgia.....	Edwin Belcher.	Rhode Island.....	John P. Sanborn.
Illinois.....	Green B. Raum.	South Carolina.....	W. N. Taft.
Indiana.....	B. K. Higginbotham.	Tennessee.....	J. M. Thornburgh.
Iowa.....	J. S. Clarkson.	Texas.....	Webster Flanagan.
Kansas.....	B. F. Simpson.	Vermont.....	John W. Stewart.
Kentucky.....	Richard B. Stoll.	Virginia.....	C. C. Tompkins.
Louisiana.....	[contested; no app't.]	West Virginia.....	J. M. Hagans.
Maine.....	A. A. Strout.	Wisconsin.....	Edward Sanderson.
Maryland.....	W. J. Hooper.	Arizona.....	Richard C. McCormick.
Massachusetts.....	Chas. R. Codman.	Dakota.....	Porter Warner.
Michigan.....	Omar D. Conger.	District of Columbia....	S. J. Bowen.
Minnesota.....	D. M. Sabin.	Idaho.....	George L. Shoup.
Mississippi.....	F. M. Libby.	Montana.....	Henry N. Blake.
Missouri.....	Harrison E. Havens.	New Mexico.....	William Breedon.
Nebraska.....	N. R. Persinger.	Wyoming.....	M. C. Brown.
Nevada.....	M. D. Foley.	Utah.....	V. M. C. Silva.

## OFFICIAL PROCEEDINGS OF THE

## COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS.

Alabama.....	William Youngblood.	New Jersey.....	Wm. V
Arkansas.....	S. H. Holland.	New York.....	Edwar
California.....	D. S. Payne.	North Carolina.....	Jan
Colorado.....	Amos Steck.	Ohio.....	Rodney
Connecticut.....	Henry C. Robinson.	Oregon.....	
Delaware.....	Levi G. Clarke.	Pennsylvania.....	V
Florida.....	F. C. Humphreys.	Rhode Island.....	Char
Georgia.....	A. E. Buck.	South Carolina.....	I
Illinois.....	Emery A. Storrs.	Tennessee.....	Horace
Indiana.....	George W. Friedley.	Texas.....	
Iowa.....	George D. Perkins.	Vermont.....	Georg
Kansas.....	B. W. Perkins.	Virginia.....	Jas
Kentucky.....	A. T. Wood.	West Virginia.....	C
Maine.....	Lewis Barker.	Wisconsin.....	Josep
Maryland.....	J. Morrison Harris.	Arizona.....	
Massachusetts.....	J. M. Barker.	Dakota.....	(
Michigan.....	George A. Farr.	Dist. of Columbia.....	
Minnesota.....	D. Sinclair.	Idaho.....	Jon
Mississippi.....	Charles W. Clarke.	Montana.....	R
Missouri.....	Robert T. VanHorn.	New Mexico.....	Wm
Nebraska.....	J. W. Dawes.	Utah.....	P
Nevada.....	T. D. Edwards.	Washington.....	Thom
New Hampshire.....	Chas. Holman.	Wyoming.....	

## COMMITTEE ON PERMANENT ORGANIZATION.

Alabama.....	Benjamin S. Turner.	New Jersey.....	J
Arkansas.....	O. P. Snyder.	New York.....	Henr
California.....	John Mansfield.	North Carolina.....	Ruf
Colorado.....	John A. Ellett.	Ohio.....	A
Connecticut.....	John M. Douglas.	Oregon.....	O
Delaware.....	Christian Febiger.	Pennsylvania.....	How
Florida.....	V. J. Shipman.	Rhode Island.....	A
Georgia.....	Madison Davis.	South Carolina.....	W
Illinois.....	Richard Whiting.	Tennessee.....	
Indiana.....	Jacob J. Todd.	Texas.....	V
Iowa.....	John M. Sharp.	Vermont.....	Hen
Kansas.....	S. S. Benedict.	Virginia.....	H
Kentucky.....	Morris C. Hutchins.	West Virginia.....	
Maine.....	L. G. Downes.	Wisconsin.....	Willi
Maryland.....	Charles T. Westcott.	Arizona.....	J
Massachusetts.....	W. B. S. Hopkins.	Dakota.....	P
Michigan.....	E. C. Watkins.	Dist. of Columbia.....	
Minnesota.....	J. V. Daniels.	Idaho.....	Geor
Mississippi.....	James Hill.	Montana.....	R
Missouri.....	Luther C. Slavens.	New Mexico.....	Wil
Nebraska.....	V. Bierbower.	Utah.....	V
Nevada.....	E. Strother.	Washington.....	Thor
New Hampshire.....	Sam'l W. Hale.	Wyoming.....	

## COMMITTEE ON RULES AND ORDER OF BUSINESS.

Alabama.....	J. H. Thomasson.	Delaware.....	Benj
Arkansas.....	J. H. Johnson.	Florida.....	
California.....	E. A. Davis.	Georgia.....	
Colorado.....	M. N. Megrue.	Illinois.....	A
Connecticut.....	Daniel Chadwick.	Indiana.....	Byron

Iowa .....	S. M. Clark.	Oregon.....	D. C. Ireland.
Kansas.....	George H. Case.	Pennsylvania....	W. H. Armstrong.
Kentucky.....	W. Godfrey Hunter.	Rhode Island....	Thomas W. Chase.
Maine.....	Llewellyn Powers.	South Carolina..	Charles M. Wilder.
Maryland.....	Jacob J. Weaver, Jr.	Tennessee.....	J. M. Cordell.
Massachusetts..	Robt. M. Morse, Jr.	Texas.....	William Chambers.
Michigan.....	J. H. Chandler.	Vermont.....	John B. Meade.
Minnesota.....	E. F. Drake.	Virginia.....	W. R. Watkins.
Mississippi.....	H. C. Carter.	West Virginia....	A. C. Moore.
Missouri.....	Thomas B. Rodgers.	Wisconsin.....	A. J. Turner.
Nebraska.....	J. L. Mitchell.	Arizona.....	J. S. Vosburg.
Nevada.....	W. W. Bishop.	Idaho.....	George L. Shoup.
New Hampshire...	James G. Sturgis.	Montana.....	Henry L. Blake.
New Jersey.....	C. H. Sinnickson.	Utah.....	Presley Denny.
New York.....	George H. Sharpe.	Washington.....	Thomas H. Brents.
North Carolina....	O. H. Blocker.	Wyoming.....	M. C. Brown.
Ohio.....	James A. Garfield.		

CORRECTION.

At the conclusion of the roll-call, (the Territory of Utah having been omitted from the call) :

Mr. FRYE, of Maine. I notice that in the call the Territory of Utah was omitted. I know of no reason at all for its omission, and I therefore move that the Territory be called.

The CHAIRMAN. Let the Territory be called, as of course, unless some objection be made.

Mr. CONKLING, of New York. There is objection, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. It is moved by the gentleman from Maine that the Territory of Utah be called.

Mr. CONKLING. I rise to a question of order.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state his question of order.

Mr. CONKLING. It is this: the National Committee, through its proper organ, prepared and presented a roll on which, as I am informed, the State of Louisiana, for one, was omitted. The Territory of Utah, because of a contest, was omitted. The resolution under which the Convention has acted was based on that roll, and it has been called; and I submit that it is not in order, after the execution of that resolution, to move either that Utah or Louisiana, or any other State or Territory omitted, now be placed upon the roll. I have no right, Mr. Chairman, to speak of the merits, but, whenever a motion in respect to Utah is in order, I beg to be heard upon the merits of that controversy.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair is of the opinion that the roll referred to in the resolve which has been adopted by the Convention is the roll prepared by the National Committee, and that the order of the Convention embraced in that resolution has been executed; but the Chair cannot hold as a matter of order that it is out of order to now move to call another Territory.

Mr. CONKLING. Will the Chair allow me to say a word? I inquire of the Chair whether it is in order for me to amend the motion by adding as well, the State of Louisiana?

The CHAIRMAN. Undoubtedly.

Mr. CONKLING. I do not make that motion, nor do I appeal from the decision of the Chair, but, with great respect to the Chair, I beg to say that, like many delegates around me, we understood, in voting for the resolution of the gentleman from Maine, that the Convention and all concerned were to stand to and abide by the agreed-on roll.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the resolution.

Mr. FRYE, of Maine. Being a member of the National Committee, and having taken part in all of the proceedings of that committee since we have been in session in this city, I desire to say to the Convention and to the gentleman from New York, that it was agreed by that committee that Utah should be put on the roll; and, Mr. Chairman, I desire to say further, that the Secretary of the National Committee, standing right by me here, says that he left Utah off by mistake. Now, sir, I take it that a convention of Republicans are willing to rectify a mistake made by the Secretary of the National Committee.

Mr. CONKLING. I regret that the honorable gentleman from Maine, who is so able to make us all hear, should have made a motion so utterly misleading—if what he now says is true, and I do not doubt that it is. Had that gentleman stated that there was a mistake in making up the roll, he would have heard no objection from me. And, Mr. Chairman, in that event, the Convention would have heard no motion from him, because all that was necessary to obtain unanimous consent in this Convention was to say that an error had been committed, and everybody would be for the rectification of that error. Now, I beg to say, upon the simple statement of the gentleman from Maine, that an error has been committed, if he does not have unanimous consent, without a motion to correct it, it shall not be because I object.

Mr. FRYE. In reply to the gentleman from New York, I desire to say that, when I made my motion I had just been informed that Utah had been left off. I know it was the agreement that it should go on. The secretary was not near me, so that I might inquire. He came to me after my motion was made.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there further objection to the resolution? The Chair hears none, and it is adopted.

The Territory of Utah was then called.

#### CONTESTING DELEGATIONS.

Mr. McCORMICK, of Arizona. I offer the following resolution, which I send to the Secretary to be read.

The CHAIRMAN. The resolution will be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

*Resolved*, That the roll of States and Territories be called for the presentation of credentials and for notice of contest, and that all such papers be referred without statement or debate, to the Committee on Credentials.

The resolution was adopted.

The roll of States was then called, and such credentials as had not already been submitted to the Committee on Credentials were handed to the Secretary of the Convention.

During the roll-call.

On the call of the State of Alabama.

Mr. PARSONS, of Alabama. I desire to give notice that James T. Rapier claims to be a delegate elected from the Fourth Congressional district of Alabama.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair is informed that in the case of most of the States and Territories, the credentials have already been given to the member of the Committee on Credentials from that State; and, if no objection is made, the announcement that that has been done from any State will be regarded as a compliance with the order of the Convention. Wherever notice is given of a contest, such notice will be received by the Convention. The gentleman from Alabama, [Mr. Parsons,] gives notice of a contest from his State.

Mr. PARSONS. I also give notice of a contest on the part of William H. Smith and Willard Warner, who claim to have been elected from the Seventh district of the State to the seats now claimed by A. Bingham and R. A. Mosely, of that district.

Mr. HENDERSON, of Iowa. I hold in my hand—

The CHAIRMAN. For what purpose does the gentleman rise?

Mr. HENDERSON. To give notice of a contest.

The CHAIRMAN. From what State?

Mr. HENDERSON. Illinois.

The CHAIRMAN. That is not in order at this time. Arkansas is now to be called.

On the call of the State of Illinois.

Mr. HENDERSON, of Iowa. I desire to introduce credentials and memorials on behalf of certain delegates from the First, Second, Third, Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, Ninth, Tenth, Thirteenth and Seventeenth Congressional districts of Illinois.

On the call of the State of Indiana.

Mr. HARRISON, of Indiana. Do I understand that the original certificates of membership are to be sent to the Chair, or simply a list certified by the Chairman and secretary of the delegation?

The CHAIRMAN. The credentials of members, or such documents as they regard as their credentials and rely on as such, under the order of the Convention must be sent to the Chair, unless they have already been sent to the Secretary of the Convention, or to the Committee on Credentials.

On the call of the State of Louisiana.

Mr. WARMOTH, of Louisiana. I will present to the Committee on Credentials the credentials of the contesting delegates from the State of Louisiana, elected at the convention held in New Orleans on the 24th of May. There are a great many of them, and I want to know if it will be in order to hand them in immediately to the Committee on Credentials

The CHAIRMAN. That, of course, will be done unless objection is made.

On the call of the State of New York, there being no response.

The CHAIRMAN. There is no response from the State of New York. What will be done with it?

Mr. CONKLING, of New York. If I heard aright the announcement of the Chair it was that where credentials had been handed to the State's member of the committee, that is a compliance with the rule. I have no doubt the credentials of New York have been so handed.

On the call of the State of Pennsylvania.

Mr. BEAVER, of Pennsylvania. The credentials of the Pennsylvania delegation are in the hands of the Committee on Credentials. However, I am requested to send to the Secretary, to be transmitted to that Committee, separate credentials for the members from the Sixth Congressional district of Pennsylvania. I am requested also to send to the Secretary the credentials of members from the Ninth Congressional district, in which there is a contest. These papers will be sent to the Secretary to be transmitted to the Committee.

On the call of the Territory of Utah.

Mr. CONKLING, of New York. Being requested to do so by Republicans of Utah, I beg to present the protest and the papers constituting the contest from that Territory.

The CHAIRMAN. This concludes the roll of the States and Territories. What is the further pleasure of the Convention?

#### THE VETERAN SOLDIERS' ASSOCIATION.

Mr. LOGAN, of Illinois. I desire to offer the following resolution:

*Resolved*, That the Committee on the Distribution of Tickets is hereby instructed to furnish each day to the Chairman of the Veteran Soldiers' Association, five hundred tickets of admission for distribution among the veteran Union soldiers.

I desire to say one word, sir, in reference to that resolution. The veterans have had a meeting in the city of Chicago, and are here and have expected that at least they would be treated as they have been in former National Conventions. In 1868, in the city of Chicago, I was Chairman of the Veteran Association, and marched into the National Convention at the head of these veterans, and that by the invitation of the National Republican Convention. Application was made to the National Committee for their admission to this Republican Convention, and I am told—however, not being a member of that committee, I cannot vouch for the truth of the statement—that it was voted down in that committee. If that be true, I ask this Convention to do for them that justice which has been done by every other Convention where the application has been made. On looking around and observing seats unoccupied all day to-day, I ask what Republican will say that the veteran soldiers, many of them wearing wooden legs—the men that saved your Nation—should not be furnished with tickets of admission to this Convention? There are among them veteran soldiers who support each and every candidate whose name will be presented here. It is not for that that I ask their admission; but it is that these men, who in time of trial went forth and saved their country, nine-tenths of whom are Republicans, should not be denied their rights.

Mr. Chairman, I do not wish to complain, nor do I complain, of the National Committee, but, sir, this morning when I entered this Convention,

although a delegate-at-large from Illinois, I had to enter it without a ticket of admission as a delegate, excepting a provisional ticket given me by a man appointed by that committee. I went to every member of that committee whom I could find, and they finally said that they gave no such instructions. No man questioning my right to a seat in this hall, I was not permitted to enter this hall with a delegate's ticket. I entered with a ticket signed by James P. Root. Now, sir, I do not say this by way of complaint; I am here; but I want to see admitted these men that have asked this committee to be permitted to look upon the Convention. They do not desire to come here to make a noise. They do not desire to come here to cheer for any man, but ask merely that they may be permitted, as men who have served their country faithfully, to look upon this Convention that nominates the candidate for whom they are asked to vote.

Mr. KILPATRICK, of New Jersey. I desire to say just one word. With all my heart I second the resolution of the gentleman from Illinois. The men for whom he pleads here to-day were my constant and well loved companions on many a bloody battlefield. I do not care whom they may favor in this Convention, they have a right to be here to look upon it. There are men who have received tickets to this Convention from their friends who do not pretend to have done what these brave soldiers did, not only for the grand old Republican party of the Nation, but for the Nation itself. I will never turn my back upon a soldier, no matter for whom he votes or whom he may favor in this Convention.

The resolution was adopted.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair awaits the further pleasure of the Convention.

#### ANNOUNCEMENT.

The Secretary announced that the Committee on Resolutions, Permanent Organization, and Rules and Order of Business were requested to meet immediately for consultation.

#### ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. CONKLING, of New York. [The hour being 3 p. m.] *Mr. Chairman:* There are now four Committees of the Convention absent to commence their duties. It is possible that one or two of these Committees might be able to report in season for an evening session, but the others cannot be able to report before to-morrow morning. Until reports are received from all these Committees, more especially from the Committee on Credentials and Contested Seats, no business can well proceed in the Convention. Therefore, at the suggestion of a number of delegates, and in accordance with my own judgment, I suggest that our convenience would be consulted, and that probably we should conclude our labors sooner, were we now to adjourn to a convenient hour in the morning. And at that hour I hope all Committees will be ready, and that then the actual business of the Convention may begin, and that we may speedily conclude the work which has, in my belief, so much to do with the future welfare of the country.

Therefore, Mr. Chairman, I move that the Convention do now adjourn to meet to-morrow morning at eleven o'clock.



Mr. HALE, of Maine. *Mr. Chairman—*

Mr. CONKLING. I withdraw the motion for a moment to hear any suggestion.

Mr. HALE. I only rise to say that it seems to me that the proposition made by the gentleman from New York [Mr. Conkling] is one that does accord with the condition of the business before this Convention. If we had an evening session, not more than one, or possibly two, of the Committees, upon whose reports probably no division would arise, could report. It would only be the bringing of delegates here for a brief time, and for business that could be as well accomplished in the early hours of to-morrow morning, and I hope that the suggestion embodied in the motion of the gentleman from New York, will now prevail, and that the Committees may have full scope to work from now until to-morrow morning.

Mr. CONKLING. I now renew my motion.

• The motion was agreed to.

So the Convention, at three o'clock and five minutes, p. m., adjourned to to-morrow morning at eleven o'clock.

## SECOND DAY.

THURSDAY, June 3, 1880.—11 A. M.

Pursuant to adjournment, the Convention met.

The CHAIRMAN. The Rev. Dr. Noble, of Chicago, will offer prayer.

Dr. Noble offered the following

### PRAYER:

Almighty and most merciful God, our Heavenly Father, reverently, and in faith and love, do we bow before Thee, that we may acknowledge our dependence upon Thee, and render the ascription of honor which is due to Thy great name. In Thy keeping are the dispositions of men and the destinies of nations. We rejoice in it that Thou art infinite in Thy wisdom and marvelous in Thy love. Now we come to Thee that we may receive from Thee, Who art the source and center of all light, that instruction and guidance necessary for the right discharge of the duties of this hour. Gathered together from all the States and Territories of this great Nation, to consult concerning the interests of the time to come, be Thou gracious, O God, and bestow in Thy tender mercy so much of wisdom as may be necessary for the right acquittal by each, of the duty he has to perform. We pray for our Nation. We thank Thee for it; and our supplication is that, as we have received it from our fathers, through their wisdom and their sacrifice in the years that are gone, so we may be true to all its interests and perpetuate it unto our children, that they may carry it down to their children's children through the generations that are to come. And may peace be in all our borders. May all our customs, and all our laws, and all our institutions become more and more penetrated with the wisdom of Jesus Christ.

Our Father, who are in Heaven: Hallowed be Thy name: Thy Kingdom come: Thy will be done on earth as it is in Heaven. Give us this day our daily bread, and forgive us our debts as we forgive our debtors; and lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil: For Thine is the Kingdom, and the power, and the glory, forever. Amen.

### MOTION FOR RECESS.

Mr. CONKLING, of New York. *Mr. Chairman:* I beg to inquire of the Chair, if the Chair has the information, whether the Committee on Contested Seats and Credentials is ready to report?

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair has no authentic information on that subject, but has been told by some persons who claimed to know, that that Committee would not be likely to be ready for several hours.

Mr. CONKLING. May I inquire of the Chair the time, as far as the Chair is informed, when the Committee will be likely to be ready to report?

The CHAIRMAN. Some gentleman on the platform—the Chair is unable to remember now whom, or to vouch for the authenticity of the information—said that that committee would not be able to report before four o'clock. Perhaps some other person is better informed.

Mr. CONKLING. *Mr. Chairman*—

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will wait one moment. The Secretary now informs the Chair that he left that Committee about half an hour since, and they informed him that they probably would not report before four o'clock.

Mr. CONKLING. *Mr. Chairman*: The information we have in this part of the house is the information the Convention has received from the Chair, namely, that the Committee on Credentials and Contested Seats will in no event be ready to make report before four o'clock. Every delegate must see that, before proceeding to any business of importance, the membership of the Convention must be ascertained. We must know who are and who are not its members, before the transaction of business can begin. This being the necessity of the case, I rise, Mr. Chairman, at the suggestion of a large number of delegates, to submit a motion which I confess I make with great reluctance; because, like others, I am very anxious that the Convention should finish its business in order that we may depart to our homes. But, being here, we are compelled, of course, not only to do our duty, but to submit to its inconveniences and necessities. Therefore, in the hope of saving time, and trusting that all committees by that time will be ready to report, I now move that the Convention take a recess until—I will say—six o'clock this evening. I mention that hour because it will enable delegates in the meantime to take their dinners, come here in the cool of the day, and give us an evening session of hours enough, I trust, to advance, and greatly advance, the business of the Convention. I therefore submit the motion I have proposed.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from New York moves—

Mr. HALE, of Maine. I ask the gentleman from New York if he will yield for a moment.

Mr. CONKLING. For what purpose?

Mr. HALE. For the purpose of making some remarks upon the motion.

Mr. CONKLING. I wish to take the sense of the Convention upon the motion, and, therefore, I think it better to insist upon it.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from New York moves that the Convention take a recess until six o'clock.

Mr. HALE. Then I rise to a point of order, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state his point of order.

Mr. HALE. I make the point of order that a motion to take a recess, to a certain time, is clearly a debatable motion. It is contradistinguished in its—

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will hold the motion debatable.

Mr. HALE. *Mr. Chairman*: I rise to oppose the motion of the gentleman from New York. Nearly eight hundred delegates, representing all of the United States and Territories, have been assembled in this city during

the last four or five days, and have been eager to proceed to the business that has brought them here from their constituents. We met upon yesterday, and by common consent—for I had the pleasure then of concurring with the gentleman from New York; we adjourned with the clear understanding that upon this morning, giving last evening up to other matters, the Convention should go to work. Now it is claimed that because the Committee on Credentials is not ready to report, the whole Convention must be hung in a condition of suspended animation and can do nothing; and it is with some force urged that until we know our membership nothing can be done. But, Mr. Chairman, in Republican Conventions heretofore, much business has been done before the Committee on Credentials, which necessarily must be the latest Committee to be ready to report, brings in its final or preliminary report. I hold in my hand the official record of the proceedings of the Convention of 1876, the last one before this, which was held in Cincinnati, and I find that the same condition of things confronted that Convention that confronts us now at this hour. The Committee on Credentials was the hard-working Committee of the Convention. The Committee on Credentials was the last one of the committees of the Convention to report. It was not ready to report at once, as other Committees were ready, because of the hard work upon it. But the Convention wanted to do business, as the gentleman will find, and I call it to the attention of the gentleman from New York. I do not need to do this, because with his thorough preparation upon everything before this convention, he has it already familiarly in his mind. The first thing was the report of the Committee on Permanent Organization. If the gentleman will look at page 27 of the official report, he will find that, represented by the gentleman from Massachusetts, Dr. Loring, the Committee on Permanent Organization reported. It was then, as I believe it is now, an uncontested report; and there was unanimous consent that time should not be misspent in repeated adjournment; but that that Committee being ready, the Convention should go on and organize permanently, ready for business. And when that was done, and the permanent organization had been effected, and the speech of the Permanent Chairman had been made, then, as gentlemen will find, if they will refer to page 34 of those proceedings, the Committee on Rules and Order of Business stood ready, knocking at the door of the Convention. And the Convention of 1876, like this Convention, with the same object, and in the same situation, took up the report of the Committee on Rules and Order of Business; and that was disposed of. The Committee on Credentials was not ready, and did not report until afterwards, as it is found on page 39.

Mr. Chairman, this Convention is ready for business. We can, in the hours between now and five o'clock this afternoon, organize this Convention permanently, as has been done before. We can then take up, for I understand the Committee on Rules and Order of Business is ready to report, the report of that Committee, and can dispose of it; and, when six o'clock comes, can assemble here in our evening session and do the business of the Committee on Credentials. I do not believe that this Convention is ready to throw away the time between now and then.

In answer to the proposition that we must know our membership before we organize, I can only invoke the precedents of the past, and trust that the Convention will maintain them. I will take up no further time.

Mr. CONKLING. I find, Mr. Chairman, that I have been able to establish an unexpected claim to the gratitude of the Convention. But for the little motion which I had the honor to submit, the Convention and the country would have been deprived of the eloquent speech of my distinguished friend from Maine.

The motion was one of mere convenience, and I beg to assure my honorable and amiable friend that he need not be at all timid in respect of any possible effect it will have upon the cause in which he is so strenuously zealous.

The gentleman from Maine says the Convention is ready to go to work. The only work we shall do between now and four or five o'clock is to sit here idle on uncushioned seats,—fortunately with backs, while a vast number of other persons sit in the galleries on benches without either cushions or backs; and the whole question is, whether, for the comfort of all concerned, we shall pass the time here in waiting, or let everybody take care of himself. Mr. Chairman, it is an open secret, and I allude to it because the gentleman from Maine has done so, he says the report of the Committee on Permanent Organization is an uncontested report—it is an open secret that the present organization of the Convention, as to its head, is to be continued, and, although the honorable Presiding Officer comes from the same portion of the country which gives us the gentlemen from Maine, (a region peopled chiefly by orators). [Laughter.] I hardly believe that our Chairman will feel bound to indulge the Convention in a second presiding speech. Therefore, could the honorable gentleman have a report from the Committee on Permanent Organization, and have action upon it forthwith, to which I have no objection, he would have a proceeding which, whenever it occurs, will not occupy ten minutes of the time of the Convention; and, when that proceeding has occurred, we shall have come to the confines of present progress, unless we intend to do that which, on reflection, no delegate will advise.

Mr. Chairman, there are very grave questions concerning the membership of the Convention,—questions which go deep in regard to the organization of the Republican party, and in respect of the rights of States. It has been said in the public journals, that among the rules to be reported to us,—and I suppose there is no impropriety in alluding to the public journals,—is a rule restricting to a debate of five minutes, in the case of every delegate, all questions whatsoever. The Committee on Rules and Proceedings, knowing the manifest impropriety of applying such a rule to the questions which may come from the Committee on Contested Seats, have, I am told, instructed the Chairman of the Committee on Rules not even to propose to the Convention any rule whatever, until the Committee on Credentials has reported, and until action is taken on the last question which shall come from that Committee. I beg leave, as one member of the Convention, to express my respect for the forethought of the Committee on Rules in adopting that resolution. So that there is no business which can properly be transacted until we have reports from the Committee on Contested Seats. And unless my honorable friend from Maine will give me some hope that we may have the pleasure of listening farther to him, I feel strongly inclined to insist upon my motion; or, to change it to a motion that the Convention do now adjourn until six o'clock. But, Mr. Chairman, I will not make that motion if any member of the Convention rises to debate it. If no one rises to speak, I will make it, satisfied as I am, and most reluctantly, that the wisest thing we can do is to come here fresh, in the cool of the day, prepared to stay as many hours as shall be necessary to advance the business which brought us together.

Mr. HALE. *Mr. Chairman:* I have only one suggestion to make. It is purely a point of parliamentary law that should guide us. My remark shall be in answer to the argumentative part of the speech of the gentleman from New York, of the infirmity of this Convention to do any business. We are already organized with members here with *prima facie* seats ready to do business as suggested. The point is that until all doubtful questions of seats be settled no business can be done. All I can say is, apply that rule to any legislative body in the land, and you never could move or pass a motion to do business until every contested seat was settled.

The House of Representatives at Washington is to-day engaged in the settling of contested seats, although it has been in session, in all, eight months. The Senate of the United States, of which the gentleman is so distinguished a member, is to-day engaged in settling a contested seat—that from Louisiana. The gentleman from New York has taken part, I doubt

not, in that contest; but all that time he and others were doing business there for the country, and proceeding in the course of business from day to day; and that is answer enough for us.

Now, one thing more, Mr. Chairman. I shall not enter with the gentleman the field of irony and sarcasm, in which he is so expert. The little power that I have has been cultivated in other directions. I leave that to him, only saying that if I am less raspy than he this morning, and am more amiable than he, this vast audience knows why it is so.

The motion for a recess was not agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN. The Convention refuses to adjourn. The Chair awaits the further pleasure of the Convention.

Mr. Joy, of Michigan. Is it in order, Mr. Chairman, for me to make a motion?

The CHAIRMAN. It is in order.

Mr. Joy. I move, then, that the contestants in the election for the contested seats in Illinois shall have the right to be heard before this Convention, by such counsel as they may select. I will send my resolution to the desk.

The Secretary read as follows:

*Resolved*, That the contestants for the disputed seats, in the Illinois delegation, shall have the right to be heard before this Convention, by such counsel as they may select.

Mr. CAMPBELL, of West Virginia. I move to lay that resolution on the table.

Mr. CASSODAY, of Wisconsin. I rise to a point of order.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state his point of order.

Mr. CASSODAY. The point of order is that there is no knowledge in this Convention of any contest yet in the State of Illinois, and will not be until the report of the Committee on Credentials.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair decides the point not well taken. The question is on the motion of the gentleman from West Virginia to lay on the table the resolution offered by the gentleman from Michigan. [After putting the question:] The Chair is unable to decide as to the vote, and will direct the roll of States to be called. As the Secretary calls the roll the Chairman of each delegation will announce the vote in his delegation for or against the proposition. Gentlemen in favor of laying the resolution on the table will, as the roll is called say "Aye;" and those opposed, "No."

Mr. LOGAN, of Illinois. I rise to a question of order.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state his question of order.

Mr. LOGAN. My point of order is, first, that the credentials of the sitting delegates and contestants are now before the Committee on Credentials, who have not reported; that it is out of order to proceed to any business in connection with that question until the Committee on Credentials do make their report. Again, that there are no rules yet established for this Convention. This Convention not being organized, rules cannot be established until it is organized, except for temporary organization.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair is of opinion that it is in order for this Convention to prescribe a rule or mode of proceeding which shall govern it when

that question which must be settled as a part of its organization is before it. The Chair, therefore, overrules the point or order. The Secretary will proceed with the roll.

Mr. FRYE, of Maine. A large number of delegates have found it impossible to hear the question on which this roll is to be called, and ask that it be re-stated.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will re-state it. The gentleman from Michigan [Mr. JOY] moves the following resolution:

The resolution was again read.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from West Virginia, [Mr. Campbell,] moves to lay the resolution on the table. Gentlemen in favor of laying the resolution on the table will, as the roll of the States is called, say "Aye;" those opposed "No."

A DELEGATE. Is debate in order?

The CHAIRMAN. A motion to lay on the table is not debatable. The Chair will state that, in strictness, no point of order can be made, the Convention having begun to divide.

Mr. LOGAN, of Illinois. If the Chair will allow me, I desire to ask the gentleman who made the motion to lay this resolution on the table, if he will withdraw it for one moment.

Mr. JOY. I will withdraw the resolution for the present.

The CHAIRMAN. The mover of the resolution withdraws the resolution for the present. It is not before the Convention.

#### PERMANENT ORGANIZATION.

Mr. SEWALL, of New Jersey. I move that the Convention proceed to its permanent organization, and that the Committee on Permanent Organization be asked to report.

The motion was agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN. The Committee are instructed now to report.

Mr. PIERSON, of New York. Mr. *Chairman*: The Committee on Permanent Organization have prepared a report so far as they can. The Committee were entirely unanimous and entirely harmonious. I am happy to say that there was not a single question upon which the Committee did not agree. The States named their candidates for Vice-Presidents and Secretaries. They adopted a resolution that these men must unquestionably be delegates to the Convention. The State of Illinois, which is in contest, had a member on that Committee. The delegate from that State upon that Committee gave us some names. There had been an informal discussion. I state it informally, and not by the direction of the Committee. The State of Illinois was known to be in conflict, and the Committee are not able to say whether the names upon our report are names that will turn out to be members of the Convention or not. With that statement I am prepared to make the report if the Convention declare it shall be made.

The CHAIRMAN. The report of the Committee will be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON PERMANENT ORGANIZATION.

The Committee on Permanent Organization have attended to the duty assigned them, and beg leave to report that the temporary organization be the permanent organization, with the addition of George M. Buchanan, of Mississippi, as an additional Secretary, and the following list of Vice-Presidents and Assistant Secretaries, consisting of one from each State and Territory:

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

Alabama.....	James Gillette	New Hampshire.....	Joel Eastman
Arkansas.....	H. B. Robinson	New Jersey.....	Judson Kilpatrick
California.....	John Mansfield	New York.....	Chester A. Arthur
Colorado.....	Lafayette Head	North Carolina.....	D. H. Starbuck
Connecticut.....	Jeremiah Olney	Ohio.....	D. M. Harkness
Delaware.....	Albert Curry	Oregon.....	O. P. Tompkins
Florida.....	Sherman Conant	Pennsylvania.....	Hamilton Disston
Georgia.....	S. A. Darnell	Rhode Island.....	Isaac M. Potter
Illinois.....	John Wentworth	South Carolina.....	W. F. Myers
Indiana.....	Francis Atkinson	Tennessee.....	W. Y. Elliott
Iowa.....	J. W. Thompson	Texas.....	W. H. Holland
Kansas.....	Simon Matz	Vermont.....	J. G. McCullough
Kentucky.....	Gen. E. H. Hobson	Virginia.....	William H. Pleasants
Louisiana.....	David Young	West Virginia.....	J. T. Hoke
Maine.....	Jos. R. Bodwell	Wisconsin.....	Philetus Sawyer
Maryland.....	H. J. Brown	Arizona.....	Richard C. McCormick
Massachusetts.....	Nath'l A. Horton	Dakota.....	Porter Warner
Michigan.....	Perry Hannah	Dis. of Columbia.....	Sayles J. Bowen
Minnesota.....	D. Morrison	Idaho.....	George L. Shoup
Mississippi.....	B. K. Bruce	Montana.....	Robert E. Fisk
Missouri.....	William J. Terrell	Utah.....	Pressley Denny
Nebraska.....	D. A. Lewis	Washington.....	Thomas H. Brents
Nevada.....	C. C. Stevenson	Wyoming.....	W. A. Carter

ASSISTANT SECRETARIES.

Alabama.....	George Washington	Nevada.....	J. J. Melgs
Arkansas.....	L. J. Barnes	New Hampshire.....	C. M. Murphy
California.....	E. A. Davis	New Jersey.....	A. P. Condit
Colorado.....	George T. Clark	New York.....	John B. Murray
Connecticut.....	N. Taylor Baldwin	North Carolina.....	I. B. Abbott
Delaware.....	Benjamin Burton	Ohio.....	H. C. Hedges
Florida.....	E. I. Alexander	Oregon.....	D. C. Ireland
Georgia.....	W. W. Brown	Pennsylvania.....	Wm. C. Moreland
Illinois.....	George W. Brinkerhoff	Rhode Island.....	Horace A. Jenckes
Indiana.....	Roscoe O. Hawkins	South Carolina.....	W. A. Hayne
Iowa.....	P. W. Llewellyn	Tennessee.....	Fred. R. Hunt
Kansas.....	P. Hutchinson	Texas.....	George N. Dilley
Kentucky.....	J. R. Puryear	Vermont.....	L. B. Cross
Louisiana.....	Charles Gordon	Virginia.....	M. R. De Mortie
Maine.....	W. W. Thomas, Jr.	West Virginia.....	S. P. McCormick
Maryland.....	John W. Bell	Wisconsin.....	George E. Bryant
Massachusetts.....	Chas. W. Clifford	Dakota.....	Frank Velts
Michigan.....	Morgan Bates	Idaho.....	J. W. Brown
Minnesota.....	C. F. Kindred	Montana.....	Henry A. Blake
Mississippi.....	G. F. Gayles	Utah.....	V. M. C. Silva
Missouri.....	James E. Adams	Washington.....	Thomas T. Minor
Nebraska.....	V. Bierbower	Wyoming.....	M. C. Brown

Respectfully submitted,

H. B. PIERSON,

*Chairman Committee on Permanent Organization.*

L. G. JONES, *Secretary.*

Mr. SEWALL, of New Jersey. I now move the adoption of the report of the committee.



The PRESIDING OFFICER. [Mr. PIERSON, of New York, in the Chair.] *Gentlemen of the Convention.* By the request of the Chairman, and for obvious reasons, I am to put this motion. The question is upon the adoption of the report of the Committee upon Permanent Organization.

The report was adopted.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. *Gentlemen of the Convention.* I have now the honor of presenting to you the Hon. George F. Hoar, of Massachusetts, as the Permanent President of the Convention. [Applause.]

THE PRESIDENT OF THE CONVENTION. *Gentlemen of the Convention.* You have manifested in the choice you have made for permanent presiding officer a disposition to a wise economy in the matter of opening speeches. One good reason occurs to me for the selection that you have made, and that is, that having heard one speech from me, for reasons entirely satisfactory to each delegate you have no inclination to hear another. The Convention is now permanently organized.

#### RULES.

Mr. FRYE, of Maine. *Mr. President.* I understand that the Committee on Rules and Order of Business have completed their labors, and are ready to report. I move that they be requested now to make their report.

Mr. SHARPE, of New York. *Mr. President.* The Committee on Rules and Order of Business spent three hours in session last evening. They labored heartily to produce a result which should tend to harmony in this Convention. They adjourned to meet this morning at nine o'clock, and the last vote was taken only ten minutes before the time fixed for the assembling of this Convention. As a result, I was instructed by the delegates from nine States to prepare a minority report, and having come here directly from the place of our assemblage, and learning that the Committee on Contested Seats was not yet ready to report, I had presumed that I would have an opportunity of preparing that report which I am instructed to make. Further than that, and before the committee adjourned, the question came up, among others, as to when our chairman, Gen. Garfield, should be instructed to make his report, and after a harmonious discussion of it, it was unanimously considered that that report was not to be made until after the Committee on Contested Seats had made their report, and the results had been ascertained. I am, therefore, not prepared to carry out the order of those who were associated with me upon the committee, and I hope that the motion of the gentleman upon my left, [Mr. Frye] which would throw some discord into our committee, may be, for the present, withdrawn.

The PRESIDENT. Does the gentleman from Maine press his motion?

Mr. FRYE. I desire to ask information of the chairman of the committee. Of course, if it was agreed in committee that there should be an expression of the views of the minority, I should not then press my motion. I understand the chairman is present, and I desire to know what the agreement was, if any.

Mr. GARFIELD, of Ohio. The Committee on Rules finished its business at about eleven o'clock by adopting a body of rules and an order of business. A resolution was then offered by one member of the committee that it was the judgment of the committee that the report ought to be made after the report of the Committee on Credentials. That was adopted, whether unanimously or not, I am unable to say, for the committee was about breaking up. General Sharpe requested that a minority of that committee might have leave to offer their views as a minority report, and no objection was made. No vote was taken on that latter topic. I do not propose to, and shall not at this time, tender a report of the Committee on Rules. I am, however, like every other delegate, subject to the orders of this Convention. When they desire a report, and order it, I suppose the committee are ready to make it; but good faith requires this certainly; that if the minority is not ready with its report they ought to have time.

MOTION FOR RECESS.

Mr. FRYE. [The hour being 12:55 p. m.] I withdraw my motion, and move that the Convention now take a recess until five o'clock this afternoon.

THE PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Maine withdraws his first motion. It is now moved by the same gentleman, that the Convention take a recess until five o'clock this afternoon. Is the Convention ready for the question?

Mr. CONKLING. *Mr. President.* As one member of the Convention, I intend to vote for this motion, but my conscience will not be quiet in doing so until after I make some acknowledgment to our friends from Maine. I have not the heart, I say, to part with the society of my honorable friends until five o'clock—until after I have congratulated them on this happy issue of all our afflictions. It is a matter which must stir the patriotism and gratitude of every delegate, that this Convention, in its unorganized state, sublimely rising in its might and grandeur, has been able to achieve the momentous, the critical, the portentous results which have been assured since my motion for a recess was made.

Mr. FRYE. *Mr. President.* The delegates from Maine desire me humbly to return thanks to the distinguished gentleman from New York [Mr. Conkling] for his kindly congratulations. And they desire me to say further that they will be delighted at the close of this Convention once more to see the gentleman rise and congratulate the gentlemen from Maine. [Applause.]

ANNOUNCEMENT.

THE PRESIDENT. Before putting the question, an announcement will be made at the desire of the National Committee.

THE SECRETARY. The National Republican Committee will hold a session at their rooms at the Palmer House immediately upon the adjournment of this Convention.

Mr. CONKLING. Which committee—the old or the new?

THE SECRETARY. The old committee—the present committee. No other committee has been announced yet.

The motion for a recess was agreed to.

So the Convention, at one o'clock, p. m., took a recess until half-past five this afternoon.

#### AFTER RECESS.

The PRESIDENT. [The hour being 5:30 p. m.] The hour to which this Convention took a recess has arrived. The Convention will please come to order.

#### RULES.

Mr. HENDERSON, of Iowa. I understand that the Committee on Credentials will not be able to report at this session of the Convention. I therefore move that the Committee on Rules be now requested to make their report to the Convention, so that we may proceed with business.

Mr. LOGAN, of Illinois. *Mr. President.* I do not rise to make any captious opposition to anything that this Convention may decide to do. But, sir, I will ask the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. Henderson] to consider how much will be accomplished by compelling the Committee on Rules to report at this time. This report on rules and order of business was agreed by the Committee to be deferred until after the Committee on Credentials should have made their report. There are many things in this report, sir, that would be appropriate, and some, perhaps, that might not be. Why this haste, I ask? There is a resolution in that report that denied to men on this floor the right to defend their claim to a seat in this Convention unless they confine themselves to five minutes. Sir, if the Convention, the body of men which it is—honorable, true and just,—desire that victory shall follow what we shall do here, gentlemen should not be too hasty in laying the ax to the heads of their brethren. All that I ask, or any man here ought to ask, as an honorable delegate in this Convention, is fair play in this and all other matters. We should have fair play for all. We should deliberate and consider well all the propositions that are presented to us for our consideration. Why this desire that these rules shall be adopted before we know who are to be the sitting members in this Convention? You cannot proceed with the business of this Convention until this question is settled as to who the delegates are. If you cannot proceed to the business of this Convention, so far as its results may be concerned, I ask you why must these rules be adopted before the members are reported to this Convention and action taken in reference to the sitting members? I desire, so far as I am concerned, no advantage either under rules or by any other process that can be devised by man. But, inasmuch as we come together to consider these questions fairly and justly for all, these rules are to be our guide for the remainder of our deliberations. If that be so, then let the compact be kept that was agreed to by the members of that Committee, and the report of the Committee on Rules be deferred until the report of the Committee on Credentials is acted on. There is no compact, sir, that has been made on the part of any of our friends up to the present time that will not be honestly and strictly kept. The Chairman of the Committee [Mr. Garfield] this morning said that in their Committee the gentleman from New York [Mr. Sharpe] asked permission to present a minority report. That was granted. It was also suggested, and not objected to, that this report should follow the report of the Committee on Credentials.

As to that, I desire to address myself to the good judgment, the cool judgment, and the fair honest sense of this Convention. I ask for no favors and no partiality here. I address myself to no prejudices, but to the better judgment of men. We are brought here representing honest constituencies.

We are here, sir, to do labor in their service, and let it be so performed that when we return home, every Republican, no matter what his choice may have been, no matter what his predilections may now be, can say to us,—Well done, good and faithful servant."

Mr. President, I hope the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. Henderson] with these facts before the Convention, will withdraw the motion. [Cries "No," "No."] Why do you say "No?" Is it because you are determined not to stand by the agreement of your Committee? If so, do you propose to ride rough-shod over compacts and over agreements, and over the rights of others?

[Great confusion and noise in the galleries.]

The PRESIDENT. The Chair will order any portion of the gallery to be cleared from which any interruption of the speaker shall come.

Mr. LOGAN. No matter if they do hiss. I cannot be thrown off my guard by anything that may be said to me. I, as I said, am not discussing this matter with the galleries, but am addressing myself to the men who come here for the purpose of coolly determining these questions. To them do appeal, and to no one else. In the hands of these men I leave it, and not in the hands of men who have no votes in the Convention on this floor.

Mr. HENDERSON. I am glad, Mr. President, particularly glad, to hear the sentiments that have just fallen from the lips of the distinguished gentleman from Illinois. I assume, sir, that the words that have fallen from his lips in his closing remarks will be gratifying to the entire country. From no gentleman in this Convention would I be more glad, than from him, to hear the announcement that there must be no riding, rough-shod, over the rights of the people. Mr. President, I am glad to see the contending armies in this Convention coming into unison on the grand plane of fair play. I thank my distinguished fellow-citizen [Mr. Logan] for the eloquent tribute he has paid to the recognition of the rights of the members of this Convention.

The gentleman has asked: "Why this haste?" I ask the gentleman, Why this delay? This other great champion of peace and human rights, the distinguished gentleman from New York, this morning moved his columns in the direction of delay. Why this delay?

Now, let us look this proposition squarely in the face as men, as Republicans, who have come here together to put in the field a nominee who will be overwhelmingly elected.

The Chairman of the Committee on Rules [Mr. Garfield] made a statement here this morning which showed that there was no such compact as is indicated by the gentleman from Illinois. He did indicate that he was ready to abide by the wish of the Convention. This Convention, ready as it was then to move on with its work, was not permitted to do so, because, upon the explanation that the minority desired an opportunity to make a report, the gentleman from Maine [Mr. Frye], withdrew his motion. Now, Mr. President, the minority report, which should and could have been ready at twelve o'clock, is not ready yet. But the gentleman sees a monster in the Ninth Rule. I am informed that the Ninth Rule is almost *in hac verba*, the same as was adopted by the last National Convention, and, in substance, the same as was adopted by the Convention last before that.

Have we become so changed in our ideas, in our necessities, that we must depart from the action of a Convention that nominated Gen. Grant and afterwards, Mr. Hayes? And that same Ninth Rule, we say, extends the time, as the Convention wishes, to any gentleman upon any question. As I say, it may be all very well for gentlemen here in Illinois, but there are ten thousand citizens here from every portion of this continent. They

want to proceed with business. Here is an organized Convention, ready for work, and its members want to work. Mr. President, under those circumstances I insist upon my motion, that we shall proceed to consider the business that brought us here. One word more. I am informed by one of the gentlemen representing Kentucky, that the Committeeman who signed the minority report says it was ready to be reported this morning.

Mr. BOUTWELL, of Massachusetts. I rise to make an inquiry. It is this.—whether the Committee, or the gentleman on the floor representing the Committee, intend to make any different proposition touching the debate upon contested questions, concerning seats in this Convention, than is provided for in the report which was published in the morning papers of this city, limiting debate, to five minutes? If that be the intention, I for one, could not do otherwise than vote against the consideration of the report of the Committee on Rules. We are interested in the gravest question of American citizenship—the right of men elected by the people to represent the people. The question is whether the motto is to stand as the permanent guide of the Republican party of this country, or whether here, and now, and in this presence, it is to be disregarded—that this is “A Government of the people, by the people, and for the people.”

Mr. WHITE, of Kentucky. Will the gentleman yield for a moment?

Mr. BOUTWELL. Yes.

Mr. WHITE. I desire to state, that the member of the Committee from Kentucky, states emphatically that the statement by the gentleman from Iowa is a misapprehension.

Mr. HAMILTON, of Kentucky. I desire to say that he did say so. I am responsible for it, and say to this convention—

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman is out of order. The gentleman from Massachusetts has the floor.

Mr. BOUTWELL. If my friend from Iowa will allow me a word in the way of an observation, it is never safe in a public assembly to report private conversations. Now, the particular thing which I wish to know, and which, as far as I can now foresee, will decide my vote, and which, I think, ought to decide the votes of this Convention, is whether the men who claim seats on this floor are to be limited to the period of five minutes, either by themselves or by their representatives, on the discussion of this grave question. I say, as one delegate, that I will stand here and wait till there is a judgment by the American people whether either or all these questions of great range, and of deep public concern, are to be discussed here and settled upon a debate in which those having the deepest concern are to be permitted to speak for only five minutes. There is time enough for the consideration of the grave business on which we are met. Here are forty-five millions of people waiting for our judgment, and if that judgment is honest—if we make no misstep—and if we go forward in honest paths, pursuing the accomplishment of honest purposes, the judgment we shall render, whether it be for the citizen of Maine, or for the hero of the war, will be enforced, and established, and ratified by the American people. But if we here, seven hundred selected men, decide these grave questions by a five minutes debate, through fear of a hostile result, what will the American people say? What will they do?

Mr. HARRISON, of Indiana. If I understand the question that now divides this Convention, and which seems to have provoked such acrimonious debate, it is this: The objection on the part of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Logan] to the present reception of the report of the Committee on Rules and Order is based upon the information which has come to the Convention that among those rules is one which limits debate upon all

questions that come before the Convention, to five minutes. It is objected that this limitation will be unfair when the important questions of the rights of contesting and sitting delegates to seats on this floor are to be decided; and that though I differ widely from the gentleman of the Illinois delegation who has spoken, and may possibly not find myself in accord with him again to-day, upon *that* question I am with him.

Whatever may have been done elsewhere—and I do not desire here to add to the acrimony of this debate by any reference to, or criticism upon, what may have been done in other conventions—in my opinion these questions ought not to be settled under a five minutes' rule. If a reasonable limit can be agreed upon, it should be done; and certainly there is sufficient fairness in this Convention to agree upon a reasonable limit—something better than five minutes. Five minutes will not be sufficient to allow one of these delegates so much as to state his claim to a seat, much less support it by precedent and argument. While I object to that limit, I equally object that the time of this Convention shall be indefinitely occupied, and its patience worn out by endless debate upon that question. Therefore I will suggest that some agreement can be made by which a convenient time ample for the fair discussion by selected persons of those questions upon which we are to sit as judges, shall be accredited to those several delegations in which there are contests, and we can proceed to the consideration of the report of the Committee on Rules. I sympathize with every delegate here in the inconvenience of this protracted stay in Chicago. I have found my former visits here pleasant, but from the bottom of my heart to my much trodden toes I have been anxious to get away this time.

But, Mr. President, I think we ought to be fair upon this question, and I am, therefore, opposed to adopting that rule before a decision of this question of contested seats, unless it can be arranged that that rule shall not apply to that question, but there should be a fair limitation of time upon that debate.

Mr. HENDERSON, of Iowa. I desire but a word in reply. The argument of the distinguished representative of Massachusetts [Mr. Boutwell], and of the distinguished representative of Indiana [Mr. Harrison] is all proper and right to be considered when the report is before this Convention. But the motion which I have made simply brings that report before the Convention. When that is done, if five minutes is too short, make it ten, twenty, or an hour, or any suitable time as to these special cases. But when the whole report is before the Convention and in our hands, I ask the gentleman, need we be afraid to trust ourselves as to the time we will fix? We can amend it to suit the pleasure of the Convention. I assure the gentleman from my heart that I have no desire, nor have any of the gentlemen associated with me in support of this idea, any desire to take any unfair advantage of any one in this Convention. We desire to bring the report before us. If it does not suit us we will make it suit us, and so on with the work that is before us.

Mr. SHARPE, of New York. *Mr. President—*

Mr. CLARK, of Iowa. *Mr. President.* I want simply to say—

The PRESIDENT. Does the gentleman from New York yield?

Mr. SHARPE. Will I be entitled to the floor after he gets through?

The PRESIDENT. Certainly, the Chair will recognize the gentleman.

Mr. CLARK. I want simply to say, as the Iowa member of the Committee on Rules, that if the report comes before this Convention for action now,

which I think is right and proper, and if no other member of the Convention will move to amend the rule so that it shall not apply to the report of the Committee on Credentials, I will make that motion myself, and every delegate from Iowa will vote for it.

Mr. SHARPE, of New York. *Mr. President.* I am here simply by a chance to represent the minority of the Committee on Rules and Order of Business. I want to say, sir, that there is no concealment about it. The report of the minority of the committee is in my pocket now, ready to be read to this Convention when it shall proceed to consider it according to the understanding of the Committee. That report is signed by the representatives of nine States—States without which the nominee of this Convention can not be elected. Now, Mr. President I desire to state some facts that passed in the Committee on Rules, and I desire to say that I want to state them I hope, without the necessary indorsement of my brother soldier of Ohio, which it seems is necessary to the gentleman from Maine for any statement that is made on the floor of this Convention. I hope, sir, that the next National Convention will be held nearer my home, where my word is accustomed to be taken without the indorsement of any distinguished soldier. There was before this Committee on Rules and Order of Business a consideration of all the rules and order of business that has governed previous Republican Conventions. They knew very well that when the composition of the Convention was settled it would be necessary to proceed to the transaction of its business with as much alacrity as might be possible; and considering the stringency of the rule which limits debate on all questions to five minutes, they agreed among themselves that they would postpone the enforcement of that rule, until after this Convention found out of whom we were composed.

I charge that agreement upon every member of that committee.

It was placed in their hands to consider, and I say that it was an agreement which, if it was not unanimous, according to my brother soldier from Ohio [Mr. Garfield], at all events, was made without a single dissenting voice. I propose, Mr. President, to move to amend this resolution by inserting therein "that the Committee on Credentials be ordered to make its report," and I so move.

Mr. GARFIELD, of Ohio. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The Chair will first state the question. The gentleman from New York [Mr. Sharpe] moves as a substitute for the pending resolution, that the Committee on Credentials be instructed to make its report.

Mr. GARFIELD. There is no ground for any charge whatever, and I understand none is made that bad faith has been in any way practiced by any person in connection with the Committee on Rules.

Mr. SHARPE. No, sir.

Mr. GARFIELD. The gentleman does not charge it. No one charges it. A suggestion was made in the Committee, and concurred in without division, that, so far as we were concerned, we would not move of our own motion the presentation of our report until after the report of the Committee on Credentials; but the Chairman remarked immediately, and it was also the understanding, that we had no business to control that question if the Convention ordered otherwise. The question now is: "Shall the Convention order otherwise?" and that is the only question before us.

A point has been made in regard to the time for debate; and that was one of the very considerations that led the Committee, as a matter of convenience, to think it might be well to have the Committee on Credentials

report first. But when this report is made it is for this Convention to say whether that five-minute rule shall be one of its rules or not. Furthermore, that five-minute rule also provides that it is merely the ordinary duty of the Chairman to rule five minutes as the time; but it adds, "unless the Convention shall in any case otherwise order." So that it is always in the power of the Convention to extend the time on any topic, and to any person it pleases. I think the suggestion made by the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. Henderson], following on the suggestion of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Logan], ought to be adopted. And, if these rules be now adopted, there should be a provision added that in the debate on the report of the Committee on Credentials, a longer time should be agreed to be granted. But that is a part of our business when we come to adopt our report. That is all I have to say.

The PRESIDENT. The question is on the motion to substitute. Is the Convention ready for the question?

Mr. CONKLING. What is the question?

The PRESIDENT. It is moved that the Committee on Rules be now directed to make their report, to which the gentleman from New York [Mr. Sharpe] moves as a substitute that the Committee on Credentials be now directed to make their report. The question is on the adoption of the substitute. Is the Convention ready for the question? Those who are will say aye—

Mr. CONKLING. Before voting on that question I would like to state the information on which I think every delegate should vote. Some hours ago a motion was made that the Convention take a recess until about this time. That motion, when submitted the second time, was adopted unanimously. What did the Convention mean, and for what purpose did this interval occur? It was to carry out the just and reasonable purpose of the Committee on Rules and Order of Business. What was that purpose, as now admitted by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Garfield], and as conclusively established before, because asserted, by my honored colleague by my side [Mr. Sharpe]? It was that before such rules as these should obtain, the Convention should know and should determine of whom the Convention is composed. So proper was that, and so binding upon the Convention was the unanimous understanding of the Committee, that upon its being disclosed no man, not one, dissented from the propriety of this temporary adjournment. Now, of course, the expectation and meaning were that when we came together, as now we have come, the Committee on Credentials would submit its report. *That* the Convention meant. *That* the Convention unanimously said, by plain intendment and implication, was the proper course. Why is it not the proper course now? I am told by members of the Committee on Credentials that they are ready to report, not upon one State, nor upon two States, nor upon three States, but upon nearly every case in which a contest has been referred. Why, I inquire, should not that Committee come in and make its full report if it is ready; and if not, make so much of the report as it is now ready to make, and allow us to vote as far as it has gone, upon its work?

While we are so voting, the Committee can proceed, as the Committee proceeds now; and by the time we have acted on the first section of the report, the residue will be ready. Is not that very simple? Is not that, I ask you gentlemen carrying out and executing your purpose, and your vote, this morning? It seems to me it is. And therefore, I shall vote for the amendment, Mr. President, unless some member of the Convention shall do what has not yet been done, namely: give us some reason why now we should not go on and do what this morning was agreed. If there be a reason why



the Committee on Contested Seats, sitting at the Sherman House, so near that they can come in a twinkling into the Convention,—if there be any reason why their Chairman should not come in and deliver so much of the reports as consists of cases already passed upon, let us hear that reason. But, whether there be such reason or not, I submit that the good faith and the good understanding of all concerned will be observed by proceeding first to consider the report of the Committee on Contested Seats.

Mr. HENDERSON, of Iowa. *Mr. President:* In reply to the remarks of the gentleman from New York [Mr. Conkling], I would say that it occurs to me that there are good reasons why the amendment should not prevail. In the first place, the Committee on Rules has finished its work and is ready to report. So is the minority. In the next place, the Committee on Credentials has not finished its work, and is not ready to report. I am informed that the cases of Louisiana, West Virginia and Pennsylvania, have not yet been considered by the Committee on Credentials, and they will not be ready to report before to-morrow morning, in all probability.

Now, sir, that being true, and it being also true that, if they bring in a portion of their report, and go on with their work, the members of the Committee will not be here to explain their action, or to defend their action, it must be obvious to every gentleman that they should not be interrupted until their work is completed, and they can be present in the Convention to explain and defend their work.

Now then, with these good and sufficient reasons, and with the other Committee ready; and, as the gentleman representing the minority admitted, according to the statement of the gentleman from Kentucky, that the report is made and ready to be presented, why not let us have it, and get so much of the work of the Convention completed? I suggest, Mr. President, that the sooner we get some limitation on the time and the number of speeches the better for the Convention.

The PRESIDENT. The question is on the substitute. Is the Convention ready for the question?

Mr. SHARPE, of New York. I ask for the roll call, sir.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair supposes that in the absence of any rules, the method of taking the question must rest in the sound discretion of the Chair, subject, of course, to the order of the Convention; but the request of the gentleman from New York is so eminently proper that the Chair will direct the question to be taken in that way. The Clerk will call the roll of the States. The chairmen of the respective delegations are requested to act as tellers, and to report to the Secretary the vote of delegates from their respective States on the question.

Mr. METCALF, of Illinois. I should like the question definitely stated now.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair will state the question again. It is moved that the Committee on Rules be directed now to report. To this the gentleman from New York [Mr. Sharpe] moves as a substitute, that the Committee on Credentials be directed now to report. The question is on the adoption of the substitute. The Clerk will call the roll of the States, and the chairmen of the respective delegations will announce the ayes and noes from their respective States.

The roll of States was then called and resulted,—yeas, 318; nays, 406. as follows:

States.	No. Del.	Ay.	No.	States.	No. Del.	Ay.	No.
Alabama	20	19	1	New York	70	47	23
Arkansas	12	12	..	North Carolina	20	5	15
California	12	..	12	Ohio	44	3	41
Colorado	6	6	..	Oregon	6	..	6
Connecticut	12	..	12	Pennsylvania	58	31	23
Delaware	6	..	6	Rhode Island	8	..	8
Florida	8	8	..	South Carolina	14	7	5
Georgia	22	6	16	Tennessee	24	16	7
Illinois	42	42	..	Texas	16	9	7
Indiana	30	6	23	Vermont	10	10	..
Iowa	22	..	22	Virginia	22	11	8
Kansas	10	..	10	West Virginia	10	..	10
Kentucky	24	20	4	Wisconsin	20	2	18
Louisiana	16	..	..	Arizona	2	..	2
Maine	14	..	14	Dakota	2	1	1
Maryland	16	7	8	District of Columbia	2	2	..
Massachusetts	26	7	17	Idaho	2	..	2
Michigan	22	1	21	Montana	2	..	2
Minnesota	10	3	6	New Mexico	2	..	2
Mississippi	16	8	7	Utah	2	..	2
Missouri	30	29	1	Washington	2	..	2
Nebraska	6	..	6	Wyoming	2	..	2
Nevada	6	..	6				
New Hampshire	10	..	10	Total	756	318	406
New Jersey	18	..	18				

So the substitute was not agreed to.

During the vote:

Upon the call of the State of Alabama:

Mr. TURNER, of Alabama. Alabama votes twenty aye.

Mr. ALEXANDER, of Alabama. I desire to vote no.

The PRESIDENT. Does the gentleman from Alabama desire that his vote should be received in the negative?

Mr. ALEXANDER. Yes, sir.

The PRESIDENT. It will be so recorded.

Mr. ALEXANDER. I desire to explain, sir.

The PRESIDENT. No explanation is in order.

On the call of the State of Kentucky:

Mr. WHITE, of Kentucky. Under instructions from the convention of the State of Kentucky, Kentucky casts twenty-four votes aye.

Mr. HAMILTON, of Kentucky. I protest against the vote given by the Chairman of the delegation. There are four members of the delegation who desire to vote "No."

Mr. WHITE. I wish to state—

Mr. HAMILTON. You can not deprive us of our votes.

Mr. HUBBARD, of Kentucky. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Kentucky is out of order. Does the gentleman from Kentucky desire that his vote may be changed from the affirmative to the negative?

Mr. HUBBARD. He does, sir—four of us. There are four "stalwarts" from Kentucky.

The PRESIDENT. The vote of the gentleman from Kentucky will be recorded in the negative.

Mr. HAMILTON. *Mr. President—*

Mr. HUBBARD. I have the floor.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Kentucky has not the floor for any purpose except to declare his vote. If any other gentleman from Kentucky desires to claim the same privilege he will be recognized.

Mr. HAMILTON. *Mr. President*—

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Kentucky is out of order. No business is now in order except the calling of the roll. Any other questions may be settled by the Convention as it pleases when the roll-call is over.

Mr. CONKLING. That is right.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair will permit no delegate to interrupt the roll-call, except when an individual delegate rises and claims that his vote has been improperly reported by the chairman of his delegation, and it will be recorded by the Secretary. Does any other delegate from Kentucky rise for that purpose?"

Mr. WHITE, of Kentucky. Kentucky votes twenty yea, four nay.

The PRESIDENT. The Chairman of the Kentucky delegation now announces that there are four dissenting voters. They will be so recorded.

On the call of the State of Michigan:

Mr. JOY, of Michigan. One of the Michigan delegation is upon the Committee on Credentials. Have we a right to cast his vote in his absence, knowing how he will vote?

The PRESIDENT. The Chair thinks not. The Secretary will proceed with the roll.

On the announcement of the vote of the State of New York:

Mr. ROBERTSON, of New York. I think the chairman of the delegation has made a mistake of one. There are only sixty-nine delegates present, and the vote should be forty-six ayes and twenty-three noes.

Mr. CONKLING. I have in my hand, having taken some care to make the canvass, a list on this vote of the delegates from New York, and my information is that every seat is full, either in the person of the delegate or his alternate. So that the vote, as shown and stated, is forty-seven one way, and twenty-three the other way.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair must accept the statement of the chairman of the delegation unless an individual delegate rises and states that his vote is wrongly recorded. At the close of the roll-call, if any question arises, it will be settled by the Convention.

The vote was announced as above recorded.

The PRESIDENT. The substitute is rejected. The question recurs on the original resolution.

Mr. BRANDAGEE, of Connecticut. *Mr. President*: I desire to make a motion which I believe to be in the interest of order, of harmony, and of peace. Many of the delegates who voted upon the proposition, or amendment, which has just been rejected, and notably the delegation from Connecticut, of which I am a member, voted No upon that question because they did not believe that the Committee on Credentials should be forced to make a report in installments while we supposed it would be necessary for them to be upon the floor of the Convention to sustain and explain their report. It, therefore, was not in the interest of expediting the business of the Convention that the Committee on Credentials should be made to come into the Convention and make their report.

We voted against it on that ground, but now, sir, I do believe that it was a fair understanding, if not an agreement, in the Committee on Rules and Order of Business, that the Committee should not report until after the report of the Committee on Credentials had been acted on. But nothing will be gained here by an attempt to crowd anything through. I have listened with interest and delight to the champions and the giants who have engaged in the preliminary skirmishes here. I am no champion, and I have no "boom," sir, to engineer through this Convention. We have no candidate in Connecticut that we are attempting to put upon the Convention, but we are waiting for the hour when the clock shall strike, and the Convention shall name its man; and that man, we believe, will be elected if wisdom and harmony, and courtesy prevail here—and not otherwise. Now, sir, at this stage of the Convention, when it seems to me we cannot expedite any further her business here this evening, and understanding from my colleague on the Committee on Credentials that that Committee cannot report before to-morrow morning, I move to lay the present resolution on the table, in order that the Convention may adjourn. Let us dispose of this question and come in to-morrow prepared to settle of whom the Convention consists, and then to nominate the candidate on whom we may write the words victory in November.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. Brandagee] moves to lay the resolution on the table.  
The motion was agreed to.

#### ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. METCALF, of Illinois. I now move that this Convention adjourn until ten o'clock to-morrow morning.

The motion was agreed to.

So the Convention, at seven o'clock and thirty minutes p. m., adjourned to to-morrow morning at ten o'clock.

### THIRD DAY.

FRIDAY, June 4, 1880—10 A. M.

Pursuant to adjournment, the Convention met.

The PRESIDENT. Prayer will be offered by Rev. Mr. Little, of Chicago.

Rev. Mr. Little offered the following

#### PRAYER:

*Let us unite in prayer.* Almighty God and Everlasting Father, we recognize Thee as the author of all life, of all light, of all power. Accept, we entreat Thee, the hearty confession of all our sins, the hearty acknowledgment of Thy mercies. Vouchsafe unto this Convention, we beseech Thee, Almighty God, this day in all its deliberations, the spirit of wisdom, of discretion of a sound mind, of equity, of an enlarged patriotism, and guide its members in all their deliberations to such an issue as shall be honorable to them and acceptable to the people who have charged them with this high service, and whose servants they are. We ask this and all other blessings in the name of Christ, our Lord and Redeemer. Amen.

#### PLEDGING SUPPORT TO THE NOMINEE.

Mr. CONKLING, of New York. I have in my hand a resolution which I will offer in the hope that there will be no objection to it. I shall not ask that the roll be called, if, as I hope, it shall be unanimously agreed to. Should there be a division, I will beg to ask that the roll be called. I offer the following resolution:

*Resolved,* As the sense of this Convention, that every member of it is bound in honor to support its nominee, whoever that nominee may be; and that no man should hold a seat here who is not ready to so agree.

Mr. HALE, of Maine. *Mr. President:* I take it that a Republican Convention does not need to be instructed that its first and underlying duty, after nominating its candidate, is to elect him over a Democratic candidate. We have come here with our preferences, and are earnest and ardent in the expression and urgency of those preferences; but I have yet failed to hear, in the busy and exciting conflict in which men have been engaged for the last week, any expression on the part of any delegate to this Convention, for whomsoever he may be, of a dissent as to the final determination of this Convention. When we have had deliverance from all the labor of this Convention, I have no doubt, and I shall in that agree with the distinguished gentleman from New York, that we will be found hand in hand, shoulder to shoulder, marching on to the election of our candidate. If he nominates

his candidate, Mr. President, we will pledge ourselves to refrain from nothing, by night or by day, to elect him. And, in turn, we shall expect that if we nominate ours, he will work night and day to elect him.

Mr. BRANDAGEE, of Connecticut. I do not rise, Mr. President, to advocate the resolution. I do not think such a resolution needs advocacy in a Republican convention. It ought to pass without opposition, sir, and no man can be in a Republican convention that is not prepared to vote for it, and to stand by it. Mr. President, all I rise for is to ask that this question shall be taken by a call of States, that we may emphasize the verdict, and know who votes for it and who will try to escape from it, if any such there be. I call for the roll of States on the vote.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair will first put the question. If the decision of the Chair is doubted, the call of States will then be ordered. The Chair will not hold himself bound to put questions on a call of States at the request of any individual member of the Convention unless there be some doubt as to the sense of the Convention. [After putting the question], the ayes have it.

Mr. BRANDAGEE. I doubt it, and move that the roll of States be called.

Mr. CONKLING, of New York. Plainly and audibly to me and to others, negative votes were given on this resolution, and I respectfully ask the Chair to call the States, that we may know who it is in a Republican convention that votes "No" on such a pledge.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair will take the sense of the Convention. Is it the pleasure of the Convention that this question be taken by a call of States?

The motion for a call of the roll was agreed to.

The roll of States was then called, and resulted: Yeas, 716; nays, 3, as follows:

States.	No. Del.	Ay.	No.	States.	No. Del.	Ay.	No.
Alabama	20	20	..	New York	70	70	..
Arkansas	12	12	..	North Carolina	20	20	..
California	12	12	..	Ohio	44	44	..
Colorado	6	6	..	Oregon	6	6	..
Connecticut	12	12	..	Pennsylvania	58	58	..
Delaware	6	6	..	Rhode Island	8	8	..
Florida	8	8	..	South Carolina	14	1	..
Georgia	22	22	..	Tennessee	24	24	..
Illinois	42	42	..	Texas	16	16	..
Indiana	30	30	..	Vermont	10	10	..
Iowa	22	22	..	Virginia	22	22	..
Kansas	10	10	..	West Virginia	10	5	3
Kentucky	24	24	..	Wisconsin	20	20	..
Louisiana	16	..	..	Arizona	2	2	..
Maine	14	14	..	Dakota	2	2	..
Maryland	16	16	..	District of Columbia	2	..	..
Massachusetts	26	26	..	Idaho	2	..	..
Michigan	22	22	..	Montana	..	..	..
Minnesota	10	10	..	New Mexico	..	2	..
Mississippi	16	16	..	Utah	..	2	..
Missouri	30	30	..	Washington	..	..	..
Nebraska	6	6	..	Wyoming	..	2	..
Nebraska	6	6	..				
New Hampshire	10	10	..	Total	756	716	3
New Jersey	18	18	..				

So the resolution was adopted.

During the vote:

On the call of the State of South Carolina.

Mr. ELLIOTT, of South Carolina. *Mr. President:* Being the only member of the delegation present from South Carolina, and not being authorized to cast the vote of the other members of the delegation, I desire to be allowed to record my vote on the affirmative side of the question.

On the call of the State of West Virginia.

Mr. CAMPBELL, of West Virginia. *Mr. President.* There are two members of the delegation from West Virginia serving on committees. Those present vote five "aye" and three "no."

On the call of the Territory of Dakota.

A VOICE. The members forming the delegation from Dakota are absent, but their alternates are here and cast two votes aye.

[The delegates from the Territories of Idaho, Montana and Washington and from the District of Columbia were absent, and their votes were not recorded.]

The vote was announced as above recorded.

Mr. CONKLING, of New York. *Mr. President:* I wish to offer a resolution, which in one moment I will reduce to writing, the substance of which meanwhile I will submit orally to the Convention.

*Resolved,* That the delegates who on this roll-call have voted "no" on the resolution just adopted do not deserve to have, and have forfeited their votes in this Convention.

Mr. CAMPBELL, of West Virginia. I hope that for the benefit of those who voted in the negative the gentleman will repeat his remarks.

Mr. Conkling having sent to the Chair his resolution in writing, it was read, as follows:

*Resolved,* That the delegates who have voted that they will not abide the action of the Convention, do not deserve, and have forfeited their votes in this Convention.

Mr. CAMPBELL, of West Virginia. *Mr. President:* Before the resolution is put to this Convention, I desire to make a few remarks. There are three gentlemen from West Virginia, good and true Republicans, who have voted in the negative. I came to the City of Chicago, when a young man, from the State of Virginia, after having submitted for twenty years to contumely and to violence in that State for my Republican principles,—and if it has come to this, that in this City of Chicago, a delegate from that State to a Republican Convention cannot have a free expression of his opinion, I for one am willing to withdraw from this Convention. *Mr. President,* I have been a Republican in the State of Virginia from my youth. For twenty-three years I have published a Republican newspaper in that State. I have supported every Presidential Republican nominee in that time. I expect to support the nominee of this Convention. But, sir, as a Republican, I imbibed my principles from the great statesman from New York, William H. Seward, with whom I had an early acquaintance by virtue of my having gone to school with him near the City of Utica, from which the gentleman from New York [Mr. Conkling] now hails. I was a Republican then, and I made the acquaintance of that distinguished gentleman. I came home, and in my youth I became a newspaper editor. From that day to this—from the John Brown raid on Harper's Ferry all through the troubles

of the last twenty-five years—I have consistently and always supported our State and National Republican nominees. But, Mr. President, I feel, as a Republican, that there is a principle in this question, and I will never come into any Convention and agree beforehand that whatever may be done by that Convention shall have my endorsement. Sir, as a free man, whom God made free, I always intend to carry my sovereignty under my own hat. [Applause.] I never intend that any body of men shall take it from me. I do not, Mr. President, make my living by politics; I make it by my labor as a newspaper editor; and I am not afraid to go home and say that I stood up here in this Convention and expressed my honest opinion, as I was not afraid to stand up in the State of West Virginia, when but 2,500 men were found to vote for Abraham Lincoln, though, I am glad to say, that that party has risen to-day to 45,000 votes under the training that we received, and from the early inspiration of Republican principles. I am afraid, sir, to go home and face those men as I have faced them always.

Mr. MOORE, of West Virginia. Although I differ with my brother from West Virginia [Mr. Campbell], yet I do insist and demand upon his part, as one of the delegates from that State, the right to utter his sentiments as a representative of West Virginia, on every question. He is responsible to his people, and to his people alone. In the name of God, has it come to this, that one who has battled as A. W. Campbell has to my knowledge, in behalf of Republicanism, when it cost something more than it did in the State of New York or in the State of Maine, cannot freely express his opinion in a Republican Convention?

When the dark clouds of 1861 to '65 swept over what is now the little State of West Virginia, when it was the great battle ground, as it were, of the Northern and Southern armies, A. W. Campbell was standing holding aloft the flag of his country on the battlefield and fighting for its principles. While I differ from him, and have resolved to vote for the nominee, whom ever he may be, yet I do insist on behalf of my friends that he has a right to express his sentiments here.

Mr. BRANDAGEE. Mr. President: Before this Convention passes this resolution it would be quite well for these gentlemen to see and decide for themselves what the question is and what the question is not. In the first place, Mr. President, it is not a question of free speech in a Republican Convention. That question was decided in the first Republican Convention that ever sat on this continent, and it never has been doubted or questioned in any National Republican Convention that has met since that date. The war cry of this party was "Free Speech, Free Press, Free Soil, Freedom, and Fremont!" It lies at the foundation of the great temple of Republican liberty, which is the glory of this land, and the admiration of the world,—Free Speech—freedom to express at all proper times and places one's preferences upon political questions; and at the foundations of that other enduring monument, laid deeper than any Convention's work, the Equality of Manhood in Courts, in streets, in Conventions, and in all places. Now, sir, let the gentlemen from West Virginia clearly understand that it is no question of freedom of speech here. Their own course has demonstrated that. They are at perfect liberty to talk both to the Convention and the galleries. No man has denied, doubted, or hindered them in the exercise of their right of speech, and no man will, until this debate is ended. Nor is it, sir, that other question of individual liberty which every American citizen and voter must answer for himself, to his God, and his conscience, when he comes to the polls, the question for whom he individually shall vote. That question each man will take to his conscience and his God, and settle it before them, under the Constitution and the laws of his country. He will vote as his conscience dictates, without fear, favor or reward. The question is whether he shall sit here in a Republican Convention in true loyalty to this glori-



ous party, that has carried this country through the storm of battle, and which advocates Republican liberty for this continent, and Republican liberty for all nations.

As a delegate to the Convention of Republicans, with equal rights and equal privileges, is it decent, is it to be tolerated, will it conduce to order, will it conduce to wholesome party integrity in the coming campaign, to let one State here in advance say unto us, "The mountain must come to Mahomet; Mahomet won't go to the mountain," and to dictate in advance terms here to put shackles upon the action of the delegation of any State in the Convention? I say, that any State, or any portion of any delegation from any State, that deliberately announces that doctrine in advance is not fit for a seat on this floor. I would not exclude them. I would modify that resolution, and suggest to the great orator from New York [Mr. Conkling], the great representative Republican of the country, to modify his resolution so as not to exclude them from the hall. Let them stay here and see how unanimous we can be. But I would instruct the Clerk of this Convention and its President, upon the roll-call, not to call their names so that they may not participate in the results of a Convention to which results they in advance pledge themselves not to conform.

Mr. McCORMICK, of West Virginia. *Mr. President:* I was one of the three men that voted against that resolution. I did not vote against it, sir, because I did not intend to support the nominee of this Convention, because I *do*, as I have done ever since I was old enough to cast a vote. I have to say to the gentleman from New York [Mr. Conkling] that I have been as consistent a Republican as he has been. I have further to say to the gentleman from New York that when the war broke out in 1861 I was but a boy of eighteen years of age, and I went into the army from the State of Indiana, and into Camp Morton, and was in the army for two long years. I made, sir—if the gentlemen of this Convention will allow me to say—in 1876 more than one hundred speeches for the nominee of the Republican party, and I am informed that the gentleman from New York made but one. I would like to see the gentleman practice what he preaches. It is a notorious fact that the gentleman from New York on many occasions in the past, when he has failed to secure what he wanted from the Republican party, has not given it the hearty support that I have. I object to that resolution for this: That resolution recites that a man who dares assert his independence in this Convention is not worthy of a seat in the body. I say he is, and I object to it for that reason, and not because I do not intend to support the nominee of this Convention. I do, and it makes no difference who he is.

Mr. YOUNG, of Tennessee. I understand something of politics in Tennessee. I hate turmoil or anything of the kind among my peers, but I do feel bound to say something here, because matters are shaping themselves, or are being brought about, which are sooner or later to tell the destiny of the Republican party in the South. Now, this is no small question, but it is a question in which we Southern people are much interested. The point is this with me and with the Southern Republicans: The intent of the South is not a true purpose—that is, in the Democratic party. Take you Republicans of the North, and of the East, and of the West, and when you come down through the South it will sugar-coat you until you believe the South is an angel, robed in the most spotless robes with which angels have ever been clothed, and we Republicans get the worst of it when you leave that section of the country. We do not want to be mistaken. We want you in this Convention to look into these little things, that tell which way the wind blows, when we go home. I do not doubt the Republicanism of these gentlemen; but, sir, if a man in the South has not the pluck to stand firm on the smallest question in Republicanism, he is unworthy to stand among his

Southern fellows. I have not yet understood why these gentlemen refuse to support the nominee of the Republican party. I want to know this: If they intend to join any other party in case they are not satisfied here, then what right have they to join us? If they intend to unite with the Democratic party, what right have they to be with us here? If they intend to be silent, why would they say that they would not support him? That would leave them without a vote. I would rather sneak out after declaring that I would not vote with the party than claim a seat in a Republican Convention. I understand what liberty means, but I do not understand that liberty extends so far as to allow men to throw a division into a party which has to act as a unit. Now, I take this position: That unless the Republican party in the North, in the East, and in the West determines to stand to the shoulder and at the back of the Republican party in the South, the South will count Democratic every time, and you can not help it. But the day that the North stands by the Republican party in the South, as she has stood to the party all over this country, then the Electoral College will have Republican votes from the Southern States, and they will be counted. All we ask is men with backbone, and not men who go to the gate and help others in, and themselves slip out. We need the assurance that in our attempt to support the party we will be supported. That is all the Southern Republicans ask. Now, I do not by any means intend to say that the Southern white Republicans are not true. We have them down there—we have them in the Tennessee delegation—as good as any colored man. [Laughter.] I can not say they are any better, but we claim that we have got good colored Republicans down there. But we are tired of men who claim to be Republicans just enough to put us in a position in the South to be defeated; and because they do not agree with the great Republican Convention go back and sow dissension all over the country. I am opposed to it. Let these men define themselves, and let us see what is the matter, and, if it is simply because of their high independence, I say let them vacate their seats, and let the Republican party go on.

Mr. CAMPBELL, of West Virginia. I desire to say one word in answer to all that has been said upon this subject, and in answer to the delegate from Tennessee [Mr. Young]. I would say that I am not afraid to speak of Republicanism, and never have been. When Frederick Douglass came to my city immediately after the war to make a speech, there was not a prominent man in that city, so far as I have been informed, that was willing to introduce him to an audience. He sent for me, or some of his friends did, and I said I would introduce him; and I did introduce him. And, Mr. President, I helped to make such men as the delegate from Tennessee free, and I think it is a very poor return for one of his race to stand up here and talk about Southern white Republicans not having sufficient grit to face their opponents. I claim to have all the grit that any man can have who wears a conscience in his breast. I have always held to my principles under every sort of persecution, and I expect to do so now.

Mr. BBANDAGEE. I rise to question of order. I would like through the medium of a question of order, to ask my friend from West Virginia whether he now—

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Connecticut is out of order. He is not stating a question of order.

Mr. BRANDAGEE. I know I am not; but I am asking a question.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman is out of order. The gentleman from West Virginia has the floor.

A DELEGATE. Mr. Campbell is through.

Mr. GARFIELD, of Ohio. I fear this Convention is about to commit a great error, and before they act I beg leave to state the case. Every delegate in this Convention, save three, voted for a resolution. Those three gentlemen who voted against it have arisen in their places and each man has said that he expects and intends to support the nominee of this Convention. But they say it is not, according to their judgment, a wise thing at this time to pass the resolution for which all the rest of us voted. Are they to be disfranchised because they thought it was not the time to pass the resolution for which we voted? That is the question, and that is the whole question. If these gentlemen had arisen in their places and said, "I will not vote for your nominee," then the question would be a pertinent and entirely different one. Is every delegate here to have his Republicanism inquired into before this Convention will allow him to vote? We come here as Republicans, and we are entitled to take part in the proceeding of this Convention, and as one of our rights, we can vote on every resolution "aye" or "no." We are responsible for those votes to our constituents, and to them alone. There never was a Convention, there never can be a Convention, of which I am one delegate, equal in rights to every other delegate, that shall bind my vote against my will on any question whatever.

I regret that these gentlemen thought it best to break the harmony of this Convention by their dissent; but, when they tell the Convention that by their dissent they did not mean, that they would not vote for the nominee of this Convention, but only that they did not think the resolution at this time wise. I say they acted in their right; and not by my vote shall they be deprived of their seats or their freedom. I do not know the gentlemen, nor their affiliations, nor their relations to candidates, except one of them. One of them I know, who in the dark days of slavery, and for twenty long years, in the midst of slave-pens and slave-drivers, has stood up for liberty with a clear-sighted courage and a brave heart equal to that of the best Republican that lives on this globe. And if this Convention expel him, then we must purge ourselves at the end of every vote by requiring that so many as shall vote against us shall go out.

I trust, after the statements that have been made by the three delegates from West Virginia, that the distinguished gentleman from New York [Mr. Conkling] will take pleasure in withdrawing the resolution and let the Convention proceed with its business.

Mr. PIXLEY, of California. I have the honor very respectfully to move that the resolution be laid upon the table.

Mr. CONKLING. *Mr. President:* I beg to ask that the roll be called, that being a test question.

The PRESIDENT. It is requested that the roll be called. The Chair in his discretion will direct the roll to be called.

A DELEGATE. I want to say just a word.

The PRESIDENT. The motion is not debatable.

Mr. CARTER, of Mississippi. I desire to ask the gentleman [Mr. Pixley], if he will withdraw the motion to lay on the table for a moment, that I may make a statement.

Mr. PIXLEY. No, I want it voted upon.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman declines to withdraw this motion. The roll will now be called. All those in favor of laying the resolution on the table will be reported by the chairmen of their respective delegations as voting "aye," and others as voting "no." The Secretary will call the roll.

Mr. CONKLING. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. For what purpose does the gentleman from New York rise?

Mr. CONKLING. To make an inquiry of the Chair which, although this motion is not debatable, is in order. I beg to inquire of the Chair, there being no difference of understanding around me, whether the delegates referred to in that resolution did state that they would support the nominee of the Convention. The Chair, no doubt, heard what the gentleman said.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair does not deem it within his province to undertake to put meaning upon the speeches or addresses which have been made to the Convention. The Secretary will proceed with the roll-call.

Mr. CONKLING. One word further. If I had or could have an affirmative answer to the question I put to the Chair, it would give me great pleasure to withdraw this resolution. I think in some way the Chair might enable us to know whether those who are right who did not understand these delegates to say that they would support our nominee, or the gentleman from Ohio is right.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair can not undertake to answer the question. The gentleman from New York will see, upon—

Mr. CAMPBELL, of West-Virginia. I do not propose to make any explanation to the gentleman who has raised a question here for his own purposes.

The PRESIDENT. The call of the roll will be proceeded with. The question is not debatable.

Mr. CONKLING. If I am in order, and I believe I am, owing to the purpose for which I rise, I will not insist upon any resolution against even a doubt as to the position of the three members from West Virginia, and although I did not understand the declaration as another member did, rather than run the risk of an injustice to any delegate, I will withdraw the resolution.

Mr. CAMPBELL, of West Virginia. In the language of the gentleman from New York, I congratulate him upon his success.

Mr. SEWELL, of New Jersey. I move that the Committee on Credentials be instructed now to report.

The motion was agreed to.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair wishes to be heard in making a statement to the Convention and the galleries. The National Convention has supposed it would give great pleasure to persons not members of the Convention, assembled here, to witness its proceedings; and accordingly arrangements have been made by which ten thousand citizens are present as lookers on. But it is quite obvious that it is an abuse of the courtesy of the Convention for gentlemen in the galleries to undertake to express their disapprobation of the sentiments which are uttered by the speakers here. The Chair will deem it his duty to cause any portion of the gallery to be cleared from which such interruptions shall again come. The American people are gentlemen; and the gentlemen who sit in the galleries will oblige the Chair if they will co-operate with him in the difficult duty of enforcing this order.

Is the representative of the Committee on Credentials ready to report in obedience to the order of the Convention?

A DELEGATE. He is not in the hall.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair is informed that the Chairman of the Committee on Credentials is not in the hall.

Mr. SEWELL, of New Jersey. In order that the time of the Convention may not be wasted, pending the report of the Committee on Credentials, I move that the Chairman of the Committee on Rules be instructed to report, but that no action be taken on the rules until after the report of the Committee on Credentials.

Mr. CONKLING. And action upon it.

The PRESIDENT. Does the gentleman accept the modification that no action be taken on the report until after the disposition of the report of the Committee on Credentials? Is there any objection to that suggestion? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered. The Chair will request the chairmen of committees to take the platform in making their report. The Chair requests the Hon. Blanche K. Bruce, of Mississippi, one of the Vice-Presidents of the Convention, to assume the chair for a few minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER [Mr. Bruce, of Mississippi, in the chair]. The Chairman of the Committee on Rules will now report to the Convention.

#### REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON RULES.

Mr. GARFIELD, of Ohio. *Mr. President:* I am instructed by the Committee on Rules and Order of Business to report to this Convention the rules and order of business for its government. I will request the Secretary to read the report of the committee.

The Secretary read as follows:

The Committee on Rules and Order of Business beg leave to make the following report:

Rule 1. The Convention shall consist of a number of delegates from each State equal to double the number of its Senators and Representatives in Congress, and two delegates from each Territory, and two from the District of Columbia.

Rule 2. The rules of the House of Representatives shall be the rules of the Convention so far as they are applicable, and not inconsistent with the following rules.

Rule 3. When the previous question shall be demanded by a majority of the delegates from any State, and the demand seconded by two or more States, and the call sustained by a majority of the Convention, the question shall then be proceeded with and disposed of according to the rules of the House of Representatives in similar cases.

Rule 4. Upon all subjects before the Convention the States shall be called in alphabetical order, and next the Territories and District of Columbia.

Rule 5. The report of the Committee on Credentials shall be disposed of before the report of the Committee on Resolutions is acted upon; and the report of the Committee on Resolutions shall be disposed of before the Convention proceeds to the nomination of candidates for President and Vice-President.

Rule 6. When a majority of the delegates of any two States shall decide and that a vote be recorded, the same shall be taken by States, Territories and the District of Columbia, the Secretary calling the roll of the States and Territories and the District of Columbia in the order heretofore stated.

Rule 7. In making the nomination for President and Vice-President, no case shall the calling of the roll be dispensed with. When it shall appear that any candidate has received a majority of the votes cast, the President of the Convention shall announce the question to be: Shall the nomination of the candidate be made unanimous? But if no candidate shall have received a majority of the votes, the Chair shall direct the vote to be again taken, which shall be repeated until some candidate shall have received a majority of the votes cast; and when any State has announced its vote it shall so stand until the ballot is announced, unless in case of numerical error.

Rule 8. In the record of the vote by States, the vote of each State, Territory, and the District of Columbia shall be announced by the chairman; and in case the vote of any State, Territory, or District of Columbia shall be divided, the chairman shall announce the number of votes cast for any candidate, or for or against any proposition; but, if exception is taken by any delegate to the correctness of such announcement by the chairman of his delegation, the President of the Convention shall direct the roll of members of such delegation to be called, and the result shall be recorded in accordance with the votes individually given.

Rule 9. No member shall speak more than once upon the same question, nor longer than five minutes, unless by leave of the Convention, except that delegates presenting the name of a candidate shall be allowed ten minutes in presenting the name of such candidate.

Rule 10. A Republican National Committee shall be appointed, to consist of one member from each State, Territory and the District of Columbia represented in this Convention. The roll shall be called, and the delegation from each State, Territory and the District of Columbia shall name, through their chairman, a person to act as a member of such committee.

Rule 11. All resolutions relating to the platform shall be referred to the Committee on Resolutions without debate.

Respectfully submitted,

J. A. GARFIELD, *Chairman*.

THOMAS W. CHASE, *Secretary*.

Mr. GARFIELD. *Mr. Chairman*: I do not understand that these rules are now up for discussion; but the Convention has directed that the report be made for the information of the delegates. As a part of that information, I make this statement: The Committee on Rules have made but two classes of changes in the rules of 1876: First, merely verbal changes and re-arrangement of rules in what they thought was a more convenient order; and in that I understand the report of the committee to be absolutely unanimous.

The only change of substance of any rule is the language in the last clause of Rule 8 in regard to the vote where a State may be divided. In that case, the Committee on Rules thought it best to embody the precedents of rulings in all former Republican conventions, as they believe, into a plain, unambiguous addition to the rules. Beyond that, no change has been made. This is all I say as to the report. When it comes up for consideration, I may have something to say. I understand that a minority of the committee desire to offer a minority report; and, as the Chairman of the whole Committee, I have said to them that they ought to be heard, and I have no doubt they will be; and I ask that the gentlemen in the minority may send up their report, to be read for the information of the Convention.

## OFFICIAL PROCEEDINGS OF THE

Mr. SHARPE, of New York. I send up the minority report.

The PRESIDENT. The report of the minority of the Committee will be read by the Secretary.

The Secretary read as follows:

## REPORT OF THE MINORITY OF THE COMMITTEE ON RULES.

The minority from the Committee on Rules and Order of Business, consisting of the delegates from Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Kentucky, Mississippi, Missouri, New York, Tennessee, Virginia, Illinois and Colorado, respectfully recommend the retention of Rule No. 8, being Rule No. 6 of the Convention of 1876, in the same language held by this rule in former Republican Conventions, under which the rights of all delegates have been heretofore protected, and which is as follows:

"In the record of votes by States, the vote of each State, Territory, and the District of Columbia shall be announced by the chairman; and in case the votes of any State, Territory, or the District of Columbia shall be divided, the chairman shall announce the number of votes cast for any candidate or for or against any proposition."

Your Committee believe that the addition made by a majority of the Committee, after a protracted debate, is unwise; that it tends to invite discussion which may not otherwise be forced upon the Convention; that it is unnecessary, to protect the rights of individual members; and that it gratuitously and in advance casts an imputation upon the chairmen of the respective delegations.

J. H. THOMASSON, Alabama.  
J. H. JOHNSON, Arkansas.  
JAMES DEAN, Florida.  
W. GODFREY HUNTER, Kentucky.  
H. C. CARTER, Mississippi.  
THOMAS B. RODGERS, Missouri.  
GEORGE H. SHARPE, New York.  
J. M. CORDELL, Tennessee.  
W. R. WATKINS, Virginia.  
A. W. METCALF, Illinois.  
M. M. MEGRUE, Colorado.

The PRESIDENT. Under the order of the Convention, no action is to be taken on these propositions until after the report of the Committee on Credentials is made and disposed of. The Chair will request the gentleman from New Jersey, who made the motion that the Committee on Credentials be instructed to report, to charge himself with the order of the Convention in that respect, and with informing the Convention of the purpose of the Committee, if he will be so kind.

## CREDENTIALS.

Mr. CONGER, of Michigan. [After a short discussion.] *Mr. President:* I have the honor to submit the report of the Committee on Credentials for the consideration of the Convention. In behalf of the Committee I apologize to the Convention for the length of time we have detained the Convention from receiving and acting upon this report. There were more than fifty cases of delegates and alternates upon which your Committee had to act, hear testimony and discussion, and consider. There were over fifty other points submitted to your Committee which required its consideration and action. I

I desire to say, in behalf of the Committee on Credentials, without detaining the Convention longer, that, with a recess of but two or three hours since eleven o'clock, day before yesterday, when this Committee withdrew to consider these cases, the Committee have been continuously and laboriously engaged in the performance of their duty. I desire to say further that all questions submitted to the Committee have been considered with candor, with fairness, without dispute between the members of the Committee as to their settlement, however much members of the Committee may have differed in regard to the merits. Without delaying the Convention, Mr. President, I now present the report of the Committee, and, when it is read, I shall have the honor to request the vote of the Convention upon the different propositions embraced in the report, as I shall present them to the Convention.

The PRESIDENT. The report will be read by the Secretary.

Mr. CONGER. I ask that the Secretary of the Committee [Mr. Fessenden] may read the report. We did not remain long enough to have it printed to present to the Convention.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair will recognize Mr. Fessenden, the Secretary of the Committee, for that purpose.

Mr. Fessenden read as follows:

#### REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS.

The Committee on Credentials respectfully report the annexed roll of Delegates, recommended by them as entitled to seats in the Convention.

The changes which have been made in the printed roll prepared by the Secretary of the Republican National Committee, and also the disposition of Contests which are recommended by the Committee, are as follows:

*First*—In the case of the State of Louisiana, the Committee recommend the admission of the delegation, with their alternates, headed by Henry C. Warmoth, and the exclusion of the delegation with their alternates, headed by Taylor Beattie. The Committee find that this contest arose out of two rival State Conventions. The call for a convention to be held in New Orleans on the 24th of May was regularly issued. Previous to the convention, a struggle about delegates being imminent, the partisans of the various candidates came to an agreement to divide the delegates, and have a peaceable convention. But when the convention assembled a conflict arose. Mr. Dumont, the Chairman of the State Committee, called the convention to order, but Mr. Beattie denied his right, and moved that a Mr. Demas be elected, and himself declared him elected. A disturbance arose; Mr. Demas was not allowed to take the Chair, but Mr. Dumont was himself elected Temporary Chairman, and shortly Mr. Beattie, Mr. Demas and others left the hall and went into another room, and held a separate convention. There is a conflict as to the number of delegates who withdrew, and as to the number who remained in the hall of the regular convention, but the Committee find that those who went out were in a minority; that the withdrawal was without adequate cause, and that the delegation headed by Ex-Governor Warmoth is regular, and entitled to seats.

*Second*—The Committee recommend in the Fourth Congressional District, of Alabama, James T. Rapier for admission as delegate for said district. The facts found by the Committee in this case are, that a State delegate convention of the Republicans of Alabama was held at Selma, May 21st, 1880, to elect delegates to this Convention, which subdivided itself into district conventions, and the Fourth Congressional District elected James T. Rapier as one of the delegates for the district, which was ratified by the convention, subject to this condition: A resolution having passed the State convention



directing the vote of the State to be cast as a unit for Gen. Grant, a resolution was also passed requiring each delegate to pledge himself to obey these instructions. Mr. Rapier not being found at the time of the convention, the President of the convention was directed to withhold from him his credentials unless he would, within twenty-four hours, give the pledge, as appears by the following notice sent to Mr. Rapier, to which letter he has made no response:

MONTGOMERY, ALA., May 24, 1880.

Dear Sir—The undersigned, as President of the late Republican State Convention, was directed by a resolution passed on the evening of the last day of the convention, and after efforts had been made by the convention to secure your personal presence, to obtain from you in writing a declaration that it was your purpose to abide by and obey the resolution of instruction passed by the convention, whereby all the delegates from Alabama to the National Convention were directed to unite in casting the whole vote of the State for Gen. Ulysses S. Grant, so long as a majority of the delegation should deem that there was reasonable probability of his nomination. Your election being subject, as a condition precedent, to your acceptance of this pledge, in the event of refusal or failure on your part to make such declaration within twenty-four hours, the President was directed to withhold from you all credentials as a delegate from Alabama.

I have the honor to request that you will now inform me in writing whether or not it is your purpose to abide by and obey said resolution of instruction.

Very respectfully,

GEORGE TURNER,

*Late President Republican State Convention.*

Hon. JAMES T. RAPIER, Montgomery, Alabama.

I certify that I handed the original, of which the above is a duplicate, to Hon. James T. Rapier personally, and left the same with him in Montgomery, Alabama, at 1:25 o'clock, p. m., on Monday, May 24th, 1880.

HARVEY A. WILSON.

May 24th, 1880.

*Third*—The Committee in the case of the Seventh Congressional district of Alabama recommend that William H. Smith and Willard Warner be admitted in the place of Arthur Bingham and R. A. Moseley.

The facts in the case of Messrs. Smith and Warner are substantially the same as those in the case of James T. Rapier. Messrs. Smith and Warner were duly elected by the district conventions, and their names reported to the State convention.

Gen. Warner, when called on by the chairman of the state convention to rise and pledge himself to support Gen. Grant, refused to do so, and also stated that he was authorized to refuse for Gov. Smith. Whereupon the State convention undertook to revoke their election, and to elect Bingham and Moseley in their places.

It was claimed before the Committee that Smith and Warner were not actually elected by the district convention. But it appeared to the Committee that the Seventh district was entitled to eighteen delegates; that there were present at the district convention fifteen delegates in person and two by proxy, not counting R. S. Heflin, from Randolph county, whose vote, Gov. Smith testified he was authorized to cast, and not counting one vote cast by Ewing, of Etowah, that county being entitled to only one vote. The whole number of votes cast was seventeen. Counting Heflin's vote, cast by Smith, and one vote illegally cast by Ewing, Smith received nine votes, Ewing received six, Warner received eight votes (not counting Heflin's vote, cast by Smith) and Moseley seven votes.

*Fourth*—Illinois. The Committee recommend the admission of the following delegates and alternates within the State of Illinois in the place of sitting members:

- First Congressional District—William J. Campbell, Elbridge G. Keith. Alternates, Arthur Dixon, Louis Hutt.
- Third Congressional District—Washington Hessing, Elliott Anthony. Alternates, George Strukmann, John A. Maison.
- Fourth Congressional District—C. W. Marsh, Lot B. Smith. Alternates, J. M. Marsh, A. C. Fassett.
- Fifth Congressional District—Robert E. Logan, W. H. Holcombe. Alternates, J. H. Mosier, J. S. Kosier.
- Sixth Congressional District—James K. Edsall, John P. Hand. Alternates, S. J. Hume, William Jackson.
- Ninth Congressional District—John A. Gray, W. Selden Gale. Alternates, C. Ballance, John Lackey.
- Tenth Congressional District—Hen. Tubbs, John Fletcher. Alternates, William Venable, J. P. Graham.
- Thirteenth Congressional District—F. Low, E. D. Blenn. Alternates, R. D. Smith, W. E. Gapen.
- Seventeenth Congressional District—William E. Kueffner, E. Guelich. Alternates, H. M. Kimball, C. W. Thomas.

The Committee find that a State convention was held at Springfield, Illinois, on the 10th day of May, to elect delegates to the National Convention. During the convention the delegates from each of the foregoing Congressional districts assembled and organized district conventions, and elected two delegates and two alternates to the Chicago Convention, by a clear majority of all the delegates elected to the State convention, in each of said districts, as is shown by the credentials accompanying this report. The State convention, by means of a committee of one from each Congressional district, selected, and afterwards assumed to elect, forty-two delegates to the National Convention, including the sitting members from the foregoing districts, the delegates from each of which filed in the State convention protests against said elections by the State convention.

*Fifth*—The Committee report against the validity of the contest in the Second district of Illinois, of the seats of sitting members, A. M. Wright and R. S. Tuthill.

*Sixth*—The Committee report against the objections to the seats of the four delegates-at-large from Illinois.

*Seventh*—Kansas. The Committee recommend the admission as delegates from the Second district, of Kansas, of T. C. Sears and S. A. Day, and from the Third district, Thomas J. Anderson and John M. Steele, and that the ten present sitting members be allowed to retain their seats, and to cast six votes.

A State convention was held at Topeka, March 31st, 1880, and all the sitting members elected by one resolution. During the convention district conventions were notified by the chairman, and in the Second and Third districts the contestants were elected in such districts at the time and places mentioned and certified, and the Committee find that they were the choice of a majority of the delegates in these districts.

*Eighth*—Pennsylvania. In the Ninth Congressional district, of Pennsylvania, the Committee report against the validity of the contest made by A. Kline and E. K. Martin.

*Ninth*—The committee report against the contestants, D. H. McKinney and H. S. McNair, in the Nineteenth Congressional district of Pennsylvania.

*Tenth*—West Virginia. In the Third Congressional district, the committee recommend that the sitting members, Z. D. Ramsdell and S. A. Martin,

be allowed to retain their seats. These delegates were contested by J. W. Davis and John H. Rossler, on the ground that they were duly elected by the district sub-convention, but there is a controversy whether they actually received the votes of a majority of the delegates to the State convention from the Congressional district, and the Committee find that fact is not proven.

Many of the foregoing recommendations depend upon the adoption in the National Convention of the principle of Congressional district representation. In each case of a favorable recommendation, the Committee have ascertained that those delegates who were recommended were actually chosen by a proper convention, representing the Congressional district for which they are accredited. In justification of the principle of Congressional district representation, the Committee might well rest upon the call for this Convention, which is as follows:

"A National Convention of the Republican party will meet at Chicago on Wednesday, the 2d day of June next, at 12 o'clock, noon, for the nomination of candidates to be supported for President and Vice-President at the next election. Republicans, and all who will co-operate with them in supporting the nominees of the party, are invited to choose two delegates from each Congressional district, four at large from each State, two from each Territory, and two from the District of Columbia, to represent them in the Convention.

"J. D. CAMERON, *Chairman.*

"THOMAS B. KEOGH, *Secretary.*"

An examination of the calls of Conventions prior to 1880 confirms the correctness of the call for this Convention. The call for 1856 invited "from each State three delegates from every Congressional district and six delegates-at-large." The call for the Convention of 1860 invited the sending "from each State two delegates from every Congressional district, and four delegates-at-large." The call for 1864 merely declared each State to be "entitled to as many delegates as shall be equal to twice the number of Electors to which such State is entitled in the Electoral College of the United States." The calls for 1868, 1872, and 1876 adopted substantially the language of the call for 1864. It will thus be seen that the call for 1880, in inviting "two delegates from each Congressional district, four delegates-at-large from each State," purposely passes to and expressly adopts the language of the earlier calls of 1856 and 1860.

This form of call for this Convention was not, it may fairly be presumed, adopted without a purpose. It was expressly intended to remove any doubt which might possibly be raised and to make positive and indisputable district representation, which had its origin with the birth of the Republican party, as shown by the calls for the Conventions of 1856 and 1860.

If the question of district representation is to be decided, therefore, by a consideration of the call for this Convention, it must be settled in favor of the right of such representation.

The justice and equity of recognizing, securing and protecting Congressional district representation is also demonstrated by the actual precedents of the Republican party since its organization in 1856, which may be summarized as follows: First—In all the official records of the proceedings of the Conventions from 1860 to 1876, the lists of delegates include, (with insignificant exceptions) first, delegates-at-large, and next the delegates residing within and selected from each Congressional district. Second—In no single case prior to 1880, which has been shown to the Committee, has the selection of delegates fairly made within and for any Congressional district by the Republican party within such district, been overruled or changed by a State convention, or by any other means or authority. Third—The last proposition is true, whether the delegates within any State have been chosen by separate district conventions held within the districts, or at a single State convention, and where State conventions have been held it has been the almost universal

**practice** to allow the delegates to such State conventions from each Congressional district to hold separate district conventions, and select the national delegates from each district.

This long current of precedents, and this universal custom of the past, **most** conclusively establishes the right of Congressional district representation. It is a question of substance, and not of form. Whether the delegates have come certified from separate district conventions, or whether they have come from a State convention, where the district members thereof have selected their district representatives, and formally reported them to the State convention, and their election has been certified, for brevity and convenience, only by the officers of the State convention, district representation, in fact, has always been allowed. The right of the Congressional district to two members residing within it and representing its sentiments, has been treated as sacred, and your Committee do not believe that it should be now for the first time invaded with the approval of a National Convention. Not only does the call for the convention, and the practice and precedents of the party, in one unbroken line, indicate and secure the right of single district representation, but every consideration of the reason of the practice tends to confirm its wisdom.

The purpose to be secured in nominating a President is the selection of a candidate the most likely to be accepted by the people, and the nearer we get to the popular feeling, in the manner of selecting delegates, the wiser and safer will be our nominations. If a State convention called to choose delegates to a National Convention can, by a bare majority, overrule the choices of the Congressional districts and select delegates residing within the districts who do not represent its sentiments, they might as well be allowed to select all the delegates from one Congressional district. Residence within a district, coupled with misrepresentation of its sentiments, is a mockery. The delegates thus selected by a State convention will not fairly represent the masses of the Republicans of the State, but frequently will misrepresent them. Nominations made by conventions of such delegates will not be so likely to be ratified at the polls; and, in the opinion of the Committee, it is the duty of the Convention emphatically to disapprove these attempts to over-ride time-honored customs of the party, and to vindicate the right of every Congressional district to be represented in a National Convention by two delegates of its own selection, and expressing its own sentiment.

*Eleventh*—Utah. The Committee recommended that the sitting delegates and their alternates from the Territory of Utah retain their seats.

The almost universal usage of the Territories has been that the Central Republican Committee appoint the delegates to the National Convention. This practice arises out of the difficulty and expense of obtaining a representation from the different localities in a convention for that purpose. This usage was followed in this case. The contesting delegates claim that they were selected at a subsequent meeting of delegates chosen by the Republicans of the Territory and held at Salt Lake City; but your Committee do not find this meeting to be of such a character as to authorize the seating of the contesting delegation.

O. D. CONGER, *Chairman*.

SAMUEL FESSENDEN, *Secretary*.

**Mr. CONGER.** *Mr. President:* The minority of the Committee desire to present some views to the National Convention, and by the order of the Committee, this occasion, before further action, was to be permitted for that presentation. Mr. Clayton, a member of the Committee will present the views of the minority.

## OFFICIAL PROCEEDINGS OF THE

## MINORITY REPORT ON CREDENTIALS.

Mr. CLAYTON, of Arkansas. *Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention:* Upon the part of the minority of the Committee on Credentials, and, by their instruction, I am directed to present their report, which I now respectfully do, and ask the Secretary to read.

The Secretary read as follows:

The minority of the Committee on Credentials, while concurring in so much of the report of the majority as reports the names of delegates and alternates whose seats are not contested, beg leave to state that we differ from the opinions of the majority in respect to their application of the principle of district representation in a National Convention.

The adoption of the views of the majority results practically in changing the traditions and practices of the Republican party in many States, where, from time immemorial, the State conventions have selected delegates to the National Conventions.

Whenever the Republicans, in National Convention assembled, shall lay down a system to govern future action in the selection of delegates, it is probable that the Republicans in every State will cheerfully conform to such rule, but we declare as our deliberate judgment that the majority propose for the adoption of this Convention an *ex post facto* rule which will operate with great injustice, and virtually asserts the power on the part of this National Convention of seating delegates chosen in violation of the long established usages of the Republican party of the States to be affected thereby. This action, we affirm, is calculated to subject this Convention to the criticism of deciding contests with a view of affecting the final result of nominating candidates for President and Vice-President.

With reference to contest of the three seats from Alabama, we report that James T. Rapier, Willard Warner and William H. Smith are not delegates to this Convention from Alabama, and that a vacancy in the delegation exists as to the place claimed by Mr. Rapier, which it is proper should be filled by the duly elected and accredited alternate now in attendance with the delegation, and that the places claimed by Mr. Warner and Mr. Smith are properly and regularly filled by Arthur Bingham and Robert A. Mosely, Jr.

The facts with reference to those contests are briefly these:

*First*—As to Rapier. After the transaction of the preliminary business of the Republican State convention of Alabama, a recess of the convention was taken to allow the delegates for the several districts to retire, and, in the language of the resolution directing the same, to "report to the convention the names of persons selected to be recommended to the convention as delegates."

The Fourth district delegates selected Mr. Rapier and one other.

Before voting upon the names reported from the districts, a resolution was adopted by the convention that each person recommended by the districts come before the convention and declare their purpose to abide by the resolution of instructions theretofore passed by the convention.

When Mr. Rapier's name was called under this resolution, he could not be found; and, after considerable delay, the State convention, in order to settle the matter, passed a resolution declaring Mr. Rapier elected a delegate upon the condition that he afterward give to the President of the convention a pledge, in writing to abide by the resolution of instruction, and directing the President to withhold credentials from Mr. Rapier in case he refused to give the pledge.

Mr. Rapier has refused, and he now appears before this Convention without credentials from any political body or organization.

It is said that Mr. Rapier was elected by the district convention, and was not dependent upon the action of the State convention, which imposed this

condition upon him; but the evidence before the Committee showed conclusively that the delegates who reported Mr. Rapier's name did not report him as elected, but simply as *nominated* to the convention for its acceptance or rejection.

The original report of the district caucus in writing, which was made to the State convention was produced in evidence, and showed that the district delegates had not pretended to do more than merely nominate the name of Mr. Rapier to the State convention. Mr. Rapier's right, then, to a seat in this Convention depends upon the action of the State convention, and that action must be accepted or rejected as a whole. If accepted as a whole, it unseats Mr. Rapier because of his refusal to abide by the condition attached to his selection. If rejected as a whole, because of any supposed incapacity of the State convention to attach a condition, there is no action of any organization beyond a mere nomination by the district delegates upon which he can predicate a claim to a seat.

Back of this and beyond it are questions which will apply as well to the contest made by Mr. Warner and Mr. Smith as to that made by Mr. Rapier.

All these gentlemen predicate their claim to seats on a supposed election by district conventions, but it was not shown that a single district convention had been called or held in the State of Alabama for this or any other purpose at any time during the present year.

On the contrary, it was shown, and not denied, that the only convention called in Alabama to select delegates to this Convention was the late State convention which elected and accredited the present sitting members of this Convention from Alabama, and the call, therefore, made in pursuance of a resolution of the Republican State Executive Committee, expressly stating that its purpose was the selection of delegates to the National Convention, how can it be said that delegates elected to a State convention, by simply resolving themselves into caucuses of delegates from the several Congressional districts, can thereby and of their own motion make themselves district conventions?

No mass meeting of Republicans in Alabama, and no delegate convention in any county in that state, selected delegates to go to a district convention to select delegates to *this* Convention, or gave instructions or authority to the delegates to the State convention to assemble and pretend to represent and act for districts.

The action of the districts, such as it was, was by permission and direction of the State convention, and could have no efficacy until submitted to and adopted by that convention.

If district conventions had been called and held by competent authority in the several districts of Alabama, and if delegates elected by said district conventions appeared to claim seats in this Convention, a different question would be presented for our consideration.

But, where the delegates to the State convention simply retired by districts by direction of the convention, to recommend to it proper names to be selected as delegates, thus standing in the position of an advisory committee, it is a perversion of terms to say that the action of the convention in refusing, under such circumstances, to elect the persons recommended by the district delegates, presents in any shape a conflict between a State and district convention, as to the election of district delegates.

The minority consider that this is a matter entirely in the discretion of the Republicans of the several States. In some States the districts have become recognized by reason of long usage as to the proper unit of authority to select district delegates. In others, and we hazard nothing in saying in a large majority, the State conventions elect all the delegates, using precisely the machinery of recommendations and selections used in the late convention in Alabama, to-wit: Recommendations by the district delegates, and acceptance and ratification by the convention at large.

If this is now to be declared improper, it is safe to say that more than one-half of the delegates of this Convention are here without rightful authority, to say nothing of delegates from States, several in number, selected without any reference whatever to districts.

We appeal to the members of this Convention to pause and reflect before they make a decision, which, if followed out to its logical conclusion, will leave this Convention without a quorum of regularly accredited delegates. No such decision should be made nor can it be made without stultifying ourselves before the world.

The point has been made that, even if the caucus of district delegates which selected Mr. Warner and Mr. Smith could be considered a district convention in any sense, with powers independent of the State convention, still those gentlemen are not entitled to seats in this Convention, because they did not receive a majority of the votes cast in that caucus.

The fact appears to be that Messrs Warner and Smith, the contestants, received in that caucus an equal number of votes with Messrs. Bingham and Moseley, and that the contest was decided by the vote of an absent delegate who had not at any time been in attendance upon the State convention.

The person casting the vote of the absent delegate on that occasion appeared before this Committee, and admitted that his authority from the delegate was a verbal authority, while the absent delegate has written a letter, which was exhibited to this Committee, with its authenticity undisputed, in which the declaration is made that Mr. Smith, the delegate so casting his vote and benefiting by it, did so without authority, well knowing that he, the delegate, would not have voted for Smith and Warner if he had been present in the convention.

When you add to the forgoing the further fact that, after the rejection of the names of Warner and Smith, the majority of the delegates from the Seventh district retired and selected the names of the present sitting members, who were duly elected by the convention, it is difficult to see upon what ground the report of the majority can be sustained.

Its adoption would, in our judgment, constitute a partial disfranchisement of the Republicans of Alabama in this Convention.

With reference to the State of Illinois, the minority respectfully submit to this Convention, and through the Convention to the country, the following conclusions:

It was understood, when notice was given of this contest in the Convention, that the contest related merely to delegates in the First, Second, Third, Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, Ninth, Tenth, Thirteenth and Seventeenth Congressional districts; but upon the assembling of the Committee, a memorial was presented to it, very general in its character, signed by the contesting delegates and their alternates, challenging the rightfulness of the entire delegation, and to this general memorial, in which this general challenge is embodied, we first address ourselves.

The leading feature of that memorial may be stated to be very vehement and sweeping denunciation of the State convention for the State of Illinois, held at Springfield on the 10th day of May; sweeping and vehement charges of unfairness on the part of its presiding officers; sweeping and vehement assertions of a conspiracy formed prior to the convention, to perpetuate, through the action of the convention, a fraud upon the Republican electors of the State of Illinois.

Of these charges so positively made, not one syllable of proof was adduced before the Committee. We cannot regard the unsupported declarations of these contesting delegates as furnishing even the slightest proof satisfactory to us, or to the Convention, or to the country, of the truth of the charges which they make.

If a gigantic conspiracy to defraud the electors of the State of Illinois had been organized as is positively asserted, and if that conspiracy was worked

out in the actual proceedings of the convention, there could be, it would seem to us, no difficulty in furnishing some evidence in support of a charge so grave and serious in its character. Not a syllable of evidence was adduced, and an examination of the record of the proceedings of that convention, so far from furnishing any evidence on which to base these charges, in our judgment completely and decisively refutes them.

It is asserted in the memorial to which we have referred that an agreement was entered into on Sunday, the 9th day of May, to "bolt" the county convention held in Cook county. No evidence of any such agreement has been furnished to us, nor to the Committee, although during the session of the Committee, a call was made by the representatives of the seated delegates for the production of such evidence, if any existed.

The memorial neglects to state what clearly and conclusively appears to be the fact, that not only was there no "bolt" premeditated, but that there was none in point of fact.

We deem it unnecessary to enter into the details either of the Cook county convention or of the primary election which preceded the meeting of that convention; it is sufficient to say here that the representations of the seated delegates charged that the grossest frauds had been perpetrated at its primaries, and not only made the charge, but proffered to this Committee ample and decisive evidence to sustain those charges. It was charged, and the evidence was proffered to the Committee, that several of the wards were carried by frauds of the grossest and most conspicuous character, and these charges of fraud were not denied by the gentlemen appearing for the contestants, but one of those gentlemen frankly conceded that frauds were practiced and sought to excuse it merely in the assertion for the support of which he furnished no evidence whatever, and proffered no evidence, that frauds had also been committed on the other side. It appears that the Republican State Committee of the State of Illinois, in 1876, adopted for Cook county the plan of having its delegates vote in said convention, not as a county, but by Senatorial districts. Within the territorial boundaries of Cook county there are seven Senatorial districts from the First to the Seventh, both inclusive. In State convention these Senatorial districts vote as such, and the county, as a county is not known. Notwithstanding the gross frauds practiced at the primaries at those elections, the delegates known as the Grant delegates carried three Senatorial districts, the First, Third and Fourth; and had a positive and decided majority in the Second. This entitled them to thirty-six delegates to the State convention, that being the number of delegates to which those Senatorial districts were entitled to vote. These primaries were held on Saturday, the 8th of May, and it appears in the issue of the daily papers on Sunday, the *Chicago Tribune* among the number, the right of these thirty-six delegates was not even questioned, but during that day a scheme was concocted in violation of all the precedents and traditions of the party in Cook county, to smother these Senatorial districts, to deny them the right to select their own delegates, and to send a solid "anti-Grant" delegation to Springfield, notwithstanding the fact that when the call for Cook county was reached, these Senatorial districts were independently called.

This corrupt and dishonest scheme was proclaimed by the public press in the city of Chicago on Monday morning, and a full history of the conference which led to it given in the *Chicago Tribune*. Mr. Horace M. Singer, whose integrity seems to be unquestioned, a steadfast and life-long Republican, is chairman of the Cook county central committee, and as such chairman, it devolved upon him to call the convention to order. With the utmost fairness, this he proceeded to do, after having consulted with various gentlemen, representing all interests, as to the policy he should adopt.

He decided to himself as presiding officer, in effecting a temporary organization, to place in nomination, Mr. George Struckman, a well known citizen and a prominent "Washburne" delegate. Calling the convention to order, he



proceeded to nominate Mr. Struckman. He was at once interrupted, was unable to be heard; a scene of great confusion ensued.

Some one in the body of the hall proceeded to make another nomination, which was declared carried. Mr. Singer was violently hustled from his position, but returned, and beseeching order, announcing, as he himself, and as the *Chicago Tribune* in its detailed report of the proceedings of this convention states, his desire only to submit the name of Mr. Struckman to the convention for its action; but utterly unable to secure order, and as Mr. Singer declares, the proceedings being so riotous and tumultuous, that no business could be conducted, declared the convention adjourned to meet at the Palmer House club rooms.

The fact that Mr. Singer declared this convention adjourned is studiously and steadily ignored by the contestants and their representatives, but the fact exists nevertheless, and upon this point we submit the statement made by Mr. Singer himself. It is absurd to call these proceedings thus far the result of any premeditation; there was no conspiracy whatever, except the conspiracy which the *Chicago Tribune* promulgated to stifle the voice of three Senatorial districts in that convention, and to deprive them of their right to the selection of delegates to the State convention.

At close of the description of this conspiracy, thus to stifle the voice of three Senatorial districts, the *Chicago Tribune* in its article already referred to, says: "In the appointment of this committee, the business of the morning was ended, so far as preliminaries were concerned, and the delegates marched through the pouring rain to Farwell Hall, where the scalping was expected to begin at ten o'clock, sharp."

This is all the conspiracy, and the only conspiracy, of the existence of which any proof was offered to this Committee. Upon the adjournment of the convention by Mr. Singer, a large body of delegates repaired, pursuant to the adjournment, to the club rooms of the Palmer House, where they were called to order by Mr. Singer, and an organization was effected.

Ninety-two delegates were selected by Senatorial districts, and upon the assembling of the State convention appeared there, contesting the right of the so-called "Farwell Hall" delegation. The fragment left of the "Farwell Hall" convention proceeded to its work, threw out the regularly elected delegates from the Twelfth ward, thus securing a majority of the Second Congressional district; seated the fraudulently elected delegates of the First ward, thus securing another Congressional district; selected their ninety-two delegates to Springfield, and it is proper to remark, selected their delegates by Senatorial districts, the result being that the delegates from the First, Third and Fourth Senatorial districts were selected by the delegates from the other Senatorial districts, thus recognizing the call of the State convention, and thus recognizing clearly and emphatically the right of each Senatorial district to elect its own delegates. Appearing before the State convention, the State Central Committee, recognizing the contest, gave to both delegations the privilege of seats in the gallery of the convention hall. A committee on credentials was selected, composed of one from each Congressional district; to which committee the whole question was submitted, and three reports were made, one recommending the seating of fifty-six of the "Farwell Hall" delegates, and thirty-six of the "Palmer House" delegation; another recommending the seating of the entire "Palmer House" delegation; upon which no action was taken by the convention; and a third recommending the seating of the entire "Farwell Hall" delegation. There certainly was no effort to stifle discussion upon this contest before the committee on credentials in the State convention. That committee had the question under consideration for nearly a day and a half before submitting these reports.

Upon the presentation of these reports to the State convention time was allotted to each side there represented to present its case through its own chosen representatives, and both sides were fully and thoroughly heard. First,

upon the report recommending the seating of the entire Farwell Hall delegation, which was rejected by a majority of eighty, which has been erroneously stated to be a majority of only thirty-eight. The question then came up on the report recommending the admission of fifty-six of the Farwell Hall delegation, and thirty-six of the Palmer House delegation, which was adopted by the convention by a majority of eighty; whereupon the admitted delegates immediately took their seats in the convention, and participated in all the subsequent proceedings.

A permanent organization being effected, a resolution was offered that the delegates to the National Convention be selected by a committee of one from each Congressional district, to be appointed by the chair. This motion led to long and animated discussions, consuming many hours, and was finally adopted by a positive majority. The chair named a committee, and that committee recommended as delegates to the National Convention the re-seated delegates, selecting two from each Congressional district pursuant to the call of the National Committee, and four delegates from the State-at-large.

Upon the motion to adopt the report of that committee discussion was had, and the report was adopted by a decisive and positive majority. All the delegates thus selected, and whose selection was thus reviewed and endorsed by the action of the State convention, appear before this Convention with their credentials regularly signed by the President and Secretary of the State convention. The names of no other delegates were submitted to that convention for its action, and we can only know that other delegates were selected in any other form by the statements which have been made before the committee, for it is conceded upon all hands that, whatever other selections of delegates may have been made, such selections were never presented to the convention for its action, and no report of such selections was ever made, or evidence furnished to the State convention, save such as may be embodied in the protests filed by these various Congressional districts as the convention was about closing its deliberations.

The call for the State convention is as follows:

"ILLINOIS REPUBLICAN STATE CONVENTION.

"HEADQUARTERS REPUBLICAN STATE CENTRAL COMMITTEE,

"February 25, 1880.

"The Republican voters of Illinois are requested to elect delegates to a Republican State convention, to be held in the city of Springfield on Wednesday, May 19, 1880, at the hour of twelve, noon, for the purpose of electing—  
Chicago, June 2, 1880.

"Also for nominating candidates to be voted for at the November election of 1880, to fill the following offices, to-wit:

Here follows the names of the counties, and opposite each the vote cast in such county in 1876, and the number of delegates allotted to such county, excepting that no delegates were allotted to Cook county as a county, but to each of the seven Senatorial districts in said county, as follows:

"Governor.

"Lieutenant-Governor.

"Secretary of State.

"Auditor of Public Accounts.

"State Treasurer.

"Attorney General.

Two Presidential Electors-at-large and nineteen district Electors..

"The basis of representation will be the vote cast for the Republican Presidential Electors at the election in 1876, to-wit: One delegate for every 400 votes, and one for each fraction of 200 votes.

"The following shows the number of votes cast, and the number of delegates each county will be entitled to send, to-wit:

	<i>Vote in 1876.</i>	<i>No. Delegates.</i>
Cook .....	36,898	..
First Senatorial district .....		10
Second Senatorial district .....		20
Third Senatorial district.....		9
Fourth Senatorial district .....		17
Fifth Senatorial district .....		11
Sixth Senatorial district .....		10
Seventh Senatorial district .....		15

"Signed by the Republican State Central Committee.

"A. M. JONES, *Chairman.*

"DANIEL SHEPARD, *Secretary.*"

From this call it appears that the authority, which was to select delegates to the National Convention, was not a congregation of Congressional districts, nor is there any convention called of Congressional districts. It is a call for a convention of Republicans of the State of Illinois, for the purpose, among others, of selecting for the entire State forty-two delegates to the National Convention. Responding to this call, clear and unmisunderstandable on its face, various delegates, 693 in number, assembled in Springfield. When that body became organized it was a State convention. It spoke not for one Congressional district nor for twenty, as such, but for the State as a political entity. It assembled to express the will of the Republicans of Illinois, that will to find its expression through the action of the majority of the Republicans of the entire State there assembled. In the expression of its preferences for candidates, the whole State spoke, and it is absurd to say, that because in the indication of such preferences, one-third of the convention were defeated in the preferences which they held, they were therefore disfranchised. In bodies of this character the minority or the majority must rule. There can be no division of rule. And the majority of the Republicans of the State of Illinois, assembled in State convention, pursuant to the call, proceeding from the legitimate, official source, declared their preference for Ulysses S. Grant, and instructed the delegates to the convention to vote as a unit for him. Is this Convention to say that the majority of the convention of the State of Illinois possessed no such power?

Will this Convention undertake to say, and will the country justify it in saying, that the majority of the people in so great a State shall not be permitted to express their preferences on questions of this character, and that if they have clear and distinct preferences they shall be utterly helpless in the selection of the methods by which that preference is to be made effectual? It is absurd upon the face of it to say that Illinois, or any other State, has the right to instruct its delegates to vote for a particular candidate, and yet has not the power to make such instruction effectual and binding.

It is absurd to say that a great State possessing this power of giving expression to its will, and the will of its majority, possesses no means for preventing the defeat of that will by violated instructions, by broken pledges, or by corrupted faith.

The Republicans of the State of Illinois, and indeed of every other State in this Union, will ere long be alive to the danger which environs the rights of the majority; will ere long see that the enforcement of those rights cannot depend alone on a mere declaration of what that majority's will is, but must be clothed with a power of executing and asserting it. And if this will, thus expressed, is in danger of being defeated by fraud, by trickery or corruption, the State thus imperiled has the right to place as the exponents of its will, men in position who cannot be corrupted, and whom no agencies of political treachery or fraud can reach. This was precisely what the majority of the Re-

Republicans of the State of Illinois, in State convention assembled, undertook to and succeeded in doing.

Since the Republican party has had an existence, there has been but one instance where the Republicans of the State failed to instruct their delegates a National Convention to vote as a unit. They were instructed to vote for Lincoln on precisely the same terms as the State delegation were instructed to vote for Grant. There has, fortunately, in the political history of the State of Illinois, as appears, been no instance in which any delegate thus instructed has ever deemed it wise or prudent to undertake to violate those instructions. There has been but one instance in which those instructions were not given; that was in 1876; when the positive majority of the convention favored the nomination of Mr. Blaine; by a mere oversight the formality of instructions was omitted, and delegates, taking advantage of it, voted against the clearly known will of the convention, and practically defeated the nomination of Mr. Blaine. We are assured that it is but a historical truth, that in 1876 not a delegate could by any possibility have found a place as such, had his opposition to Mr. Blaine been announced.

The inquiry, then, resolves itself simply into this: Had the State convention the right to determine the manner in which delegates to the National Convention should be selected? This is the state of the question, and all there is substantially in the controversy; and this branch of the subject may be treated in two parts,—First, as to the matter of precedent; and, Second, as to the inherent rights of State conventions to regulate and direct, without supervision or control, the order and methods of their business, and the performance of their political duties.

*First.* Examining the history of the conventions of the State of Illinois, we have discovered that in every instance the convention itself has set in motion the machinery, and has determined the methods, by which delegates to the National Conventions have been elected and appointed.

1. In 1856, the district delegates were requested to suggest names of delegates to the National Convention, and candidates for Presidential Electors for the State-at-large, were recommended by a committee appointed by the chair.

2. In 1860, a committee called a "*nominating committee*" "selected" by the district delegations, "presented" a list of delegates and Electors for the State-at-large, and it was "received" by the convention. It was subsequently "*ordered*" that the district delegations hand in a list of district delegates and Electors, which was done. At that convention the president was authorized to "*appoint*" a State Central Committee,—a duty which he performed after the convention adjourned.

3. In 1864, delegates to the National Convention, members of the State Central Committee, and Electors of the State-at-large, (respectively) were "*nominated*" by a committee composed of one member from each Congressional district, and the district delegations were authorized to select one of each of these for their districts severally. The report of the "*nominating committee*" was formally adopted by the convention, except as to one Elector—the report being amended by the substitution by the convention of the name of Gen. B. M. Prentiss for that of T. J. Henderson.

4. In 1868, a committee to choose Electors and delegates to the National Convention was appointed, and its report was formally "*adopted*" by the convention.

5. In 1872, the names of members of five committees—the last being on delegates and Electors were presented from the several districts, under authority of a resolution adopted by the convention.

6. In 1876, the same committee were authorized to be appointed as in 1872, and the same general policy pursued.

*Second. In every instance the State convention acted upon the appointment of delegates, primarily, by authorizing the appointment of committees, and prescribing how they should perform their duty,—authorizing them to “suggest” or “recommend” names or “ordering” them to hand in lists,—in one case “receiving” the report, in another “adopting” it, and in one amending it. In all cases it evidently acted as if it had entire control of the subject; and if the district delegation had any authority over it, it was because that authority was delegated by the convention.*

Thus it is seen that the final source of power, so far as political precedents and history of the State of Illinois are concerned in selecting delegates to National Conventions, is the State convention itself.

Thus it is seen that, however these delegates may be selected, the method of selection has uniformly and invariably been determined by the body of the convention. If the selection has been made by committees, it has been because the convention has authorized them to be so made. If the selection has been by action of Congressional districts, it is because the convention has authorized them to be so made. If the selection has been by committees appointed by Congressional districts, it is because the convention has authorized the Congressional districts to make the appointments, and in no case has either committee or Congressional districts been permitted without the ratification of the convention to imperatively name delegates to the National Convention. In the three preceding conventions delegates to the National Convention were recommended by a committee; that committee was appointed by a Congressional district, but a majority of the convention had conferred upon the Congressional district by its previous vote the power to organize those committees.

In the present instances the selection of delegates was made also by a committee, the only difference being that the committee was named by the chair instead of being named by the Congressional districts. The authority, in the present instance, of the chair to name this committee proceeded from the convention. The authority in the preceding instances of the Congressional districts to name the committee, proceeding from the same source. In the present instance, the delegates selected by committees appointed by the chair were submitted to the convention for its approval and were approved by a positive majority. In the former instance the delegates selected by a committee appointed by the Congressional districts were also submitted to the convention for its approval and ratified by the convention.

The proposition now is, for the National Convention here assembled to deny the right of the State convention of the State of Illinois, acting as a convention, to determine the methods by which the delegates to a National Convention shall be elected.

The denial of such a right and proceeding from this quarter would work results, as we believe utterly disastrous to the harmonious action of the party throughout the Union. The various States in the Union will not tolerate it, and will not accept the doctrine that the National Convention, made up of all the States, shall dictate the methods of proceeding to the convention of any State. The course pursued in Iowa and in Kansas, and in Nebraska, is quite like that adopted by the Republicans of the State of Illinois. The methods of Massachusetts may, perhaps, be much wiser and better than the methods of Illinois, but Illinois insists on the right of selecting its own methods, and, while it will gladly accept suggestions from Massachusetts or Maine, or any other State, denies the right of Massachusetts or Maine, or any other State, to manage its State conventions, or to attempt even to direct the methods which the Republicans of the State of Illinois shall adopt for the expression of their convictions and opinions.

The curious results which are likely to follow from the Congressional district method are strikingly illustrated by the facts presented to this Committee in reference to the selection of delegates on that system from the Thir-

teenth Congressional district in the State of Illinois. At the assembling of the convention of the delegates from the various counties composing that district, Gen. Grant had a majority of one, the votes standing twenty and nineteen. One of the delegates constituting that majority suddenly disappeared, and mysteriously disappeared; that corrupt measures were resorted to, there would seem from the papers before us no reason to doubt. This disappearing delegate never returned to Springfield. He thus mysteriously left in the night, having during the day attended a Grant caucus, and in the morning, in his place his alternate appeared in the caucus of the opposition. In that way and by those methods was the majority formed in that Congressional district, and this is what the authors of this remarkable memorial called the disfranchisement of the Republicans in the Thirteenth Congressional district.

It is worthy of mention here—the severe criticisms which have been passed on the conduct of the presiding officer of the State convention. As we have already said, not one syllable of proof has been offered in support of these very serious charges. As we have already said, an inspection of the record of the proceedings of that convention explodes those charges, and leaves us to suggest that in the vehemence of their passion, the propriety or necessity of a fair and truthful statement of the situation seemed never to have occurred to the representatives of these contestants, nor to the contestants themselves. At the close of the convention, or nearly at its close, Mr. William E. Kieffner, who is one of the Congressional district delegates from the Seventeenth Congressional district, who was a delegate in that convention, addressed the convention, and used the following language, as it was reported:

“We are about to conclude what I suppose has been the most exciting and most protracted convention ever held by the Republican party of this State. During all this time the duties of the chair have been most arduous and difficult, and I, as one of the minority, desire to bear testimony to the uniform courtesy, and impartiality, and efficiency with which the chair, as well as the officers of the convention, have discharged their duties.” He supplemented this highly complimentary speech, and, as we are constrained to believe, an entirely truthful statement as to the presiding officer and the other officers of that convention, by a resolution, of which the following is a copy:

“Resolved, That the thanks of the members of this convention are due, and are hereby tendered, to the Hon. Green B. Raum, the President, and to all other officers of this convention for their honesty and impartial discharge of the arduous duties devolved upon them during the three days’ session of this body, and that this resolution be spread upon the records of this convention.”

This resolution, notwithstanding the bitterness of feeling that had characterized the convention in the highly exciting scenes through which it had passed, was adopted unanimously by a rising vote. We are constrained to think that it is late for Mr. Kieffner, late for the fifty-six Farwell Hall delegates who participated in the action of that convention, late for these contestants who were delegates in that convention, and voted enthusiastically in support of that resolution, to now impeach the fairness of the presiding officer, because, in their judgment, the emergency of the situation requires them to repudiate their action. Where an inconsistency so gross and palpable is so manifest, surely no such body as a National Convention can entertain a charge of fraud preferred by gentlemen whose statements made here, and whose statements made at different times on the same subject, are so utterly inconsistent and irreconcilable with each other.

With great good faith, another resolution was adopted, practically ratifying the action of the convention, and which is as follows:

Resolved, The Republicans of Illinois, in convention assembled, declare that they will support the nominees of this convention for State offices and the nominees of the Chicago Convention for President and Vice-President.

The spirit in which this resolution was received by the convention, including the so-called disfranchised delegates, is thus described:

"A vote upon the resolution was taken, and the vast audience rose to their feet, amid swinging of hats, and shouts, and waving of handkerchiefs. It was several minutes before enthusiasm subsided."

We can see, in recognizing the claim made by these contestants nothing but danger and peril in the future. We can but regard it as the establishment of a precedent fraught with evils and pregnant with peril. This body, while it may sympathize with the griefs, real or supposititious, of the Republicans in Cook county, and in other localities in this State, can hardly take the time to settle the personal differences which manifestly have fanned those questions into hot flames by which this Convention has been surrounded since it has sojourned here. It will not do to transfer the local squabbles of the State into National Conventions. Those differences must be settled by the Republicans of the State; and the minority in any State, and in all States, while it has the right to just and fair treatment, and, while all those rights must be regarded, must remember, no matter how large the minority may be, that among its rights is not the right to rule. The gentlemen contestants were in the minority in the State convention of the State of Illinois.

In that position they can hardly expect to carry through their schemes. We cannot be called upon to aid them in such a dilemma, and the introduction into our National politics, and our National party government, of the principle contended for, transfers from the great cities, festering in political frauds, the tedious and sickening recital and story of those frauds to be fanned into fresh flames by renewed discussion before the Republicans of the Nation. The pretence of this disfranchisement has no foundation. The appointments made by these so-called Congressional district meetings appear to have been entirely private; the methods they pursued seem to have been known only to themselves.

We cannot recognize the action of the minority, even when it is taken separately and in detail, and we are confident in the belief that this Convention can take no step more certain to lead to the most disastrous results in the future than the denial to the Republican electors of the State of Illinois of the right of a majority of those electors to express in this Convention their will, and in their fashion and through their selected agents. Thus confidently believing, we respectfully submit to this Convention, and through the Convention to the country, that the regularly elected and now seated delegates should retain their seats in this body. All of which is respectfully submitted.

B. F. TRACY, New York.  
 POWELL CLAYTON, Arkansas.  
 WEBSTER FLANAGAN, Texas.  
 GREEN B. RAUM, Illinois.  
 WILLIAM J. HOOPER, Maryland.  
 ISAAC HEYMAN, Alabama.  
 GEORGE T. CLARK, Colorado.  
 RICHARD P. STOLL, Kentucky.  
 H. E. HAVENS, Missouri.  
 J. M. THORNBURGH, Tennessee.  
 JOHN CESSNA, Pennsylvania.  
 CHARLES C. TOMPKINS, Virginia.  
 WILLIAM N. TAFT, South Carolina.  
 JOSEPH E. LEE, Florida.

The minority are unable to agree with the views of the majority in the Utah case, for the following reason:

The sitting delegates were appointed by a Territorial Executive Committee selected four years previous, and whose duty it was to have called a Ter-

ritorial convention. This they neglected and refused to do, against the wishes of the Republicans of the Territory.

The contestants were appointed by a representative convention called by a large number of the leading Republicans of the Territory, in which the Republican voters of the Territory were fully and fairly represented. That the contestants appointed by that convention represent the wishes of the Republicans of Utah, and that the action of the Territorial committee in usurping the authority of the people is condemned by the Republican voters of the Territory, is clearly established.

B. F. TRACY, New York.  
WEBSTER FLANAGAN, Texas.  
POWELL CLAYTON, Arkansas.

We concur.

H. E. HAVENS, Missouri.  
GREEN B. RAUM, Illinois.  
JOSEPH E. LEE, Florida.  
J. M. THORNBURGH, Tennessee.

The undersigned concurs with the minority of the Committee in the case of Utah only:

C. R. CODMAN, Massachusetts.

The minority wish to call the attention of the Convention especially to the contest in West Virginia. We insist that it stands in respect to principle and facts, precisely upon the same grounds of the contests in Illinois, Alabama and Kansas. The contestants were selected as delegates by the caucus, (or convention, as characterized by the majority,) of the Congressional delegation in attendance upon the State convention. Their names were reported to the convention. The State convention refused to give them credentials to this Convention, but selected other delegates upon the ground that the contestants, although properly representing the sentiments of their constituents, were not in accord with a majority of the State convention.

The minority insist that if the report of the majority in respect to the Illinois, Alabama and Kansas cases is adopted, the contestants from West Virginia should also be admitted to seats in this Convention in place of the sitting delegates.

POWELL CLAYTON, Arkansas.  
CHARLES C. TOMPKINS, Virginia.

We concur.

WEBSTER FLANAGAN, Texas.  
JOSEPH E. LEE, Florida.  
RICHARD P. STOLL, Kentucky.  
JOHN CESSNA, Pennsylvania.  
WILLIAM J. HOOPER, Maryland.  
J. M. THORNBURGH, Tennessee.  
GEORGE T. CLARK, Colorado.  
GREEN B. RAUM, Illinois.

#### ROLL OF MEMBERS.

Mr. CONGER. *Mr. President.* In addition to the report which I have already presented from the Committee I send the corrected roll of the members reported as entitled to seats here.

The PRESIDENT. The Committee submit a corrected roll, in accordance with their report, and as a part thereof. It will be unnecessary to read the roll.



Mr. CONGER. It is submitted as a part of the report. Mr. President, on the part of the Committee, I now ask that the Convention will take into consideration first the Louisiana case, and I ask that the report of the Committee upon that subject may be read. The part of the report relating to the Louisiana case is very brief.

The PRESIDENT. Let it be read.

#### DIVISION OF THE SUBJECT.

Mr. CESSNA, of Pennsylvania. I ask permission of the chairman of our Committee [Mr. Conger] to make a suggestion in regard to the manner in which this report shall be considered, which, I trust, will facilitate the business of the Convention. Unless he or some other member has objection, I ask that the report be divided into five general parts; that the first part thereof shall embrace all the questions upon which there is no difference of opinion; that the second general division of the report shall embrace the State of Alabama; that the third general division of the report shall embrace the State of Illinois; that the fourth division shall embrace the State of West Virginia; and that the fifth general division of the report shall embrace the Territory of Utah. I ask that that general division may be made. I will put it in writing if the Chair will allow it, reserving the right to make further sub-division of these general divisions, and I ask that the vote may be taken upon the first branch of this report without further reading or controversy, for the reason, as we have agreed upon all of these propositions except four, that the undisputed and agreed-upon portions of the report may first be adopted. Then we will take up the States in their alphabetical order.

The PRESIDENT. The chairman of the Committee moves that the Convention now proceed to the consideration of the case of the State of Louisiana. Does the chairman accept the suggestion of the gentleman from Pennsylvania? [Mr. Cessna.]

Mr. CONGER. Not at present. The Committee propose to take up the several subjects embraced in the report, in the order in which they have been presented in the report of the Committee; and have divided the subjects into eleven parts: First, the Louisiana case; Second, the Fourth Alabama district, called the Rapier case; Third, the Seventh Alabama district, the Smith and Warner case; Fourth, the Illinois cases, embracing the nine districts, to-wit: the First, Third, Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, Ninth, Tenth, Thirteenth and Seventeenth, all depending upon substantially the same questions and facts; Fifth, the Second district of Illinois; Sixth, a question about which there will be no dispute, the delegates-at-large from Illinois; Seventh, the Second and Third districts of Kansas; Eighth, the Ninth district of Pennsylvania; Ninth, the Nineteenth district of Pennsylvania; Tenth, the Third district of West Virginia; and, Eleventh, the case of Utah.

The PRESIDENT. Does the Chair understand the chairman of the Committee to object to the present acceptance of so much of the report as relates to the roll of delegates whose seats are uncontested, making the great bulk of the Convention?

that Committee all the credentials of every member of the Convention have been referred. The committee reports a roll, which is the list of the members of the Convention, showing 756 names.

Mr. CONKLING. Then will the Chair indulge me in another inquiry? Is that list unchanged except as far as we have been advised?

The PRESIDENT. The Chair supposes that to be the case.

Mr. CONKLING. I will thank the Chair to inquire of the Committee if that is the case.

Mr. CONGER. I did not hear the inquiry of the gentleman from New York. Will he please repeat it?

Mr. CONKLING. Not being aware, until informed by the Chair, that the ceremony of handing over the credentials from all States alike to the Committee had taken place, I ask this question, or I should ask it, if the Chairman of the Committee was not attending to other business? I inquire now that I have his attention, whether the report of the Committee leaves untouched and unchanged in the case of every single delegate the roll of the Convention, except so far as the report of the Committee apprises us that they make recommendations?

Mr. CESSNA, of Pennsylvania. It does.

Mr. CONGER. *Mr. President:* The names comprising the roll presented by the Committee, after an examination of all credentials, with the exception of those cases referred to in the report of the Committee, remains untouched and are reported as the properly returned members of this Convention, except that it was submitted to the delegates from several States to make any clerical corrections of initials or names. No change whatever of any delegate was made, except what was reported by the Committee and read to the house.

Mr. CONKLING. Understanding that sufficiently as I believe I do, I beg to ask the President of the Convention, or the Chairman of the Committee, to state to us, as can be done in a moment, what are the topics that will fall within the description of undisputed points of the report. Let us hear them enumerated once. I ask for a mere enumeration.

The PRESIDENT. The Committee have reported a list of Members of this Convention. If there had been no seat in the Convention contested at all, the Committee would have made up that list simply from the credentials handed them, and it would probably have conformed, except as to changes in the initials or otherwise with the roll of the Convention made by the National Committee. That roll is returned by the Committee as a part of their report, and the proposition is that that part of their report containing that roll, about which there is no dispute, and the part relating to seats where there has been a contest, but as to which the Committee are unanimous, as it appears from the two reports, be now accepted by the Convention by general consent.

Mr. CONKLING. I hope the Chair will pardon me. My inquiry is, what is that branch of the report as to which there is no difference?

Mr. CONGER. I will state the items of that part of the report.

Mr. CONKLING. If the gentleman will be kind enough, I will be glad to hear it.

Mr. CONGER. First, the Louisiana case is agreed to without any division in the Committee; Second, the Second district of Illinois; Third, the question of delegates-at-large from the State of Illinois; Fourth, the Second and Third districts of Kansas; Fifth, the Ninth district of Pennsylvania; Sixth, the Nineteenth district of Pennsylvania. The Committee, without division, report unanimously in favor of those delegates referred to in these districts having their seats in the Convention, and these are the undisputed cases.

Mr. CONKLING. If the gentleman will pardon me, shall I understand that, as to the State of Kansas, there is no difference in the Committee?

Mr. CONGER. I desire to say to the gentleman [Mr. Conkling] that in regard to the Kansas case, the Committee were agreed and made but one report on the subject. The disputed cases, that they may be all spoken of together, are the cases in the Fourth Alabama district, the Seventh Alabama district, and the nine districts of Illinois which I have read, the First, Second, Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, Ninth, Tenth, Thirteenth and Seventeenth; the Third district of West Virginia, and the Territory of Utah. These last are the only cases about which there was dispute in the Committee.

The PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the proposition?

Mr. LOGAN, of Illinois. I desire to make an inquiry here of the Chairman of the Committee on Credentials [Mr. Conger]. I now, for the first time, am informed that there was ever any question in reference to the four delegates-at-large from the State of Illinois. May I be permitted, sir, to ask who has contested the seats of the four delegates-at-large from the State of Illinois.

Mr. CONGER. Mr. President: There was presented to the Committee on Credentials communications purporting to contest the right of the delegates-at-large from the State of Illinois, sent to that Committee from this Convention, requiring some action of the Committee. For that reason the Committee considered it, and have reported upon it, and unanimously reported no contest in regard to the delegates-at-large from Illinois. But, in the fulfillment of their duty to consider all matters presented by the Convention to them, it was necessary that it should appear in the report and be reported upon.

Mr. LOGAN. I desire further to say, sir, where there is a contest in any deliberative body, the person whose seat is contested is usually notified of it. Now, if there has been no contest, I would like to know by what rule, by what authority, the names of four delegates from the State-at-large are to be passed upon by this Convention as to their right to seats. I desire to know by what authority this Convention can vote on my right to sit here when no man has challenged it. I of course, do not object to any course that may be taken; but, sir, I do object to the manner in which the names of a portion of the delegates from this proud State in which I was born, have been brought before this Convention, the purpose of which, sir, I well

understand. I do not wish any contest here in reference to extraneous or outside matters with any one. I came here as a delegate with the most kindly feeling toward each and every delegate, and toward each and every candidate before this Convention. But sir, as the representative of a great State, I am entitled to fair treatment on this floor. As I said the other day, without any notice of contest of seats of sitting members here, we had to work our way into this hall by permission of the door-keepers, because we received tickets different from any other sitting member here, and were unknown to the door-keepers and ushers. The second day the same thing was repeated, and sir, the National Committee had to be called together yesterday to pass a resolution to take the power out of the hands of the man, of insulting us further on this floor. Why thus treat the great State that furnished you a Douglas and a Lincoln—yes, more, my countrymen, the man who led your armies against treason? Sir, I want to know in the presence of the great people of this grand Republic, have we ever as Republicans failed to do our duty in the hour of danger? When the storm came and the dark clouds lowered over your country and over its peace and prosperity, who gave more muscle, and arm, and soldierly qualities, and munitions of war for the preservation of this great Republic than the proud State of Illinois? Sir, I only ask that we shall be treated like other delegates; no more, no less. *That* we are entitled to, and for *that* I appeal to these delegates here. You have no right, sir, to ask this Convention to vote upon my seat unless some man objects to it. I enter my protest in this Convention against this Convention voting as to whether I am entitled to sit here, or not, unless some man claims my seat and demands a contest.

Mr. PLUMB, of Kansas. I ask the Chairman to state the question upon the motion of the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Cessna], so that we may know in this part of the hall just what was included within it. And I then ask the Chair to state, after the question has been stated, whether the propositions embraced within that motion are susceptible of division?

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Conger], the Chairman of the Committee, proposed to proceed to the consideration of the case of Louisiana, and that is the pending motion. Then the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Cessna] requested the acceptance by the Chairman of the proposition which he made. The Chairman then suggested to the Convention the proposition to accept, by unanimous consent, so much of the report of the Committee as contains the roll of the Convention, so far as it includes the seats of all delegates concerning whom there was no contest, and concerning whom the Committee were agreed. If there is objection to that proposition, of course it will not be entertained.

Mr. PLUMB, of Kansas. I beg to object, Mr. President.

The PRESIDENT. The proposition is objected to. The question is on the proposition of the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Conger].

Mr. CESSNA. I desire to say that, since I made my suggestion, objections have been made, to me, from members of the Convention to the action of this Committee upon the subject of Kansas. And therefore, I now ask

to add a division, and make it six divisions instead of five, so that Kansas shall take its place among the disputed questions, in its order.

Mr. CONKLING, of New York. Yes; that is right.

Mr. CESSNA. I make that addition because the minority of the Committee took no action on the State of Kansas, and the majority of the Committee took the action which they have reported. I ask now that Kansas be made another addition, that being an objected or disputed question; and that we take a vote upon all the other questions which are not objected to either by the Committee or upon the floor.

The PRESIDENT. Will the gentleman from Pennsylvania be kind enough to come to the platform and see that his motion is correctly put in writing by the Secretary?

Mr. CESSNA. I will do so.

## ILLINOIS DELEGATES-AT-LARGE.

Mr. SHARPE, of New York. I ask whether it is in order to amend the motion which is now before the house.

The PRESIDENT. It will be in order.

Mr. SHARPE. Then I move to amend the motion by directing the Committee on Contested Seats to strike from the majority report so much thereof as relates to the delegates-at-large from the State of Illinois.

Mr. CONGER, of Michigan. The usual parliamentary custom, I believe, is to permit the motions of the Committee to be first made, and then amendments to them. The proposition of the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Cessna] was to ask unanimous consent to a certain set of propositions. The motion made by the gentleman from New York [Mr. Sharpe] either before that unanimous consent is given or afterwards, would be in order as an amendment to the motion which was originally made.

I desire, Mr. President, to say one word in reply to the remarks of my valued friend from Illinois [Mr. Logan]. I regret with more feeling than I have words to express, that a gentleman with whom I have labored for years in one house of Congress, and have known so favorably and so long in another, could have assumed for a moment that I, or any other member of the Committee with whom I had the honor of being associated, could have intended in this report the slightest reflection upon the honor, the name, the integrity, the admiration with which we all hold the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. LOGAN. If the gentleman from Michigan—

The PRESIDENT. Does the gentleman from Michigan yield?

Mr. CONGER. One word further, and then I will yield. I desire to say that it is but justice to myself, and but justice to the Committee, to repeat what I said, which I venture to say my friend did not hear, or did not give attention to,—that the credentials of every delegate on this floor were presented to that Committee, and the right to a seat of every delegate on the floor was passed upon by that Committee, as is always done. Sir, the

high and the lifted up, and the humble and unknown delegate from the wilds of the South came together here, and an impartial Committee impartially passed upon their right to a seat in this Convention. There was sent from this Convention—and it ill becomes me to question the right of this most august body of men that ever met anywhere in these United States—the credentials of every State. There was sent to this Committee, of which I had the honor to be the Chairman, objections against the right to a seat of many gentlemen who are present here today; among the rest, objections on one ground and another, in regard to members of the Illinois delegation, and among others to the right to a seat of the delegates-at-large. Sir, that Committee would have been recreant to its duty as a representative of Republican sentiment, if it had not investigated whatever the humblest member of the party sent through this august body for the consideration of that Committee. No gentleman in this vast assemblage can excel me in my admiration, in my respect for the distinguished military and civic services of the grand leader of the Illinois delegation. It became me, and it became my associates, when his right to a seat in this Convention assembled in the State where we *know* he was born—assembled in a State, among the proudest and most honored of whose citizens, the gentleman [Mr. Logan] stands lofty and pre-eminent,—it would have been unworthy of me, it would have been unworthy of that splendid Committee on Credentials, over which I had the honor to preside, not to have told this Convention in distinct words that the gentleman from Illinois, the much-loved citizen of this State, was entitled to a seat in this Convention. Sir, I make no apology to the gentleman for having reported in his favor. I make no apology to the grand State of Illinois for reporting that her chosen citizens have a right to be here, and to be recognized. No, sir; and I make, Mr. President, no apology to this grand Convention, or to this immense concourse of citizens of the United States for presiding over a Committee that had the moral courage to say to the world that the gentleman from Illinois was entitled to a seat in this Convention.

In conclusion, sir, in the carrying out of that responsible but delightful duty—we have given expression to the time honored usages of that party which believes in the absolute equality of citizenship, and the absolute equality of members of a National Republican Convention.

Mr. SHARPE, of New York. *Mr. President:* I ask for the information of the Convention, who it was that it was claimed was entitled to the seat of John A. Logan, of Illinois. I ask, not of the President of this Convention, but of the Chairman of the Committee.

Mr. LOGAN. *Mr. President:* I have listened sir, to the voice of my friend from Michigan [Mr. Conger] very often, and at all times when I hear it, its sounds are gentle and sweet. The gentleman knows that I attributed to him no wrong desire or design on his part, or on the part of the Committee, so far as that part was concerned, but my point is this: That Committee passed upon the credentials of every member of this Convention, and they are all reported back to this Convention except the four delegates—

at-large from Illinois; and they, the report of the Committee says, are entitled to their seats. Why, sir, do you say the delegates from the State of Illinois are entitled to their seats without saying the four delegates-at-large from the other States are entitled to their seats? Why make that distinction, I desire to know of this Committee?

Mr. CESSNA, of Pennsylvania. Will my friend from Illinois allow me to answer that question?

Mr. LOGAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. CESSNA. No objections were presented to our Committee as to the delegates-at-large from any other State of this Union except the State of Illinois. A long memorial, with a very extensive argument appended, was filed before us (and it became our duty to pass upon it), objecting to the right of those four delegates-at-large from the State of Illinois. It was an objection to their right, claiming that the seats should be declared vacant, and in answer to the question of the gentleman in front [Mr. Sharpe], I would say that no man asked to take their places. That memorial was before our Committee, and we passed upon it, and that Committee unanimously declared that the memorial was wholly unfounded, and that the gentlemen from Illinois were as much entitled to their seats as the delegates-at-large from any other State in the Union.

Mr. LOGAN. Now, Mr. President, if that be the case—which I have no right to doubt—if that Committee unanimously decided that that memorial was rubbish, I ask him why the distinction was made in the report of the Committee to this Convention.

Why, sir, is it that the four delegates-at-large from the State of Illinois are not reported with the other delegates without saying that the four delegates of Illinois are entitled to their seats, not mentioning the delegates from any other State?

Mr. CESSNA. The gentleman misapprehends me. I did not mean to say, but perhaps I said incorrectly, that the report states that the four gentlemen were entitled to their seats; it is that the charge preferred against them was unfounded, and that is all that there is in that report.

Mr. LOGAN. Therefore, I say that we are entitled to the same treatment in this report as the four delegates-at-large from every other State. Where no contest is made, you have no right to make a distinction against us before this Convention, so as to go upon the record to show that we had a contest for our seats before this Convention. That is the point that I make, and that is the point that I desire to have decided by this Convention. I find, sir, a resolution in that Committee voted upon unanimously, of this kind, and it seems to me that that would have been the end of this strange paper that found its way before that Committee, by some means or other unknown to me.

*Resolved*, That the decision arrived at by the Committee upon the question presented by the contest from the Illinois districts is based upon the right of district representation, and is not intended as in any wise impugning the good faith of the Illinois State convention."

Now, then, if that was the basis of the contest in Illinois, in reference to the districts, and not in reference to the State convention, it had the right to appoint the four delegates-at-large, and I ask why these four delegates-at-large shall be separately placed in the report of that Committee to go before the country as having had their rights impugned in this Convention? This is all the point that I make, sir, and when the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Conger] speaks of "excitement," he is much mistaken. No man has ever seen me excited in a contest of this kind. I can keep my temper as well as he can, and I know he is a cool man. All I ask, and all I desire now, is that we shall be placed upon a footing of equality here, without the country inquiring why the seats of the four delegates-at-large were contested, for that will be their understanding from this report.

#### DIVISION OF THE REPORT.

Mr. CESSNA. There seems to be some little misapprehension in regard to the proposition which I submitted. I therefore now make it in the shape of an amendment to the motion of the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Conger], that we proceed to divide this report into six parts, the first part to embrace all of the report about which there is no difference; the second part of it to embrace all relating to the State of Alabama; the third part, all relating to the State of Illinois; the fourth part, all relating to the State of Kansas; the fifth, all relating to the State of West Virginia; and the sixth, and last part, all relating to the Territory of Utah, reserving the right to call for other subsequent divisions, if it should be desired, hereafter. Does the gentleman from Michigan accept that amendment?

Mr. CONGER. I have already accepted that proposition.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair understands the gentleman from New York [Mr. Sharpe] to press his amendment at this point?

Mr. SHARPE. I want that motion put to the house at the proper time. If the Chair desires me to withdraw it now in order that unanimous consent may be obtained for the motion, I will do so, with the understanding that my motion is to be considered renewed immediately afterwards.

The PRESIDENT. I understand that.

Mr. CONGER. I accept the proposition of the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Cessna].

The PRESIDENT. The Chairman of the Committee accepts the proposition of the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. HICKS, of Florida. I understand from the Chairman of this Committee that the report of the majority of the Committee, on the case of Kansas, admits delegates on the theory of the majority of that Committee. Am I correct, Mr. President, in this surmise?

Mr. CONGER. The case of Kansas is not embraced in the present motion. It is excepted from the present motion, as I understand it.

Mr. HICKS. I am satisfied.

The motion of Mr. Cessna was agreed to.



The PRESIDENT. The question recurs on the motion of the gentleman from New York [Mr. Sharpe].

ILLINOIS DELEGATES-AT-LARGE.

Mr. SHARPE. My motion is to amend the majority report of the Committee by striking therefrom so much as relates to the four delegates-at-large from the State of Illinois.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair is of the opinion that the motion, as put, literally, is out of order. The report is made by the Committee. The Chair does not understand that this is an amendable document, as a proposition before the Convention. The proper motion is to recommit the report to the Committee, with directions to strike out so much thereof as relates to the State of Illinois.

Mr. CONKLING. I venture to rise to a question of order. Is not this report now before this Convention?

The PRESIDENT. Undoubtedly.

Mr. CONKLING. Is it not subject to the action of the Convention?

The PRESIDENT. Undoubtedly.

Mr. CONKLING. If a motion be in order to adopt the report, or to adopt part of it, is it not in order to amend and perfect it before that motion is put?

The PRESIDENT. That motion has not yet been made. It is. The Chair answers the gentleman from New York in the affirmative.

Mr. CONKLING. Then I venture to suggest to the Chair that, without a motion, the report of the Committee being made, it is before the Convention for its action; and it is, I respectfully submit, in the language of the Chair, and I think the Chair, on a moment's reflection, will agree with me, "amendable document." Now, my colleague [Mr. Sharpe], moves, before further proceeding takes place, to amend it by adding something to it, by subtracting something from it, and I submit to the Chair that, on reflection, the Chair, I think, will see that that motion must be in order.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair is of opinion—

Mr. CONGER. I desire to speak to the point of order.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair will hear the gentleman.

Mr. CONKLING. Let us have this point of order ruled on first.

Mr. CONGER. That is the point of order to which I wish to speak. Mr. President, the proposition made by the gentleman from New York [Mr. Conklings] would undoubtedly be a correct proposition if applicable to the case. As a proposition of parliamentary law it is undoubtedly true. In this particular case, however, the Convention has adopted that part of the report which it is now moved shall be stricken out of the report of the Committee.

Mr. CONKLING. Not at all, not at all. We have been very careful about that.

Mr. CONGER. That part of the report; and, therefore, the only way to reach it is on a motion to reconsider.

Mr. CONKLING. Will the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Conger] allow me a moment?

The PRESIDENT. The Chair will state that the resolution agreed to unanimously by the Convention expressly reserved the right of the gentleman from New York to make his motion.

Mr. CONKLING. Yes.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair is in considerable doubt, but it is a convenient rule, and the Chair will adopt the suggestion of the gentleman from New York [Mr. Conkling], no other member of the Convention raising a question, and will consider the question in order.

Mr. CONGER. I call for a statement of the motion which the Convention just adopted by a unanimous vote. I ask that the Clerk may read that, to see whether my statement of the proposition which was submitted in writing does not include the question of the delegates-at-large.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Michigan perhaps did not observe that the gentleman from New York [Mr. Sharpe] made the motion before this was agreed to, and suggested that, if it was convenient, he would withhold the motion until this matter was considered and the sense of the Convention taken upon it. The Chair stated the question in this mode: "Will the Convention adopt the proposition, reserving the right of the gentleman from New York to make his motion afterwards?"

Mr. CESSNA. In order that there may be no further dispute on the subject, I move the adoption of the first division of the report, and to that motion the gentleman from New York [Mr. Sharpe] can offer his amendment in order.

Mr. CONKLING. The gentleman from New York [Mr. Sharpe] has offered his motion. It has been entertained, ruled in order, and it is pending. Let us vote on that, and have one thing at a time.

The PRESIDENT. The question is on the proposition of the gentleman from New York [Mr. Sharpe], to strike out from the report so much as relates to the delegates-at-large from the State of Illinois. Is that a correct statement of the motion? Is the Convention ready for the question?

Mr. HAYMOND, of California. *Mr. President:* As a member of the Committee on Credentials, I desire to state to the Convention the position in which, in my judgment, if this motion should pass, the delegates from Illinois will be left. Their seats will stand contested, and no judgment will have been passed upon them. ["Oh, no."] Gentlemen say "Oh, no," but I say "Oh, yes." There was presented to this Convention a document signed by distinguished citizens of this State challenging the right of those gentlemen to a seat upon this floor. One ground of challenge was the very best ground that can possibly be made, and but one judgment could be entered upon it if it had been proved. It was said by these citizens of Illinois that there never was a legal convention assembled at the city of Springfield. It was said that there was never any legal election of the four delegates-at-large, for the reason that they never received a majority of all the votes of all the delegates legally elected to the State convention.

Mr. JONES, of Illinois. Was it not said by the Jews that Jesus Christ was not our Savior?

Mr. HAYMOND. Allow me to suggest to the gentleman that as distinguished a citizen of Illinois as Robert G. Ingersoll may be consulted on that question.

It was argued that by reason of collusion and the disfranchisement of ten Republican districts of this State, these gentleman ought not to have seats in this Convention. Now, gentlemen say, there was no proof of that. If that be true, there need be no fault found with this Committee; and in an experience upon the Western coast quite as extensive as that of my beloved friend from Illinois [Mr. Logan]—and I am his friend, though he may not know me—I had never before known a party to a suit object to an unanimous verdict in his own favor. Now, then, that contest came before this Committee through the regular channel. The citizens of Illinois had a right to be heard, as any citizen voting the Republican ticket has a right to be heard, in this Convention. The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Logan] says that he was not notified of that contest. Well, in regard to that, I will say that if he had no notice of the contest he was not properly treated, but we did not intend to make that mistake. There were attorneys eminent in this State—some of the first men of the country—that pretended to appear there in his defense.

Mr. LOGAN. Will the gentleman say that any attorney appeared there for me, or in any question in reference to my seat?

The PRESIDENT. Does the gentleman from California yield to the gentleman from Illinois?

Mr. HAYMOND. Certainly, sir.

Mr. LOGAN. I have no knowledge of it, and never heard of it before.

Mr. HAYMOND. Now, an attorney may appear without authority—

Mr. LOGAN. Oh, yes.

Mr. HAYMOND. And I understand that whilst the gentleman from Illinois is distinguished as a soldier and as a statesman, he also has a deserved reputation as a lawyer. Whenever an attorney regularly admitted appears at the bar of any court of justice in this State, the court never asks or questions his authority. The Committee did not ask whether or not he was employed by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Logan], but I will say, whether he was or not, that that gentleman might well be pleased at the efforts that he made there in his behalf.

Why, my venerable friend from Pennsylvania [Mr. Cessna] and several others of the members of that Committee, whom we all delight to love and honor, sat there until two or three o'clock in the morning—and those gentlemen have not been awake at that hour for the last ten or fifteen years, I am informed [Laughter]—kept there by the eloquence of the gentlemen who were pleading the cause of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Logan] against the charges which had been made by parties.

I will say to the gentleman that I do not think it strange that he should have some feeling in this matter, nor do I think it strange that he should misapprehend the situation here. He said in the beginning that, by the action of this Committee, the State of Illinois was attacked. The Senator of late has been too apt to confound himself with the State of Illinois. Mr. Pres-

ident, that was the precise point presented to this Convention and to the Committee on Credentials,—whether it was the State of Illinois that held this convention, or whether it was John A. Logan.

Now, Mr. President, I, for one, have no part in this contest in Illinois. I think the times are too portentous for Republicans to be fighting Republicans. When the knightly lance of the brave and gallant Logan, of Illinois, is again laid in rest, I want to see every Republican of Illinois at his back, honoring him in the future as he has deserved to be honored in the past.

And while some members upon that Committee did not doubt his right to a seat here, and might have questioned some of his actions, no man dare impugn the motives or the honor of that gentleman. Nor was there a word said to that Committee by a member of it, but what himself or his family might have heard with pleasure.

Now, then, suppose you strike out this part of the report of this Committee, in what situation does the gentleman and the other representatives-at-large from Illinois stand? They stand in this position: That there is a contest here, undetermined, and they would have, under the usages adopted at Springfield itself, no right to a seat upon this floor. We have the high authority of the gentleman himself, that delegates whose seats are contested should be sent up to the gallery until that contest has been determined: and the rule might be insisted upon here, in the feeling that now exists.

I ask members of the Convention what objection can any man have to an authoritative declaration on the part of this Convention that this contest was not well founded? That is all there is here; and if you strike out this part of the report of the Committee and adopt no resolution determining that contest, I claim that neither one of the four delegates-at-large from the State of Illinois would be entitled to vote upon this floor.

MR. LOGAN. *Mr. President:* I have but a word to say. It does not wound my feelings at all to receive the shafts of the gentleman from the golden shores of California [Mr. Haymond]. There is no assault, sir, by innuendo that he can make upon me, that he has picked up in the streets of Chicago, in the slums and sloughs, that will affect me in the slightest. He drops a little innuendo, small as a mustard seed, yet in his mind to have a magnificent growth, perhaps in the future, that I was in the habit of confounding the State of Illinois with myself. Oh, what an eloquent thought that, sir! What a dignified expression from a great and talented man from the far West! How magnificent and grand that will sound in some little penny-whistle newspaper!

Why, sir, there are men who have not the power to slay their enemies except by traducing them; men whose only manner of measuring blades with other men is by filling the columns of newspapers with that kind of slang that can be found in the lowest pitfalls that are found in the back alleys of the darkest and most benighted cities of the world. I magnify myself!—and I confound myself with Illinois! Sir, I am one of the sprouts of the soil of Illinois. I am confounded with Illinois in all that there is of me, and all that there ever will be. I am not much, but I am an Illinoisan, and Illinois made me what I am. There is one thing that I am: I am too much of a gentleman to deal in low, vulgar slang against my fellows. Now, Mr. President, having said this much, I will say finally, that so far as the position of the four delegates from the State of Illinois at large is concerned, if the amendment of the gentleman from New York [Mr. Sharpe] shall be adopted, we will take care of our own rights. We entered this Convention with credentials, like every other delegate. We sit on this floor by virtue of the credentials of a Convention of the Republicans of the State of Illinois, called in the usual legal and proper way, and conducted as all other conventions are conducted. I say to the gentleman from California [Mr. Haymond] that he had better inform himself as to my course of con-

duct before he attempts to criticise it again. When he asserts before this Convention that by any action of mine whatever, any man was placed in the galleries or anywhere else, he asserts that which has no foundation in fact. The basis of that statement of his, sir, was an agreement of the State central committee of the State of Illinois—agreed to by every man—some of whom have signed these papers making these contests. That was a matter I had nothing to do with, and knew nothing about. So I say, in reference to every statement or insinuation, so far as I am concerned, either in that convention or out of it, as to my having ever done an act of impropriety, or used force or power, or terrorized any man in or out of a convention—that it is not true. That convention was assembled in the city of Springfield, peaceably and quietly, under the call of the State central committee calling the delegates there; they assembled; there was a contest there of delegates; I was on no committee, and had nothing to do with it. They had two days before the committee, and had their cases heard; reports were made by the committee, and the report was adopted by a large majority of that convention, and both parties were satisfied with what was done. Not only that, sir; at the conclusion of that convention one of the very delegates, Gen. Kieffner, who appeared before that committee as a contestant, introduced a resolution complimenting the chairman of that convention, Gen. Green B. Raum, on the fairness and the impartial manner in which all its proceedings were carried on. Sir, that resolution was adopted by a unanimous vote. Kieffner offering it, every one of these contesting delegates here who was a delegate there voting for it. Now, sir, I do not get up here to defend any action, or the action of any man; but these insinuations, these inuendoes, and these charges of unfairness are dug up out of the bitterness and rancor of the opposition against a majority whom they can not control. It is not the first time I have contended with these forces in this State. They have been on my track for ten years, and I have always beaten them, and that is what is the matter. My crime in the State of Illinois is this: That I live in the midst of the people, and the people have stood by me. My crime is, that certain newspapers can not write me down, can not stamp me out, can not destroy my Republicanism, can not drive me out of the party. My crime is, that I defy men who undertake to assail me, and am ready to meet them anywhere. My crime is, sir, that I will not bend to the lash of certain men in this State. It is because I am a free man, and, sir, because in that freedom of an American citizen I express myself. I have opinions, and I give utterance to them myself. I govern my own action. I never deviate from the line, sir. When the Republican party names a ticket I never scratch it. There are no men who can assail to-day, who are not—nine-tenths of them—bolters and ticket-scratchers in the party. That is the reason I am assailed—because I am a steadfast, "stalwart" Republican, and never scratched a ticket.

Mr. HAYMOND. *Mr. President:* This Convention has heard Mr. Logan, and it will hear me. I made no attack upon the gentleman from Illinois. I took the part of no enemy of his. I said no word that he could find fault with. If I repeated what comes through the "slums" of Chicago, I was ignorant of it. I know not what voice their mouths give. The gentleman may know, but he shall not transfer his light to me. He comes here and puts words in my mouth that I never uttered. He opened this fight himself, upon the floor of this Convention, by an attack upon a Committee which had treated him more than fairly. And I say now, that if Gen. Logan understood me to make an attack upon him, I do not need to convince this audience upon that subject. I want to say to him that in the excitement that he does give way to—but sometimes mistakes himself—he has entirely misunderstood me. I cannot conceive how he could have misunderstood me but for that fact. I said that this Convention had referred to the Commit-

tee on Credentials a paper signed by citizens of Illinois as distinguished almost as the gentleman himself. He stands up here and raises a question with me as to a matter that I do not know anything about, and only care about because it reflects upon the gentleman. Let him take issue with these men and fight it out at home. I propose to fight the battle of neither one side nor the other. Neither the gentleman from Illinois, nor any other man, let him be decorated with military or civic decorations, shall stand in this Convention and put words in my mouth which he knows I never uttered. The gentleman knows that the furthest thing from my heart was to make any assault upon him. Everything I said was in his favor, and when I spoke about his confounding himself with the State of Illinois, it was not my utterance, but a quotation from the charges presented to this Convention. But the gentleman has almost convinced me that his enemies, upon that point, were right. He says he "sprouted" in Illinois. I believe they call this the "Sucker State." But the sprout was a noble, and a good one, and a strong one, and I would not see the tree harmed in the least. But sometimes from a single sprout has come a tree that overshadows a great extent of land; sometimes from humble boyhood comes up that man whose power and ambition may destroy a whole State. These were the suggestions that were made to us, and I was only telling the gentleman that we had rendered a verdict in his favor; and if he feels that the verdict was unjust, and that he ought to appeal, why, in God's name, let him take an appeal.

Mr. BUTTERWORTH, of Ohio. I move that all further debate on this subject be limited to one minute.

Several DELEGATES. "Question."

The PRESIDENT. The Chair will put the question, if there is no objection, on the general proposition of the gentleman from New York [Mr. Sharpe], now reduced to writing, as follows:

"To strike out from the majority report so much thereof as implies a contest of the seats of the delegates-at-large from the State of Illinois."

[After putting the motion:] The "ayes" seem to have it.

A DELEGATE. I call for a division.

The PRESIDENT. If the vote is doubted the Chair will be constrained to call the roll. Does anybody doubt the vote?

Many DELEGATES. "No."

The PRESIDENT. The doubt is withdrawn. The ayes have it.

So the motion was agreed to.

#### UNANIMOUS PORTION OF REPORT.

The PRESIDENT. The Convention has now before it for consideration so much of the report as to which the Committee is unanimous.

Mr. CESSNA, of Pennsylvania. I move its adoption.

The motion was agreed to, and so much of the report as had been unanimously presented by the Committee, was adopted.

Mr. CESSNA. I now move to reconsider and lay on the table.

The PRESIDENT. There is no such motion in a Convention. The matter for the consideration of the Convention is so much of the report relates to the State of Alabama.

Mr. CONKLING. Will the Chair allow me to inquire what it was on which the Convention voted a moment ago? We were utterly unable to hear.

The PRESIDENT. The first proposition, embracing so much of the report—

Mr. BUTTERWORTH, of Ohio. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The Chair is answering the question of the gentleman from New York [Mr. Conkling], and will recognize the gentleman from Ohio after he has given his answer. The first proposition—the motion of the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Cessna]—was that the report be divided. The proposition was to divide the report into six different parts; the first to embrace so much as to which the Committee is unanimous, and that has been agreed to by the last vote of the Convention, the matter which related to the delegates-at-large from the State of Illinois having first been stricken out. Now the question comes up on so much of the report as relates to the State of Alabama.

Mr. BUTTERWORTH. What I desired to call the attention of the Chair to was this: That the last two motions were disposed of at some time after they were made. *How* they were disposed of, and just *when*, is a matter of great doubt to a large part of the Convention.

The PRESIDENT. What motions?

Mr. BUTTERWORTH. One touching the division which was called for on motion of the gentleman from New York [Mr. Sharpe]. Nobody before the New York delegation could hear. We did not know when the motion was put or how it was disposed of, and do not know now; and we desire that when these questions are put we may know what they are, and then that they may not be disposed of until we have an opportunity to vote understandingly upon them. The last two motions, as I state, Mr. President, we were utterly unable to hear. When the division was called for upon the motion presented by the gentleman from New York [Mr. Sharpe] touching purging, so to speak, of our record, I speak advisedly when I say that the gentleman on this line of seats knew how it was disposed of, or heard the call.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair stated the question, and was of opinion the ayes very clearly had it. The Chair announced that the ayes *seemed* to have it, and paused upon the announcement. Thereupon a division was requested. The Chair stated that he would order a call of the Convention. Thereupon the call for a division was withdrawn.

Several DELEGATES. "No, no."

The PRESIDENT. The Chair inquired whether the call was withdrawn, and so stated, and stated that the ayes had it. It is in the power of any gentleman in the Convention who considers that injustice has been done him by his inability to hear the proceedings now to move to reconsider that vote.

Several DELEGATES. Oh, no.

Mr. BUTTERWORTH. I do not complain of the Chair, but I am only calling attention to the fact that we were not advised as to the disposition that

was made of it, and being parties to the proceeding, we desired to know what it was. We did not vote on it, because we did not know when the proposition was submitted. That is all. We keep our ears open, but cannot hear that which is beyond our hearing. We do not object beyond this. If the proposition was withdrawn or voted down we were not advised of it.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman will be aware that the task of keeping order in a Convention like this, before an audience like this, and of ascertaining whether every matter stated from the Chair is heard by every member, is an exceedingly difficult one, and the control which must govern the Convention must, in the end, be its self-control, and not the control of a gentleman placed in the chair. Does the gentleman demand that the question be again stated, on the ground that it was not understood by the Convention?

Mr. BUTTERWORTH. No; I am satisfied if the Convention is satisfied. I only want to say that I am opposed to expunging that from the record which properly belongs in it, and I desired to be heard only by my voice. We desired to vote on that proposition. I will not demand a division but will withdraw the request, as far as I am concerned.

#### THE ALABAMA CONTEST.

The PRESIDENT. The question before the Convention is so much of the report as relates to the State of Alabama.

Mr. CLAYTON, of Arkansas. I move to strike out the names of the contestants, and insert those of the sitting members.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Arkansas moves to strike out so much of the report as affirms in the contestants a title to seats in this Convention from the State of Alabama, and insert the names of the sitting members.

Mr. CLAYTON. I will modify my motion and move to insert the minority report in this case, instead of that of the majority.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Arkansas withdraws his motion and substitutes therefor a motion to substitute for so much of the report as relates to the State of Alabama, so much of the report as relates to the minority as relates to that State.

Mr. BRUCE, of Mississippi. [The hour being 4:10 p. m.] I move that this Convention take a recess until seven o'clock this evening.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Mississippi moves that this Convention now take a recess until seven o'clock this evening. Is the Convention ready for the question? [After taking the vote:] The yeas seem to have it.

A DELEGATE. I call for a division.

The PRESIDENT. A division is called for. The Convention is so nearly divided that the Chair, in his discretion, will order the division to be taken by calling the roll.



Mr. CONKLING. May I make a suggestion by the way of saving time? I suggest to the Chair that if he would once more take the question *viva voce* it would probably be decided one way or the other, so that the Chair could determine the result, and that would save a long time.

The PRESIDENT. If it is satisfactory, the Chair will put the question of the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. Bruce] again.

Mr. BRUCE. I desire to say that I do not wish a call of States. I made that motion at the suggestion of gentlemen around me, and I am quite sure, sir, that if the vote is taken without a call of States, and the Chair will decide as he thinks proper, it will be perfectly satisfactory.

The PRESIDENT. The Convention will give its attention. It is moved by the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. Bruce], that the Convention now take a recess till seven o'clock this evening.

The motion was agreed to.

So the Convention, at four o'clock and twenty minutes, p. m., took a recess until seven o'clock this evening.

AFTER RECESS:

The PRESIDENT. [The hour being 7 p. m.] The hour to which the Convention adjourned has arrived.

ADMISSION OF LOUISIANA DELEGATION.

Mr. CONGER, of Michigan. *Mr. President:* The Convention having adopted that part of the report of the Committee on Credentials, which admits the delegation from Louisiana, and that delegation not yet having had seats in this Convention, I move that the delegates admitted be now notified that they can have seats on the floor of the Convention.

The PRESIDENT. The motion is unnecessary.

Mr. CLAYTON, of Arkansas. Is there not a motion before the Convention, Mr. President?

Mr. CONGER. The delegation have not yet been admitted to the floor of the Convention. I wish notice might be given to them in some way, that they may be present here.

The PRESIDENT. The delegation from Louisiana are entitled to seats in the Convention as of right. Seats will be assigned them by the Sergeant-at-arms accordingly. The pending question is on the adoption of so much of the report as relates to the State of Alabama.

THE ALABAMA CASE.

Mr. HARRISON, of Indiana. I think it highly important that before entering upon the discussion of this question the Convention fix some limitation of time for its consideration. The delegation for which I have the honor to speak, and I think I may extend the remark to other delegations sitting near us, are becoming extremely impatient at these unnecessary de-

lays. I believe the majority of this Convention are disposed to proceed to business, and, for the purpose of bringing this matter definitely before the Convention, I move, sir, that one hour be allotted to the consideration of this question of the contest from the State of Alabama.

A DELEGATE. I second that motion.

OTHER DELEGATES. Both sides or each side?

The DELEGATE. Half an hour each side.

Mr. HARRISON. It is suggested around me, sir, that one-half hour is sufficient, and with the view of testing the sense of the Convention I will modify my motion, and move that one-half hour be given to it; and that at the end of that time the Convention proceed to vote upon the report.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair will state the question. The gentleman from Indiana moves that one-half hour be allotted to the consideration of the question relating to the State of Alabama, and that at the end of that time the Convention proceed to vote upon the question.

Mr. PIXLEY, of California. I rose for the purpose originally of amending the motion of the gentleman from Indiana, reducing the time to half an hour. I now rise for the purpose of seconding that motion. We of California, representing the most distant constituency of the country, are becoming exceedingly impatient at these delays; and, Mr. President, we are becoming suspicious that they are for a purpose.

Mr. CONKLING, of New York. *Mr. President:* I shall vote with great pleasure for a resolution which will enable us at the earliest moment to proceed to and finish the real business of the Convention, and I agree to all that has been said by the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. Harrison]. I ask his attention, and I ask him to agree with me in a word I wish to say about his resolution. The gentleman from Indiana [Mr. Harrison], and the whole Convention, will see that a resolution in the terms proposed will not accomplish the purpose that its mover has in view, because he wants, as we all want, a fair opportunity given to both sides. The honorable gentleman will see that if we limit debate to half an hour, if I obtain the floor, or if my honorable friend obtains the floor, either of us may occupy the entire time. Therefore, Mr. President, I venture to suggest, that the gentleman from Indiana prescribe so much time for one side, and so much time for the other, and let the time be equal.

Mr. HARRISON. The suggestion of the distinguished gentleman from New York [Mr. Conkling] meets my entire approval. I was simply providing a limit of time for the whole discussion, and I thought that would, of course, be equally divided by the sides that were to discuss it.

Mr. CONKLING. That would be very uncertain. If my honorable friend will hear me a moment, I know, and he knows better than I—

Mr. HARRISON. [Interposing.] He knows nothing better than the gentleman from New York.

Mr. CONKLING. Oh, yes, Mr. President. Whenever my honorable friend from Indiana or I speak, we have two reasons for continuing. In the first place, we like to listen to a sensible man. [Laughter.] In the next

place, we are not aware, as we speak, how rapidly time may fly; and some member of the Convention, with the utmost fairness of disposition, having floor, may speak much longer than he is aware of, and thus abridge the right of the other side. I ask the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. Harrison] to so modify his resolution as to prescribe a certain number of minutes, and I suggest to him, say twenty minutes a side—or thirty minutes.

Mr. HARRISON. I accept the suggestion of the gentleman from New York [Mr. Conkling], and with the consent of my seconder, will so modify the motion as that forty minutes shall be allotted for the consideration of this question, which shall be divided—twenty minutes to the contestants, and twenty minutes to the sitting delegates.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Indiana [Mr. Harrison] moves that forty minutes be allotted for the consideration of the Alabama case, of which twenty minutes be allotted to the contestants and twenty minutes to the sitting members.

Mr. TURNER, of Alabama. *Mr. President—*

Mr. CONKLING. I ask the gentleman to yield to me an instant only. It is suggested by gentlemen around me that, although forty minutes may be enough in the Alabama case, the gentlemen interested in other cases—for example, the Illinois case—may want a longer or a shorter time, and therefore, I feel at liberty, as one member of the Convention, to assume that this will not be taken as a precedent for the precise number of moments which may be asked for in another case.

Mr. TURNER, of Alabama. *Mr. President:* As a member of the delegation from Alabama, and being acquainted with the facts which will be presented to the Convention, I do not think that twenty minutes on each side will be sufficient. I appeal to the gentleman [Mr. Harrison] who makes the motion to adhere to the original motion, and allow half an hour on each side.

The PRESIDENT. Will the gentleman from Indiana modify his motion?

Mr. HARRISON. I think not. It is known to the Convention that we have already listened, in the report of the minority of the Committee on Credentials to an argument in favor of the sitting delegates, and in the report of the majority of the Committee on Credentials to an argument in favor of those to be admitted by the report. But in addition to that, sir, there has been generally circulated among the delegates a printed argument, I think, on each side—certainly one in favor of the sitting delegates. The facts in the case are simple, the precedents must be few, and it certainly is possible for representatives of either side of this question to possess the Convention of every fact essential to a right decision on it within that time.

The PRESIDENT. Will the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. Harrison] state his motion again?

Mr. HARRISON. The motion was—

The PRESIDENT. The Chair will inform the gentleman from Indiana that he is not sure what is meant by the phrase "be allowed to the contestants,"—whether it is intended to give the contestants the right to be heard

in their own persons. It is important that the Convention should see that point before they vote. The gentleman will be good enough, perhaps, to reduce his motion to writing.

Mr. HARRISON. I mean by the motion, that time should be allowed to the contestants, or any one whom they may choose to speak for them, and that the time allowed to the sitting delegates might be occupied by any one or more of them, or by any person they might choose to speak for them. It was not intended to limit the argument personally to the contestants or the sitting delegates.

The PRESIDENT. Will the gentleman from Indiana reduce his motion to writing? If the gentleman will come to the platform the short-hand writer will take it down for him at once.

Mr. CONKLING. While the gentleman is reducing to writing his resolution it will occupy no time for me to suggest to him on his way to the Chair—I suggest to the gentleman as a matter of parliamentary law and usage, that the report in the Alabama case, as I understand it, is divisible. There is a manifest distinction between these three cases,—the three seats involved,—and if it be, as I think it is, the right of any member of the Convention to demand a division of the question, I suggest to my honorable friend that his resolution should provide not only to guard against the suggestion made by the Chair, because surely we do not propose to have those not members of the Convention discuss these questions; and that, in addition, it should provide whether this debate is to cover all cases in the Alabama report or only one at a time. There being one of these cases as the honorable gentleman has not failed to observe, resting on a footing quite distinct, as I understand it, from the other two.

#### TICKETS.

The PRESIDENT. The Secretary will make an announcement from the National Committee.

The SECRETARY. I am instructed by the National Committee to say that tickets dated June 4, will be good for Saturday, should there be a session of the Convention on that day.

#### THE ALABAMA CASE.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Indiana [Mr. Harrison] has reduced his resolution to writing. It will be read.

The Secretary, Mr. Clisbee, read as follows:

*Resolved*, That the Convention do now proceed to the consideration and determination of so much of the report of the majority of the Committee on Credentials as relates to the contested seats from the State of Alabama, and that twenty minutes time be allotted to those desiring to speak in support of the report of the majority of said Committee, and the same time to those desiring to oppose the adoption of said majority report, and that at the expiration of said time the debate close and the Convention proceed immediately to vote upon the question.

Mr. ALEXANDER, of Alabama. I would like to ask that this resolution be divided. The case of the Fourth district and that of the Seventh are entirely different.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair does not understand that the division of the question, so far as the vote of the Convention is concerned, is affected one way or the other by this resolve.

Mr. CESSNA, of Pennsylvania. I am not going to make a speech, but I want to ask a parliamentary question. If this resolution is adopted, I desire to inquire from the Chair whether or not the vote upon the amendment of the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. Clayton] will still be pending? Is the first question to strike out and insert? If so, then I am content.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair so understands.

The resolution was adopted.

The PRESIDENT. The question now is upon the substitution of so much of the minority report as relates to the contested seats from the State of Alabama, for so much of the report of the majority of the Committee as relates to those seats.

Mr. CONGER. I desire to occupy the attention of the Convention but for five minutes in favor of the report, stating its contents, its objects, and the result of the amendment offered by the gentleman who has made the motion.

A DELEGATE. Which report, the majority or minority?

Mr. CONGER. The majority report. The majority, in the first of these cases, recommend that J. T. Rapier is entitled to a seat in this Convention. At some time the report of the Committee may be read. The Convention will bear in mind in this case, that Mr. Rapier was duly elected by the delegates of his district at a State convention and duly recognized, but that, when that convention adjourned, a printed letter is put in evidence to show that the president was to refuse the credentials to Mr. Rapier, unless he would pledge himself that he would vote for Gen. Grant. That is all of it, in a nut shell. In the other case, the majority of the Committee recommend that Willard Warner and William H. Smith be admitted as delegates in place of Arthur Bingham and R. A. Mosely, now present in the Convention. Both cases turn upon the same question. Both were elected by delegates in a separate convention, for their respective districts; reported in both these cases to the convention of the State. Both sets were ratified by that convention, and to both the credentials were refused by the chairman of the State convention, under instructions of the convention, because in both cases these delegates, the colored man and the white man refused to be guided by the convention of that State in their judgment and choice as free delegates to this Convention. This is the opening case, full, fair and free, for this Convention to determine, whether in a State where the precedent had been continuous for that mode of electing delegates by separate conventions of district delegates to a State Convention, it is now to be respected,—whether the district delegation system is the choice of all the Republicans of the United States, where it has been followed heretofore. That is all I desire to say, Mr. President; and I await with impatience for the vote of this Convention upon a principle upon which, in my solemn judgment, rests the contingency of the existence of a Republican party in the United States.

Mr. CLAYTON. Mr. President: I have concluded that the delegates from the State of Alabama perhaps know more about this case than I do, although I think I understand it. I therefore yield the allotted time to Mr. Turner, a delegate from Alabama.

Mr. GEO. TURNER, of Alabama. *Mr. President:* I desire to express, briefly, the views of the Alabama delegation upon this question. It is not true that any district convention has been hold in the State of Alabama to send delegates to this Convention. I hold in my hand the only call which has been issued in the State of Alabama for a convention to send delegates to this Convention. I will read it to you, in order that you may understand what convention it was that was intrusted by the Republicans of the State of Alabama with the duty of sending delegates to this Convention. I ask that this call may be read by the Clerk.

The PRESIDENT. It will be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

"CALL FOR A REPUBLICAN STATE CONVENTION. In pursuance of a resolution adopted by the Republican Executive Committee, held at Montgomery, Ala., March 10, 1880, a State convention is hereby called to meet in Selma, May 20, 1880, for the purpose of selecting delegates to the Chicago Convention June 2, 1880. The following basis of representation was agreed upon: Autauga, 3 delegates; Baldwin, 2; Barbour, —."

Mr. GEO. TURNER. That is sufficient, Mr. Clerk. The balance of that call, gentlemen, simply relates to the apportionment of delegates to the State convention. You will see from the reading of this call that it provides for a State convention to send delegates to the National Convention. And no gentleman here, either representing these contestants, or the contestants themselves, will come before this Convention, and claim that any other body ever assembled within the State of Alabama, for the purpose of performing this duty, except the Republican State convention.

This convention assembled. It made its organization. It completed the temporary business of the convention, and then it proceeded to select the delegates to this convention. And what was the method adopted? It was a resolution authorizing the delegates in attendance upon this State convention to retire by districts, and—now mark the language—"to retire by districts and report the names of proper persons to be selected as delegates."

The delegates retired under that resolution, and they brought in a list of names. I took the precaution to preserve one of the reports which was made by one of those district officers to the State convention.

What was the report? Not that the districts had selected delegates to this Convention; but it was a report to the Convention that the district had *nominated* Mr. Rapier and the other gentlemen for delegates to this Convention. If there had been any idea upon the part of these district delegates that, by retiring into a little room, they had constituted themselves a district convention—if there had been any idea upon their part that the selection which they made then and there constituted a selection in the sense of an election independent of the State convention—the language of their report would not have been "that we *nominate* these gentlemen," but that "we *elect* them as delegates to Chicago."

Mr. HILL, of Mississippi. Will the gentleman allow me to ask him a question?

Mr. GEO. TURNER. Certainly.

Mr. HILL. I want to know what is the date of that call you have got there? Was it after the issuance of the National call for the National Convention, or was it before?

Mr. GEO. TURNER. It is dated March 13, 1880.

Mr. HILL. That was after the call for the National Convention?

Mr. GEO. TURNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. HILL. Yes; I thought so. That was what I wanted to know.

Mr. GEO. TURNER. If I understand the implication of that question, it is that the National Committee having called for the election of delegates from the district, it is improper for the State to proceed and elect them itself. I take it that when you attack a man's title you have got to show a better title. When it is proposed to attack the title of the sitting members from Alabama upon this floor, who have been elected by an accredited and by a regular State convention; and I may add that it was the most representative Republican convention which has assembled in the State of Alabama since 1868. I say when it is proposed to attack their title to seats here a better title must be shown, and what is the title that these gentlemen have? It is a *nomination*, to the State convention, of these gentlemen, as delegates. They never were *elected* as delegates, as stated by the honorable Chairman of the Committee on Credentials, by a district convention or by any other convention. They were simply *nominated* to the State convention by a caucus of the district delegates, who did not at that time and do not now, entertain the belief that what they did had any binding force unless it received the ratification of the State convention.

There is another point with reference to this contest, and the report of the minority makes it very plain. It is that this district caucus, under which Mr. Smith and Mr. Warner claim their title to seats in this body, did not, as a matter of fact, select them to be delegates to this Convention. I state it as a fact, and it was proven before the Committee on Credentials, that the vote in the district caucus stood a tie between the sitting members and Mr. Warner and Mr. Smith, and that that contest was decided then and there by one of the delegates casting the vote of an absent member of the convention, which vote he had no authority to cast. And, to prove that, I propose to read you a letter from that absent delegate. Now, mind you, the vote stood seven and seven in the district caucus, for the election of these gentlemen, and their selection to be recommended to the convention by the casting of the vote of this absent delegate. I propose to have his letter read, in order that you may see how he was misrepresented in that convention.

The Secretary read as follows:

WEDOWEE, ALA., May 27, 1880.

R. A. MOSELY, Talladega, Ala.:

Dear Sir:—In your letter to me of the 22d ult., you stated as fact that, in the district caucus at Selma, in the Seventh district, to select the names of two men as delegates to Chicago, to be recommended to the convention, the vote stood seven for Mr. Bingham and Mr. Mosely and seven for Gov. Smith and Mr. Warner. Until then, Gov. Smith never pretended to cast my [Haf-lin's] vote in the convention. He cast it in the district caucus, giving himself and Warner one majority. I have this to say, that Gov. Smith was notified that, at the Republican convention held in Randolph county, we were instructed to use our best efforts to secure a delegation favorable to the nomination of U. S. Grant at Chicago for President. Mr. Smith had no right to abuse the trust placed in us as such delegates. He knows full well that I would not have voted for him and Warner; and, on the contrary, if he [Smith] was not willing to carry out in good faith the expressed will of the convention, he ought not to have taken any part in said convention. If his [Smith's] feelings were such toward any other aspirant as to prevent his carrying out the expressed will of his constituency in solemn convention, then he ought to have declined to act. It was wrong on the part of Gov. Smith to misrepresent me, and still greater the wrong if he [Smith] and Warner should succeed in procuring seats in the National Convention at Chicago. I maintain and insist, that the wrongful and fraudulent manner in which Smith and Warner suc-

ceeded in getting into the district caucus, and then refusing to pledge for Grant at Chicago, of itself is enough to prevent their being allowed seats in said Convention. Bingham and Mosely are the legally-chosen delegates to seats in the Convention at Chicago. All of which is most respectfully submitted.

ROBERT S. HEFLIN.

Mr. GEO. TURNER. I simply say, with reference to that letter, that Mr. Heflin, the writer of it, is a former member of Congress, and an old resident of the State of Alabama, and that his word is entitled to the utmost credit; and that when he tells you that Mr. Smith was not authorized to cast his vote in that caucus, and that he [Heflin] would not have voted for Smith and Warner if he had been present, he tells you the exact and literal fact. Now, if you gentlemen who clamor for district representation would rely upon this letter which has been read, it shows that, whatever may be the position of this Convention on district representation and State representation, these gentlemen have no claim to admission into this Convention upon either ground. Mr. President, I solemnly assure you again, in closing, that there was no idea in the State convention of Alabama, or on the part of any of its members, or in any of the caucuses which retired to select these names to be reported to the State convention, that they constituted a district convention which was above and independent of the State convention.

There are other gentlemen in the Convention who desire to speak upon this question. I will, therefore, give way.

Mr. TRACY, of New York. As a delegate from the State of New York, and a member of the Committee on Credentials, I desire to call the attention of the Convention to the question involved. As a member of the National Convention, I object to occupying its time day after day in reconsidering and attempting to resettle questions that belong to the different States, and that should have been heard in their respective State conventions and determined by them. The question of the two delegates, Smith and Warner, from one of the Alabama districts, presents this question in the most forcible light in which it can be presented to any deliberative body. There was not only a question involved there whether the State convention had the right to choose the delegates to this Convention from the respective Congressional districts, on the nomination of those delegates from the respective Congressional districts, but it was a question whether that State convention, on a dispute arising who of four gentlemen had been nominated by their district caucus, should receive the election of the State convention. Smith and Warner were elected, or nominated, there, as the evidence before the Committee shows, by most questionable means. The colleague of Mr. Smith—who had been instructed by him to use his influence in the convention for Gen. Grant—gave Mr. Smith his proxy, as his letter shows, with the expectation and understanding that that proxy was to be voted in accordance with the sentiments of the district. Mr. Smith, as the evidence shows, used that proxy to elect himself, and to misrepresent his district. The question submitted to the State convention of Alabama was whether, when there had been a tie on a caucus as between four gentlemen, the convention had a right to settle that question and determine who should or should not represent that district in the National Convention. I desire to say to this Convention that we are now on the third day of its session, and we have not yet ascertained and determined who are members of this Convention and have a right to vote herein. The time of your Committee has been consumed in reviewing, and settling, and readjusting, questions which belong exclusively to the State delegations and the State conventions. For the three days and two nights we have been in session we have had but two questions—before us that legitimately belong to a committee of a National Convention—two contests. One is Louisiana, and the other is Utah. These questions involve the question which delegations are entitled to represent their State and



the Territory. That I concede to be legitimate and proper. We settled those questions in three hours, and if those had been the only questions before your committee, this Convention could have been at its work on the first evening of its meeting. All this time has been consumed with questions of this nature—

The PRESIDENT. The twenty minutes allotted to the minority has expired.

Mr. BATEMAN, of Ohio. *Mr. President.* I desire, as a member of the Committee on Credentials, to make some remarks in answer to the speech of the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. Turner] and my friend from New York [Mr. Tracy]. This case presents precisely the same principle as that presented in all the cases to follow. It involves simply the right of district representation. The majority report, in which I concurred, asserts that right as the true manner of Republican representation.

One of these cases at least involves that question as forcibly as any case which will be presented for the consideration of this Convention, I refer to that of Mr. Rapier. The selection of delegates to this Convention from Alabama was made by the delegates from the several Congressional districts to their State convention. Mr. Rapier was chosen by an undoubted majority of all delegates composing the representation of his Congressional district. So far as I know, nobody has raised any question as to the fact that he was the choice of a clear majority of those delegates. Now, Mr. President, that convention selected delegates to this Convention in the same manner the State convention in Ohio did, where no selection by district conventions has ever been thought of being instructed or trifled with by the State convention. The class of gentlemen to whom I belong, as having a presidential preference, held an unquestioned and overwhelming majority in that convention, and if the people of Ohio ever tolerated for an instant the idea that district representation could have been interfered with or controlled by the State convention, it would have been possible to have introduced into it such a proposition. But no man there thought of making such a proposition. In the State of Alabama they proceeded exactly as we proceeded, referring back to the delegations of the several districts the choice and selection of their delegates to this Convention. The district which is now in contest in this case met, organized, selected its officers, and elected, properly, regularly, and by majorities disputed by nobody, Mr. Rapier, as a delegate to this Convention. Now, sir, we have the question presented whether this State convention, meeting in Montgomery—has the right not only to instruct a delegate how he shall vote, but, when he refuses to comply with their requirements, to remove him from his place and appoint another man in his stead without consulting the wishes or seeking the advice of the delegates representing that district. If any man can say that that has in it a single element of Republican representation, I want to know who he is and where he resides. You might as well say that, because a member of Congress from Cairo does not suit the people of the northern portion of Illinois, they may remove him, and elect, themselves, a successor in his place. But, Mr. President, I venture to say that the exercise of this power could never have been made under circumstances more arbitrary and offensive than has been presented in this case. What was done? The people of that district elected him as their representative to this Convention. That convention then required him to furnish them a pledge that he would vote as they wanted. I call your attention to a letter that was addressed to this free representative of one of the Congressional districts of Alabama. It is addressed to him by the president of that convention, Mr. Turner, who has addressed you:

"The undersigned, President of the late Republican State convention, was directed by resolution, passed on the evening of the last day of the convention, and after efforts had been made by the convention to secure your personal presence, to obtain from you in writing a declaration that it was your purpose

to abide by and obey the resolution of instruction passed by the convention, whereby all the delegates from Alabama to the National Convention were directed to unite in casting the whole vote of the State for Gen. Ulysses S. Grant, so long as a majority of the delegation should deem that there was a reasonable probability of his nomination. \* \* \* I have the honor to request that you will now inform me in writing whether or not it is your purpose to abide by and obey such resolution."

Mr. President. This letter was served upon Mr. Rapier. It required his response in twenty-four hours; and Mr. Rapier treated it with that contempt which, in my judgment, it deserved. He said it might require him twenty-five hours to answer it, and, therefore, he would not answer it at all. This case therefore presents the simple question, nakedly and squarely, as to whether or not this convention shall sustain, in its decision upon the right of Mr. Rapier, the right of a Congressional district to an honest representation in this Convention. I trust it will affirm that right.

Mr. CONGER. I have endeavored to arrange the time on this question according to the wishes of those who wish to speak. Mr. Parsons was to be entitled to five minutes.

A DELEGATE. That is right.

Mr. CONGER. How much time is left?

The PRESIDENT. Seven minutes.

Mr. CONGER. Mr. Parsons was to have the remainder of the time, but giving, if possible, a few minutes to another gentleman. Mr. Parsons may have five minutes by the arrangement, and Mr. Burch, and Mr. Harris each one.

Mr. FARR, of Michigan. I desire, Mr. President, to explain why the delegates from Michigan are going to vote in favor of the report of the majority of the Committee on Credentials. It is because the people of Michigan believe in district representation. It is again, because the people of Michigan, the Republicans of Michigan, in convention assembled, when they had an almost unanimous majority against Gen. Grant, still agreed to submit to, and approved of, district representation, and when a delegate from one district—one out of the twenty-two delegates of this delegation of Michigan—did refuse to agree with the unanimous opinion of the Republican convention, yet the Michigan Republicans, believing in the sacredness of district representation, said he should go from Michigan because he was elected by his district.

Mr. PARSONS, of Alabama. *Mr. President:* I am a native of the State of Alabama, and I have the honor to represent her upon the floor of this Convention. Since the dark days of 1870, when to be a Republican in Alabama was to be shunned by the race to which I belong, I have followed the flag of the Republican party through ill and good report, through victory and defeat, and I am still a Republican. I am a Grant Republican, a Republican who believes that Gen. Grant should be the nominee of this Convention. I am one of the Republicans in Alabama who signed to abide by and support Gen. Grant in this Convention. I intended it then, and I intend now to do it.

But, Mr. President, when the Alabama State convention undertook to interfere with the districts of Alabama, I regarded that as an usurpation on the part of the State convention and then I tried to induce the State to allow the districts their rights in the convention; they refused to do it, and then I resisted the attempt to unseat the delegates of these two districts, and I say now that the convention had no right to do it. This smacks too much of Democ-

tracy—it smacks too much of the manner in which the Democratic party treat the Republicans at the elections in Alabama. They deny to us the right that has been recognized since 1868. Now, in the district conventions held in Selma, when the State convention was held, all the Republicans who were there gathered together, and every district held its own convention and reported its action to the State convention. That business was the main object to be obtained by that course, and the statement that Willard Warner and Gov. Smith of Alabama were not elected by the delegations from their districts by a majority is not true in fact. The very men who here occupy these seats admitted that they had been defeated in the district conventions. Now, then,—

The PRESIDENT. The time allotted for debate on this subject has expired.

Mr. BOUTWELL, of Massachusetts. *Mr. President:* I wish to offer a resolution.

Mr. ALEXANDER, of Alabama. I will ask that the question be divided: that we first vote upon Mr. Rapier's case. I should like to have a division of the question between the Fourth and Seventh districts.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Alabama demands a division of the question, and that the question be taken separately upon the Rapier case. The Chair is of opinion that the motion to strike out and insert, which is the pending motion, is indivisible as between the two cases, but that if that motion fails, then the majority report will come up for adoption, and will be divisible. If that motion succeeds, the minority report will come up for adoption, and is divisible. But if the present motion be pressed, the first motion is indivisible.

Mr. CONGER, of Michigan. I move a substitute for the motions before the Convention. My substitute is, that Mr. Rapier be declared entitled to a seat in this Convention.

The PRESIDENT. Is there objection to putting the question in that form?

Mr. METCALF, of Illinois. I object to that motion.

Mr. CONGER. I have a right to make a motion to substitute. I make the motion as a substitute for the two propositions before the Convention—that Mr. Rapier be declared entitled to a seat in this Convention.

Mr. METCALF. My understanding, and I think the understanding of the Convention, is that we give twenty minutes to each side of this question, and were then to proceed to vote.

Mr. HICKS, of Florida. I rise, Mr. President, to explain why Florida must vote in favor of the minority report.

Mr. CONGER. At the request of the Chair I withdraw my motion, and let the Convention come to a direct vote on the whole subject.

The PRESIDENT. The motion is withdrawn. The question is upon the motion to strike out and substitute the minority report for the majority report.

Mr. BOUTWELL, of Massachusetts. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Massachusetts—for what purpose does he rise?

Mr. BOUTWELL. I rise to move a substitute for the pending motion, which I will send to the Chair to be read.

The Secretary, Mr. Broadwell, read as follows:

*Resolved*, That all the cases of contested seats be decided by adopting the usage of each State as that usage has existed heretofore; and that in each State in which the uniform usage has been to elect delegates to the Republican National Convention by State convention, that usage shall be deemed binding; and the same shall be true in respect to delegates sent by Congressional district conventions in States where that has been the usage.

Mr. BOUTWELL. What I have to say will not take more than a minute.

Mr. CONGER. That violates the order of the Convention. I raise the point of order that the resolution presented by the gentleman from Massachusetts is not germane to the matter which the Convention has decided to hear first, and it cannot be entertained while the order of the Convention remains that the Alabama cases alone shall be decided.

The PRESIDENT. Debate upon this question is exhausted. The gentleman from Michigan raises the question of order, that during the time allotted by the Convention for taking the question upon the Alabama case, this resolution declaring a general principle is out of order. The Chair so rules.

Mr. BOUTWELL. I desire to give notice that I will again present the resolution and ask to be heard upon it.

Mr. HICKS. I rise to ask the Chair a question. Is it now in order, before the vote is taken upon the adoption of the substitute, namely: the minority report upon the Alabama case, for the delegation from any State to explain why it must cast its vote in a given direction.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair thinks it is not in order.

On motion to substitute the minority for the majority report, so far as it relates to the State of Alabama, a division was demanded, and the President ordered the roll of States to be called.

The roll of States was then called, and resulted: yeas, 306; nays, 449; as follows:—

States.	No. Del.	Ay.	No.	States.	No. Del.	Ay.	No.
Alabama .....	20	17	3	New York .....	70	47	23
Arkansas .....	12	12	..	North Carolina .....	20	..	20
California .....	12	..	12	Ohio .....	44	..	44
Colorado .....	6	6	..	Oregon .....	6	..	6
Connecticut .....	12	..	12	Pennsylvania .....	58	35	23
Delaware .....	6	..	6	Rhode Island .....	8	..	8
Florida .....	8	8	..	South Carolina .....	14	9	5
Georgia .....	22	6	16	Tennessee .....	24	16	8
Illinois .....	42	42	..	Texas .....	16	9	7
Indiana .....	30	4	26	Vermont .....	10	4	6
Iowa .....	22	..	22	Virginia .....	22	12	10
Kansas .....	10	..	10	West Virginia .....	10	..	10
Kentucky .....	24	20	4	Wisconsin .....	20	1	19
Louisiana .....	16	8	8	Arizona .....	2	..	2
Maine .....	14	..	14	Dakota .....	2	1	1
Maryland .....	16	7	9	District of Columbia .....	2	..	2
Massachusetts .....	26	2	23	Idaho .....	2	..	2
Michigan .....	22	1	21	Montana .....	2	..	2
Minnesota .....	10	2	8	New Mexico .....	2	..	2
Mississippi .....	16	7	9	Utah .....	2	..	2
Missouri .....	30	29	1	Washington .....	2	..	2
Nebraska .....	6	..	6	Wyoming .....	2	1	1
Nevada .....	6	..	6				
New Hampshire .....	10	..	10	Total .....	756	306	449
New Jersey .....	18	..	18				

So the motion to substitute was rejected.

The PRESIDENT. The question recurs on the adoption of the report of the majority.

The report of the majority was adopted.

During the vote:

On the announcement of the vote of the State of Alabama:

Mr. ALEXANDER, of Alabama. I rise to a question of order. I wish to ask if the delegates whose seats are in contest have the right to vote?

The PRESIDENT. Does the gentlemen ask if the vote of the State of Alabama, which includes the votes of the sitting members whose seats are in contest, can be taken?

Mr. ALEXANDER. Yes.

The PRESIDENT. The Convention will give its attention. The question is raised that the vote reported from the State of Alabama includes the votes of the sitting members whose seats are in contest. The Chair is of opinion that upon this question those members are not at liberty to vote, but the Chair will reserve the determination of that question until the conclusion of the roll-call, in order that it may be dealt with by the Convention before the vote is finally announced. The Secretary will proceed.

At the conclusion of the roll-call, and before the announcement of the result:

The PRESIDENT. The Chair now inquires of the chairman of the delegation from Alabama whether the votes of the sitting members whose seats are contested, or are in issue, were reported by him as in the affirmative.

Mr. TURNER. I will state, Mr. President, that I have reported the whole vote of Alabama, having authority from the delegates who are here present to cast the vote, and being requested by the alternates of the sitting members so to do.

The PRESIDENT. The votes of the alternates are in question as well as the votes of the sitting members?

Mr. TURNER. No, sir.

The PRESIDENT. The vote then will stand as reported.

The vote was then announced as above recorded.

#### THE ILLINOIS CASE.

Mr. QUARLES, of Wisconsin. I ask leave to introduce a resolution at this time:

*Resolved*, That one hour be allotted for the presentation of the Illinois contest to the Convention, one-half of the time aforesaid to be allotted to the contestants, and one-half to the sitting members, and that the said contestants be permitted to appear upon the floor either by one of their members or by some other representative, to present their case.

Mr. BOUTWELL. I move as a substitute for the resolution proposed by the gentleman from Wisconsin the resolution which, a few minutes since, I sent to the Chair, and which now is on the table of the Secretary.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Massachusetts moves a substitute for the resolution offered by the gentleman from Wisconsin, which will be read for information.

The Secretary, Mr. Clisbee, read as follows:

*Resolved*, That all the cases of contested seats be decided by adopting the usage of each State as that usage has existed heretofore; and that in each State in which the uniform usage has been to elect delegates to the Republican National Convention by State convention, that usage shall be deemed binding; and the same shall be true in respect to delegates sent by Congressional district conventions in States where that has been the usage.

Mr. BENSON, of California. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. For what purpose does the gentleman rise?

Mr. BENSON. To move to lay that on the table.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman has not the floor for that purpose.

Mr. BOUTWELL. *Mr. President:* I know as well as any one can——

Mr. CONGER. I rise to a point of order.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman will state his point of order.

Mr. CONGER. The question before the Convention is the case of Illinois in the report of the majority of the Committee on Credentials. The substitute relates to more than the case now before the Convention. It relates to all cases of all members of this Convention—even those which have already been decided. The point of order is that it is not germane, that if the resolution be adopted this Convention must send to some committee to report the facts upon which the Convention can act under the resolution.

The PRESIDENT. The point of order is not debatable, but the Chair will hear the gentleman from Massachusetts concerning the point of order, for information, with the leave of the Convention.

Mr. BOUTWELL. The resolution which I propose relates to the subject matter now under consideration. Although it may be larger, it *includes* the subject matter of the contested seats from the State of Illinois. And if it includes something more, it is not an objection to my proposition that it does so include something more. The whole report is, or ought to be before this Convention, and the object of this proposition is to shorten the debate and close the controversy to enable us to go to the consideration of the other important matter for which the Convention is assembled. I do not myself see that there is any question of order connected with the matter of convenience which is suggested by the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Conger]. I hope the Chair will sustain the resolution as being in order.

The PRESIDENT. The pending resolution is a resolution fixing the length of time for debate. The Chair is of the opinion that the amendment moved by the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Boutwell] is out of order: First, because it is not germane to the pending resolution in regard to the length of time; and, second, because the Convention, having ordered that it should proceed to the disposition of a particular case, a resolution declaring a general principle, which makes no disposition of that particular case, but is applicable to many cases alike, is inconsistent with the order of the Convention.

Mr. BOUTWELL. *Mr. President:* Is the pending resolution debatable?

The PRESIDENT. The pending resolution is debatable, but the Chair rules the amendment out of order. The question is on the resolution to fix the time. The gentleman from Massachusetts has the floor.

Several DELEGATES. "Question."

Mr. BOUTWELL. Mr. President: I wish to say to the gentlemen of this Convention that I defer, as far as I can under the sense of duty which presses upon me at this moment, to what I have no doubt they feel to be their convenience. But the question is so important that we ought not to consult our convenience. I can understand that my presence here may be disagreeable to some; but I come from a constituency, I am a citizen of the country, I am a member of the Republican party. No cries of "question," and no suggestions of convenience as to what may be desired to be done to-day, or to-morrow, or next week, either will or can absolve me from a discharge of the duty for which I am sent here. So, while I defer to the judgment of the Convention, and hope never to say a word, or make a motion, or take any step which shall delay for an instant the consummation of the business for which we are sent here, I yet say that my own judgment, within the rules of the Convention, will guide me in my action. I have been too long in the public service, and know too well, and have too just a conception of my public duty to be awed into any formal submission by the dictates of anybody. I acknowledge each and every man here to be my equal, my peer, but I recognize no supremacy in any. Now, then, Mr. President and gentlemen (if the Chair will allow me to address myself more directly to the Convention), I know that this is an important day, an important moment in our proceedings, and a half hour additional, even though it be taken from sleep and at the expense of health, may well be furnished to the cause of the country and the Constitution at a moment like this. I have heard the debate; I have listened to the reports and the observations that have been made in private touching the great question of the right of representation, or the mode of expressing the power of representation in the various States of this country; and I have yet to discover that the true issue has been represented, if I apprehend aright the questions which are before it. I dare say I may wander a little; possibly my good friend from Michigan may call me to order. No man will abide the decision of the Chair more immediately or more humbly than I shall.

If I may be allowed, I say further that the call for this Convention, if it be open to a different construction from that which has been put upon it by the States wherein there have been election by State convention, it still is open to the reasonable construction that State conventions have the power, under the call, to elect delegates by and through those conventions, without reference to the districts, and I call the attention of the Committee, both majority and minority, to the circumstance that they have this day, in the presence of this Convention, by their common judgment, and, finally, by the ratification of the Convention, closed this question, unless the Convention will follow the lead of the Committee. What have they said? That in Louisiana, a State convention, without reference to the districts, might elect delegates to this Convention—and my friend Gov. Warmoth and his delegation sit here by the judgment of the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Conger] and his associates, and by the judgment of this Convention, without a district in the State of Louisiana having had one word to say about that election, as I understand it.

Mr. CONKLING. And every other State. All the rest of us are in the same boat.

Mr. BOUTWELL. Yes. Now, I have this to say: We have pledged ourselves, all but three, to abide by the decision of this Convention in the nomination of a candidate, but we have a mighty constituency behind us, who have taken no oath to observe the obligation that we have imposed upon ourselves.

Will they obey, will they abide by, will they ratify what you will do, if they believe that a State, that States, that constituencies, that Republicans, by the mere power of numbers in this Convention, have ratified and determined that to be the law of the Convention which defies argument, despises reason, tramples logic under foot, and leaves no excuse for the conclusion except the possession of power. When this Committee have allowed Louisiana to come in here as a State, not recognizing the existence of districts as constituent, independent powers in the organization of that convention, I ask what they have to say to Illinois, to Kansas, to West Virginia, and to the other States where the district system does not exist? Now, I fear that New England delegates, living in a community where the district system has always existed, may suppose that because their plan is the approved plan with them, and because of usage and by habit, and upon judgment they believe that plan to be the better, will undertake in this Convention to impose that plan upon States and communities which have not voluntarily adopted it. If our call had declared that the State should choose their delegates, or the delegates should be chosen by districts,—and I ask you to mark how astute the report of the majority of the Committee was; I could not help imagining that it might have come from the pen of that distinguished citizen of this country, a cosmopolitan in fame, who at the beginning of a lecture reversed that ancient maxim of a great English poet in reference to the quality of the power of the Supreme Being in regard to the creation of man. The peculiarity was that it declared that the call was for delegates from districts,—to be residents of districts,—but they avoided saying, what could not have been said with truth upon the basis of the National call, that they were to be elected by the districts. Mr. President, I am opposed, of course, to the limitation of time to thirty minutes upon this great question. Here is the State of Illinois; it certainly has rights here. Can they be properly considered? I could not present an argument—I have sketched something of the nature of the questions involved—but I could not frame and deliver here an argument which would satisfy myself as to the duty devolved upon me, if I should undertake to instruct the Convention in the space of thirty minutes. But I have this to say, that the State of Illinois either is entitled to the thirty-eight representatives who sit here by the authority of the State convention which met at Springfield on the 19th of May last, or it is not entitled to any representation whatever, except the four delegates who come from the State at large. If the right of the twenty men whose seats are contested is vicious, and not to be supported here, then send home every delegate from the State of Illinois, except the four, if you would be consistent. But if you intend to disown, and disavow, and trample under foot the usage of a State like Illinois, like Kansas, and like Nebraska, you should have set an example by denying to Louisiana the right to come in when her delegation was contested. Having admitted them as representatives of a State through a State convention, without the intervention of districts, you cannot in good conscience, in good faith, in my judgment, nor in good policy, deny to Illinois, to West Virginia, and to Kansas the same right.

Mr. President; I have consumed so much time that it will not be in the heart of the Convention to deny to others that privilege which I have enjoyed, and for which I extend to the Convention my grateful acknowledgments.

Mr. CONGER. I did not make the point of order upon the gentleman from Massachusetts, and I feel rejoiced that I was not so indiscreet, because I think his argument a better one on my side than I could have made myself. But, sir, the gentleman should have heard the report of the majority of the Committee in the Louisiana case. It states distinctly that the claimants to seats are appointees of two rival State conventions.



The PRESIDENT. The Chair desires to remind gentlemen discussing this question that the question is upon the limitation of time. Of course that involves to some extent an explanation to the Convention of the character of the question which is to be debated. The Chair must leave that very much to discretion of gentleman; but the general merits of the question are not in order on this question.

Mr. CONGER. The Chair is correct in that decision; and it is only upon the point of the merits of limiting time that I make the remark that I do. The case of Louisiana did not involve any question of delegations from districts whatever. All the cases where there was a difference between the majority and the minority, involved that great question of the right of district delegations here. There was not one in the Committee who opposed the report of the majority on the Louisiana case. Louisiana has traveled from the Gulf to the State of Massachusetts to find somebody to say something about it.

Now, sir, if more time be needed, or exacted, or demanded by the representatives of the two sides of the Illinois question, I for one, desire that it may be given. The report of the majority in this case cannot possibly be weakened by discussion by anybody. The Committee has thrown the burning light of careful inquiry upon it, and it stands before the majority of the Committee, as I hope it will before this Convention, clear and unquestioned by the Convention or by the world.

Mr. LOGAN. *Mr. President:* I desire to address myself for a few moments to the question that is presented in this resolution. I am aware of the impatience of this Convention; I am impatient myself. I am aware of the great desire that is felt by many of the delegates here to proceed to business. But, sir, it is not best for us to proceed in such a manner as that we will do full and complete justice to all.

By the terms of this resolution, thirty minutes are allowed to either side to present the points that arise in the case of Illinois, and in the resolution I see that the contestants (perhaps it applies to both) are authorized to select outside counsel if they desire to present their case. To that, sir, I have naught to say, except that the Convention composed of the number of gentlemen here to present, it seems to me, ought to understand those things, especially as the Chairman has stated that he has turned the light upon it so that no man can mistake the true path in which he should travel. I can see the object that there is in this resolution. I do not care for it, sir. It makes no difference to us whom you employ or whom you bring to this discussion. It is a plain, simple proposition that all men should not only easily understand, but all just men should readily decide. Illinois asks you to allow her to be represented as she has been in every Republican convention from 1856 down to the present hour.

Men talk about district representation. The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Bateman] eloquently spoke of his state. But, his State has a mode of holding conventions differing from that of our State. In Ohio delegates are elected by district conventions, and State delegations-at-large by a State convention. That is their proceeding. It is not ours. The State of Maine elected her four delegates-at-large by her Legislature. Is not that true

A DELEGATE from Maine. Yes.

Mr. LOGAN. Very well; that is different from ours. We do not seek to interfere with Maine, and Maine should not put her clutches on the rights of Illinois. Massachusetts elects her delegates by district conventions. We do not

wish to disturb the rule in Massachusetts. Louisiana elects her delegates the same as we do in Illinois, by a State convention. You have not interfered with Louisiana, why interfere with Illinois?

In 1856 the first Republican convention in this State sent her delegates to the National Convention by a committee of one from each Congressional district, reporting to that Convention delegates, three from each district and six from the State-at-large, which were affirmed by that Convention, on the report of that committee. The committee in 1860 did the same. In 1864 the same. In 1868 the same. In 1872 the same. In 1876 the same. In 1880 I introduced a resolution in the State convention, a convention of delegates not sent to district conventions, but delegates appointed by the several counties of this State to represent the State in the State convention. For what purpose? For the purpose of nominating State officers; for the purpose of selecting delegates to the National Convention; for the purpose of selecting Electors for our Presidential election; for the purpose of selecting a State committee. That convention was a State convention, not a district convention; it was composed of delegates from counties; they met together; a committee was appointed by the chairman, on a resolution, of one Republican from each Congressional district, to make a report to that convention. That committee reported two delegates from each Congressional district, and four delegates-at-large, Electors for the State, and they were voted on in that convention by counties, and adopted in that convention as all delegates ought to be in a State convention.

I only speak of this because the Chairman of the committee digressed from the proposition before this Convention to speak of his report and that which it does contain. I appeal to you that you give such time as may afford an opportunity of giving you a history of the State convention in the State of Illinois. All this noise, all this clamor about the convention in the State of Illinois, is the thought of an after hour, and for a purpose. Now, let me say to the Sherman men here, to the Blaine men, to the Edmunds men, if I may call them such,—I mean the men who represent these different candidates, gentlemen, if you can beat the old soldier, all right. For him I claim nothing that is not due to each and every citizen of this grand Republic; he asks nothing that he will not grant to others; we demand nothing for him that is not due to each and every other man, and each and every other candidate. We that support him do it because we think he is worthy, and you do the same for the candidates that you support. No one word has ever been lisped by Grant men against any of your candidates. You have never heard a Grant man say that he would bolt your nomination—not one—and you never will. If, as I said, you can beat him, all right; he will stay here till you do it. But do not beat the old soldier by tricks; do not, by chicanery, beat the soldier that led your armies and saved your country; do not, by such means, beat a man that has been recognized by every civilized nation of the earth as the grandest citizen the world knows to-day.

Illinois worships Republicanism at the same shrine that you do. Do not by tactics strike Illinois down to prevent the old soldier from having his share of votes. Sir, I do not know the fact, I will not state it as a fact, but I have been informed that when California delegates were elected they were refused their credentials until they complied with a certain condition. If that is not true I do not wish to state it. Is it true or not?

A DELEGATE. Yes, it is true.

MR. PINLEY, of California. *Mr. President:* The delegates from California feel a little embarrassment in rising to touch the great Achilles of Illinois. We are afraid that this great senatorial magnate will turn his sarcasm, and point his finger and crush us, so that we dare not reply. *Mr. President,* if you

will allow me to answer the question what the delegation from California did, and to state the relation of their instructions, I shall be most proud and happy to reply.

Mr. LOGAN. I do not object to your instructions.

Mr. PIXLEY. It can not be done in a single word. It must involve a momentary history of the proceedings of our State convention.

The PRESIDENT. The debate must be confined within reasonable limits as to the question of time.

Mr. PIXLEY. *Mr President:* It has seemed to me that this whole debate is out of order.

Now, for the question. California elected her delegates here by the votes of the four Congressional districts; and, in order that there should be no question of our authority to be here, the State convention confirmed our delegates' right to represent it; and then, Mr. President, that there might be no further mistake, the State central committee signed our credentials and accredited us here as the representatives of the State of California. That State convention with perfect unanimity, and nobody dissenting, instructed us to vote first, last and all the time for the distinguished senator from Maine.

Mr. LOGAN. I was attempting to illustrate this proposition: That gentlemen from a State, who are complaining of the manner of the delegation being chosen in the State of Illinois, themselves claiming to be representing districts, had to go to a State convention, receive instructions, and receive their credentials from a State central committee under the instructions of a State convention, before they could be accredited to this Convention. And, sir, there was more than that, which I will not mention. But the proposition was this: That, while certain States claim to be represented by districts, they themselves should accord to each and every other State the same right to have their representatives sent either by a State convention or by the district convention.

Now, let me address myself to one other proposition for a moment. Your President is elected by Electors from this State, and from every other state. These Electors are instructed by their people; they vote as a unit for President. When your election goes into the House under the Constitution, your States vote one vote as a unit. You are not represented by districts when you come to elect the President. You are not represented by districts when you come to vote in Congress for a President. I ask, then, why this new rule shall be established by this Convention, before any State has ever received notice that it shall be so done? If you pass a resolution by this National Convention that the States hereafter shall hold their conventions by districts, Illinois will cheerfully obey it; but, until the National Convention shall establish that rule by resolution requiring it to be done, no State is required to change its form or its mode of procedure in their State conventions. So it is with reference to our State; we have so selected our delegates; and what I wanted to call the attention of delegates to is this: and I say it now, not in the manner of warning I never make threats—I have none to make: God forbid that I should; but I do say this: If I was a candidate for President, I would not want a convention that nominated me for President to do it by depriving my opponent of the votes from his State. I appeal to this Convention. I have no desire to discuss this question, only to have this Convention understand the position of the delegation from Illinois, that they may deal with it fairly. This is all we ask. I do think that the chairman of the Committee should certainly change his resolution. He certainly should give an opportunity for fair and free debate on this question.

To say that as to eighteen delegates—nine districts—each one separate, each one having a right to have a vote separate, on their right to a seat here—thirty minutes only be allowed, is not fair, and it is not just. This is about three minutes to a district, or about that—very little more.

Mr. CONGER. I desire—

The PRESIDENT. Will the gentleman from Illinois yield to the gentleman from Michigan?

Mr. LOGAN. Certainly.

Mr. CONGER. I hope the gentleman will bear in mind that I have made no motion to limit debate in any manner whatever.

Mr. LOGAN. I misunderstood the gentleman. Who was it? I thought it was his resolution.

Mr. CONGER. I hope the gentleman will recognize the fact that I said I hoped all reasonable time desired for the explanation of this case may be given by the Convention.

Mr. LOGAN. That is all, sir, that we desire. Then I will ask whose resolution it is?

The PRESIDENT. The pending resolution is one offered by the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. Quarles].

Mr. LOGAN. Then I misunderstood. I thought the gentleman from Michigan had offered it.

Mr. QUARLES. Will the gentleman from Illinois yield for a moment?

Mr. LOGAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. QUARLES. We have already listened to two long speeches in regard to this resolution. Neither the one nor the other gentleman who has spoken on this subject has favored us with an expression of opinion as to what would be the proper time to be consumed in the consideration of the subject. I desire to say that I am ready to listen to a discussion on this subject, though necessarily or even unnecessarily drawn out; but let us meet the subject fairly. If the hour named in this resolution is not enough, let the gentlemen indicate how much time they want, and it will be readily granted. But, Mr. President, the gentlemen have already occupied nearly an hour in discussing the Illinois matter, and have not once touched the subject-matter of the pending resolution.

Mr. LOGAN. The gentleman asked me to give way to ask a question. Will he please state the question?

Mr. QUARLES. The question is, if the honorable gentleman does not deem the time named by the resolution sufficient time to discuss this question, will he indicate how much time he desires?

Mr. LOGAN. I should have done that before I took my seat, without the gentleman asking the question.

Mr. QUARLES. It occurred to me that that is a very pertinent point.

Mr. LOGAN. I was going to suggest it, and the reason that I did not state any particular time was that I am subject to this Convention the same

as all subject to its voice, and I do not want to say how long we shall  
 ———— fix the time (and I hope it will not be fixed

as short as the time proposed), and then put your limit where you think it is reasonable. I do not like to make a motion for time for my friends here; but if some gentleman that wants to be fair will suggest a proper and reasonable time on either side which will be satisfactory to this Convention, we will not grumble for a moment.

Mr. HARRISON, of Indiana. *Mr. President:*—

Mr. LOGAN. I have the floor yet, I believe.

The PRESIDENT. I understood that the gentleman from Illinois had concluded his remarks.

Mr. HARRISON. I was going to move an amendment to the pending motion, that one hour be allowed each side for the discussion of this question. When we consider that an hour has already been consumed on behalf of the sitting delegates, I think that time would be reasonable.

The PRESIDENT. Does the gentleman from Wisconsin accept the amendment or modification of the gentleman from Indiana?

Mr. QUARLES. I will accept the amendment.

Mr. BUTTERWORTH, of Ohio. I rise simply to call the attention of the Convention to the peculiar phraseology of this resolution, as reported. It conflicts with the order already made by the Convention in reference to the counsel that may appear in behalf of the contestants or contestees. The resolution may not have been so intended; but it does, in words, authorize the contestants or contestees to appear by a representative not a member of this body. This Convention has already very wisely ordered that the contestants and contestees in each case shall appear, either by one of themselves or by some member of the Convention.

Now, Mr. President, the experience of this body has demonstrated that if they shall only be heard by themselves or by some member of this Convention, we shall have quite enough said on both sides. I therefore hope, if an amendment is still in order—or would that be in the second degree?

The PRESIDENT. There is no pending amendment.

Mr. BUTTERWORTH. I move, therefore, to strike out that part of the resolution which authorizes the contestants or the contestees to appear by a representative who is not a member of one of the bodies or of this Convention, in order that the original order of the Convention may be enforced and regarded.

The PRESIDENT. The resolution of the gentleman from Wisconsin, as modified by him, will be read. The Chair will then state the question upon the amendment.

Mr. BUTTERWORTH. It is suggested that I amend it by simply saying that we make the resolution here conform to the order made in the Alabama case (except in point of time), which limits the right to appear either in person or by a representative who is not a member of this body.

The PRESIDENT. The resolution of the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. Quarles] will be read.

The Secretary, Mr. Clisbee, read as follows:

*Resolved*, That two hours be allotted for the presentation of the Illinois contest to this Convention; one-half of the time aforesaid to be allotted to the contestants and one-half to the sitting members. That the said contestants be permitted to appear upon the floor, either by one of their number or some other representative, to present their case.

The PRESIDENT. To this the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Butterworth] moves the following substitute. The gentleman will give his careful attention and see if it embraces the idea of his amendment.

The Secretary, Mr. Clisbee, read as follows:

*Resolved*, That the Convention do now proceed to the consideration and determination of so much of the report of the majority of the Committee on Credentials as relates to the contested seats from the State of Illinois, and that one hour's time be allotted to those desiring to speak in support of the report of the majority of said Committee, and the same time to those desiring to oppose the adoption of said majority report; that at the expiration of said time the debate close, and the Convention proceed immediately to vote upon the question.

The substitute was agreed to.

The PRESIDENT. The question now recurs on the resolution as amended.

Mr. WENTWORTH, of Illinois. Please read the resolution as amended.

The PRESIDENT. For what purpose did the gentleman rise? The Chair does not understand the gentleman.

Mr. CONKLING. He asks to hear the resolution.

The PRESIDENT. The resolution as amended will again be read.

The Secretary again read the resolution last read.

The resolution as amended was adopted.

The PRESIDENT. The question is now on the adoption of so much of the report of the majority of the Committee on Credentials as relates to the State of Illinois.

Mr. CONGER, of Michigan. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. LOGAN. I desire to ask one question before the gentleman commences. The Chair spoke of the report in reference to the State of Illinois. Am I to understand the proposition is to adopt it as a whole, or can we ask a division of the question?

The PRESIDENT. The question is on the adoption of so much of the report of the majority of the Committee as already amended on motion of the gentleman from New York [Mr. Sharpe.] this morning, striking out so much as relates to the delegates-at-large. That question the Chair will hold as divisible on the demand of any member of the Convention, into such divisions as consist of cases which are put together both in the majority and the minority report as resting upon the same principle.

Mr. LOGAN. That is all I desire.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Michigan will proceed.

Mr. METCALF, of Illinois. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. For what purpose does the gentleman rise?

Mr. METCALF. I would like to inquire what the question is before the Convention.

THE PRESIDENT. The question is, will the Convention adopt so much of the report of the majority of the Committee as relates to the contested seats from the State of Illinois? The Chair has already informed the Convention that that question is divisible as stated. The demand for that division may be made either before the debate or after; at any time before the vote is taken.

MR. METCALF. I understand, Mr. President, that there was a motion made that the minority report be adopted as a substitute for the majority report, and if that was not made I desire to make it.

THE PRESIDENT. The gentleman is in order to make that motion at this time, if the gentleman from Michigan yields the floor for that purpose. The Chair will inform the gentleman, however, that the representative of the minority of the Committee, [Mr. Cessna] of Pennsylvania, has stated that the minority prefer to make such motion as they would make in relation to that subject at the close of the debate rather than at the beginning. If the gentleman [Mr. Metcalf] desires to make the motion now, however, he can do so. [After a pause.] The gentleman from Michigan will proceed.

MR. CONGER. *Mr. President:* It so happens that before the Committee on Credentials there appeared, on either side, for the contestants and the contestees, two of the most distinguished and most eloquent men who might address a convention in any city in the United States, if not in the world. For what purpose the Convention decided to refuse the benefit of their remarks, and of their investigations to enlighten the Convention upon this case, I cannot determine. But, sir, although not expecting to occupy a moment in this discussion, it becomes me now, necessarily, to open this case in behalf of the majority. I shall say but few words. I hope what I say may be received as the opinion of the Committee which I have the honor to represent. Without stopping to go into detail in this case, the Committee recommend that in these several districts, the report of which, after the discussion may be read, the contestants shall be admitted to their seats in this Convention in place of the sitting members; and leaving all questions of details to those who may desire to speak upon these subjects, I desire to call the attention of this Convention to the question involved in the majority report. First, sir, the majority report asserts, confirms, establishes in this Convention the rule that has prevailed in the State of Illinois from the organization of the Republican party in this State, through all the successive years of its existence, down to the present time, in one unbroken, uninterrupted, unquestioned chain of procedure. The Committee believe that there never has been a time in the State of Illinois at any one of the State conventions when delegates to a National Convention were to be chosen, when the delegates from the different Congressional districts did not withdraw from the convention, organize themselves either formally or informally into a district convention, select their delegates from the district to the National Convention, report the result to the State Convention, and either by some acceptance or some signification, or without any, those delegates went into the National Convention, took their seats there, and voted and exercised their prerogatives in guiding the destinies of the Republican party, and in controlling—which is far higher, and holier, and more sacred,—the destinies of our glorious Republic. That, sir, in my opinion is unquestioned, and in all the discussions before the Committee it was admitted that in one form or another district delegates were always appointed and selected by the delegates of the district in the State convention. If that be so, why this attempted innovation? Mr. President, the Republican party has stood from its very organization, bold, courageous, unshrinking in its opposition to that great heresy in American politics,—the

right of States in their sovereignty to control the General Government by nullifying its laws, to control the General Government by seceding from its Union, to control the General Government by making war in the name of its State-sovereignty against the Union; and worse than that, against the rights of citizens within the Union. We stand against that assertion of our enemies in the late war. But, sir, not content with denouncing those doctrines in the forum, and in the halls of our National Legislature, we called the great, grand soldier of the Nation to lead our armed sons to put down that heresy, that damnable heresy, in our midst, by force of arms. Does it become a Republican Convention to assert at this late day the right of the State, or a State convention in its capacity as a State convention, to take away from districts where the people choose their delegates, and those delegates select the representatives of the district,—take away that right and make one step further in the direction of the heresy which has cost us so much?

Sir, that is the whole question involved in this proposition. There is no gentleman in this Convention but knows that the assumption of the State convention is the assumption of a self-constituted body to determine the election of these delegates, contrary to the usages of the party in the State of Illinois. We cannot permit it, sir, from the greatest man or the grandest man, or an assembly of the greatest and grandest men in the world, that we shall remove further than may be from the people themselves the choice of their representatives in National Conventions. On that proposition turns this question. I, myself, with the expression which has been made here to-night, by an overwhelming majority, of the principles which the majority of the Committee advocate in their report, do not deem it necessary to occupy another hour. For, if men will be candidates for the suffrages of their fellow-citizens for the most important and grandest office in the world, let them not fear to go down into the walks of common life and receive the suffrages of the people in their nomination as well as their election—that is Republicanism—that is our system; for that I stand here to-night to plead in this Convention; for that the majority have made their report for you to sanction. Against that for some purpose, and I will not stop here now to say for what purpose, those who ask the suffrages of this Convention for their favored candidates rebel. From that report and its principles they appeal to this Convention. Mr. President, that is of equal importance; aye, more importance to settle right, than it is who shall be President of the United States.

I shall await, sir, and those who will occupy the remainder of this time will await, to have some one assert here that in the State of Illinois there has ever been any other custom than to elect and select delegates to the National Convention for the respective districts by a separate assemblage of the delegates of the district. If I am correctly informed, the line of precedents is unbroken from the beginning until now. Let the line of precedents remain unbroken now. And finally, let that course be established by this Convention—a Convention, which, as I look down upon this vast assemblage of delegates and alternates, as I look around this immense building upon the bright, intelligent faces of my fellow-citizens, seems to me to be a Convention unsurpassed in intelligence, in dignity, in worth, in patriotism—such a Convention as never assembled before upon the footstool of God. Let this Convention thus exercise its high prerogative here in asserting the principle, and, when the time comes for this Convention to point out and suggest and recommend such other measures as will further the interests of the grandest of all the parties that were ever organized on earth, let them, as the gentleman from Illinois says, define a mode of proceeding, so that even those States who have not permitted their delegates to come more directly from the people shall understand that it is a principle of the Republican party that the people in their primary capacity, exercising freely their own choice, are the sovereigns, and the only sovereigns, in our land, and that they shall determine from now.



henceforth and forever, while our glorious Republic shall last, who shall be their leaders, and who shall be their rulers, and who shall be their lawmakers, and who shall be the executors of their laws. But, sir, I will not weary the patience of this Convention by any further remarks on that subject. If the propositions I have made are true, if they are undisputed, then, by the admission of all in Illinois and out of Illinois,—and that takes in all the world,—the report of the majority is correct in principle, is correct in practice, is correct according to all the principles of the Republican party, and should be sustained whenever the question arises.

Now, Mr. President, to the wisdom, to the ideas of propriety, and the glorious patriotism of these representatives of the people here present, I freely commit this question, without further comment or argument from myself; and, sir, after having heard what the contestees to the minority report may have to say upon this question, I reserve the remainder of the time for the contestants themselves to answer. How much time have I occupied?

The PRESIDENT. Nineteen minutes. The question is on the adoption of the majority report relating to the State of Illinois.

Mr. RAUM, of Illinois. *Mr. President:* I rise on behalf of the sitting delegates, whose seats the majority report, if adopted, will vacate, and confer upon other gentlemen. My distinguished friend who has taken his seat has been vehement in presenting what he understands to be the traditions and law of the Republican party in the State of Illinois in respect to the selection of delegates to the National Conventions of the United States. I say to you, Mr. President, and to the honorable gentlemen of this Convention, that the sitting delegates from the State of Illinois are willing to rest their rights upon the law of this case, and upon the precedents which have been established by long usage of the party in the State of Illinois. We are here, sir, asking for justice. We ask for nothing more. We expect that gentlemen, when they come to vote upon this great question, will not be biased by the interests of their respective candidates, but treat this question in a dispassionate, fair-minded and just manner. I has been well said by various gentlemen who have addressed this Convention, that there is not to-day, and never has been, an uniform rule in all States in respect to the selection of delegates in the National Convention. Whenever an uniform rule shall be adopted by the authoritative declaration of the Republicans of the United States, the Republicans of Illinois will cheerfully acquiesce in that rule; but I say to you, Mr. President, as is said in this minority report, that we do not wish to be subjected to an *ex post facto* rule—a rule adopted after the facts. We want this case tried by the law, as exists to-day, that law having been established by the usages of the Republican party since 1856. I say to the distinguished gentleman from Michigan that he is in error in regard to his facts. I say to him that there is an unbroken line of precedents in the State of Illinois to the effect that the State conventions from time immemorial have selected the delegates, instructed the delegates, and sent them to the Republican National Conventions of this country. Why, Mr. President, the usage of both of the parties in the State of Illinois has been the same for the last forty years, and to my individual knowledge—for, sir, I was born and raised in this great State, and to my certain knowledge since 1852 no convention—Whig, Democratic, or Republican—sending delegates to the National Conventions in this country, have acted otherwise than through a State convention. I assert it as a fact that cannot be controverted, that there never was a district convention held in the State of Illinois to select a delegate to a National Convention.

Gentlemen may say that the committee of a State convention, going out under the instructions of that convention to perform certain duties, are Congressional conventions. I deny the statement *in toto*. What constitutes a convention? What are the preliminary steps which lead to the organization

of a convention? Did you ever hear of a convention meeting in the State of Illinois unless there was a call issued for that convention? Think, if you please, of a convention meeting, electing delegates, instructing those delegates, and sending them to a National Convention, unless there was a call for that convention.

Mr. President, the call under which the sitting delegates were selected was a call for a State convention. The Republicans in the various counties of the State of Illinois were requested to send delegates to a State convention, for the purpose of nominating State officers, for the purpose of sending delegates to the National Convention, for the purpose of selecting Electors, and creating a State Republican central committee.

This has been the practice in the State of Illinois since the organization of the Republican party. In 1860, when Lincoln, of sainted memory, was presented by the Republicans of Illinois for the suffrages of the people of this country, the delegates were selected by a State convention, and I had the following resolution adopted.

*"Resolved, That Abraham Lincoln is the choice of the Republican party of Illinois for the Presidency, and the delegates from this State are instructed to use all honorable means to secure his nomination by the Chicago convention, and vote as a unit for him. And the said delegates shall have power to fill all vacancies."*

Mr. President, we have recognized Abraham Lincoln as a man possessed of some little political sense and experience. There is the resolution under which the Republican delegates, sent to the National Convention, acted when Abraham Lincoln was nominated in 1860.

In 1864 the delegates were selected in the same way, by a State convention. And a similar resolution was passed, instructing the delegates to that Convention to vote for Abraham Lincoln as a unit.

In 1868, when the Republican convention of this State met at Peoria. I happened to be a delegate to that convention. I was on the committee on resolutions, and I assisted in the preparation of the letter of instructions to those delegates. Those delegates were selected by the State convention. They took their instructions from the State convention, and went to the National Convention, and assisted in the nomination of Ulysses S. Grant.

And how were those delegates selected? They were not selected otherwise than by a committee. A committee selected under the orders of the convention, composed of one delegate from each Congressional district in the State; they retired; they considered of the subject intrusted to their care, and they reported the necessary delegates, and their report was received by the convention and was adopted.

How was it in 1872? I state these facts, Mr. President, from actual knowledge, because I was a delegate at these conventions. In 1872 Ulysses S. Grant was again presented by Illinois to the suffrages of the people of this country. I had the honor of penning the letter of instructions to the delegates to use all honorable means and vote as a unit for Ulysses S. Grant. How were the delegates selected? They were selected in 1872 by a committee. That committee was raised under the orders of the convention—one member from each Congressional district. They reported the names of the delegates; that report was received by the convention, and it was ratified, and those delegates performed the duties with which they were entrusted.

How was it in 1876? I was at that convention. I was the Temporary Chairman of that convention. The delegates were selected by a committee. That committee, Mr. President, was raised under the instructions of that convention; it consisted of one delegate from each Congressional district. They retired, they considered of their business, and they reported for the consideration of that convention the names of gentlemen to sit as delegates to the convention. Their report was received by the convention—

Mr. PIXLEY, of California. *Mr. President:* I desire to ask the gentleman a question.

The PRESIDENT. Does the gentleman yield to the gentleman from California?

Mr. RAUM. Yes.

Mr. PIXLEY. Is it not a fact—I have heard it asserted—that that committee reported the names of persons who had been selected by the delegates in Congressional districts? I know that you are conversant with it. I ask you for the information.

Mr. RAUM. They may have consulted, and I have no doubt did consult, with the delegates from their respective Congressional districts. And how was it done in 1880? The delegates were selected by a committee; that committee reported the delegates for the consideration of the convention, and that report was considered by the convention and ratified, and these delegates are sitting in front of me this day. I answer the gentleman from California that, as a matter of course this committee consulted with their friends; as a matter of course, they undertook to choose such men as would be in accord with the majority of that convention. They took the advice of their friends in reporting those names for the consideration of the convention.

Mr. PIXLEY. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. Does the gentleman from Illinois yield to the gentleman from California? Gentlemen must understand that any yielding comes out of the time of the gentlemen who yield.

Mr. RAUM. Then you must excuse me, Mr. President, for not yielding. These are the precedents; and I say to you, and I say to this Convention, that these precedents constitute the law which is to govern this case; that is, that the State convention has the right, as they have exercised that right since 1856, to select the mode by which these delegates shall be chosen. The mode has always been followed in these various conventions, and when delegates were selected their names were brought into the convention for ratification by the convention. Why, Mr. President, the fact that the Republicans of Illinois have always and everywhere claimed the right to instruct their delegates, is conclusive evidence that they also claim the right of selecting delegates that would obey their instructions. What was the issue in the Springfield convention? When we went down to Springfield we found a minority in that convention who were threatening up and down the streets of that city, and through the corridors of the hotels that unless we conducted the affairs of that convention according to their will and pleasure, they would bolt the convention. There was an issue.

The majority of that convention was in favor of selecting delegates to support Ulysses S. Grant, and the minority of that convention told us in the convention itself, in the course of debate, that they would not obey the instructions that that convention might give them, to vote for Ulysses S. Grant.

When Abraham Lincoln, sitting at the Capitol of the State of Illinois, had his friends to instruct the delegates to vote for him as a unit; when, at the second term, the same course was pursued; when, in 1868, the same course was pursued; when, in 1872, the same course was pursued in regard to instructions, you have a line of precedents which conclusively shows that the Republicans of the State of Illinois have at all times claimed, in convention assembled, to hold in their hands the authority of selecting delegates to carry out their will. When the majority at Springfield found that the minority selected as delegates to this Convention would disobey their instructions, they concluded, and rightfully concluded, to give expression to the great majority of the Republicans of the State of Illinois, by selecting delegates who would

carry out the will of the Republicans of Illinois. Those delegates come here to-day. They occupy those seats. They are regular delegates. They represent the great voice of the Republicans of the State of Illinois. I ask you, Mr. President, and I ask honorable gentlemen of this Convention, and I wish them to take it deep into their hearts this night, whether by revolutionary means inaugurated after the fact they propose to put these eighteen delegates out by adopting an *ex post facto* law in their case. Why, Mr. President, we have been told by the honorable Chairman of the Committee on Credentials that there were fifty contests here in this National Convention. Why these contests? Why is it that from one end of this country to the other you find that there are contests for seats in this National Convention? I will tell you, Mr. President, why. It is because you are seeking to invade, to overturn and destroy, the ordinary methods of the Republican party in these States. I say to you that these are revolutionary measures. This Convention can turn those eighteen delegates out. You have the power to do it, but I say to you, that if this revolutionary spirit is carried forward another four years, the hour has struck for the destruction and overthrow of the Republican party. I will support your candidate. I will go forward and ask the people of Illinois to support him; but I warn you, Mr. President, and I warn you, gentlemen of the Convention, that the Republican party can not stand such a strain another four years.

We ask these delegates in the National Convention assembled to do us justice. We ask them to administer the law, and I have stated the law. We are willing to learn from New England. We are willing to learn from adjacent States. We are willing to be taught our A, B, C's in politics. I have been in politics now these thirty years, and I find that I do not know anything about it. I find that the whole thing is to be learned over again. I find that if a State convention meets, and nobody objects, why then they can send delegates to a National Convention. But if somebody gets into one corner of a hotel, and gathers two or three around him, and files a protest, and comes up with credentials, and says, "Here was a district convention, and you must not stifle the voice of a district convention," then your State convention is of no validity.

[A voice from the gallery. Is that your experience at the Palmer House?]

MR. RAUM. The gentleman in the gallery has alluded to the Palmer House. That is not pertinent to this inquiry. But, Mr. President, it seems to excite some curiosity, and it would seem from what has just passed, that I would be afraid to speak of the Palmer House. I have no fears of alluding to what occurred here in Cook county some few weeks ago. I do not live in Cook county. I live 350 miles south of Cook county. I have nothing to do with broils in politics here; but there is one important feature of this Cook county affair that does not seem to be understood by the gentlemen who have come up to this convention from a distance. When the primary elections were held here in the county of Cook, and in the great city of Chicago, it was found that that candidate that lives in the northeastern corner of this nation was unable to carry Cook county against Ulysses S. Grant, and it was found necessary to drag another name into that race against his consent, and to drag him into that race in a manner that is calculated to cause those who are not his friends to say that it was an ungracious act, and an act of ingratitude; and they did this for the purpose of uniting all elements against Ulysses S. Grant. Why, Mr. President, when this popular uprising we have heard so much talk about occurred, one-fourth of the votes were cast—just one-fourth of the votes—and Ulysses S. Grant beat James G. Blaine about two thousand.

A DELEGATE. Three thousand.

**Mr. RAUM.** Three thousand; and he beat E. B. Washburne by a large majority. Why, if the ninety-two delegates had been voted for at large, in the county of Cook, every one of them would have been elected as Grant delegates—every one of them. They would have been elected according to the poll that was made at that election. And when the returns came in, it was found that Ulysses S. Grant had a large majority in three of the Senatorial districts.

Now, Mr. President, when these contesting delegates went down to the city of Springfield, they were met by six hundred dispassionate men, who had nothing to do with this contest. They sat upon that contest two days, and laying aside the form of that county convention, but looking to the substance of primary election, they gave to these parties the number of delegates that they were entitled to according to the votes that were cast at that primary election. Why, my distinguished friend here [Mr. Conger] stickles, severely stickles, to have delegates close up to the people. Here were delegates that were close to the people; here were delegates, which, by the voice of three Senatorial districts in the county of Cook, were chosen by the great majority of the people of these districts.

Much has been said of the action of that State convention, Mr. President. I was not a delegate to that convention. I visited Springfield on business, and to look at the proceedings of that convention. I have attended nearly all the conventions in this State since the war. After two days in that great mass of excited men, it was believed that I would be able better to control these elements than any other gentleman there. I undertook that duty and I performed it as well as I could, with my inexperience as a presiding officer. I did justice as I saw it. I tried to do justice to every man in that convention. But, sir, I call your attention to the fact that it was a very exciting convention. It lasted three days and two nights. We had one continuous session from seven in the afternoon until nearly two o'clock at night, which was filled with debate, and excited debate at that. Laying aside that convention, Mr. President, I come again to state to these delegates of the National Convention that we want you to do us justice, and in doing us justice you will leave those eighteen men in their seats.

**The PRESIDENT.** The Chair informs the Convention that Mr. Elliott Anthony, a contestant from the Third Congressional district, desires to occupy a portion of the time assigned to that side of the question. Gentlemen of the committee on both sides agree to that. Is there objection? The Chair hears none.

**Mr. CONKLING.** What portion of the time will he occupy?

**The PRESIDENT.** Not more than ten minutes, Mr. Anthony says. Is there objection? The Chair hears none.

**Mr. ANTHONY.** *Mr. President:* I do not, in the short space of time that I shall occupy here, intend to travel over the ground covered by the gentleman who just preceded me, but shall confine myself to the question before the Convention. That question, as I understand it, is, What has been the practice of the Republican party in the State of Illinois in selecting their delegates to the National Convention? This is a question, Mr. President, that is to be determined, and ought to be determined without any reference to the bearing it may have upon the distinguished soldier that was referred to by one of the sitting delegates from Illinois, and without any reference to the bearing it may have upon that distinguished statesman that has been referred to by other gentlemen here; but it must be decided on the facts of this case, and as I say again, in accord with the practice.

Now what has been the practice in this State? The gentleman that preceded me, as I understood him, laid down the doctrine that it was the State

conventions that elected the delegates to the National Convention. I wish here in my place to deny it as a question of fact; and I meet it fairly and squarely by saying that never in the history of the State of Illinois were the delegates to the National Convention ever selected by anybody, except by conventions of the Congressional districts. I repeat it again in the most emphatic manner, and if the gentleman meant what he said, he stands before the public and the people of Illinois as a perverter of history. This is no time to mince words over a question of this character. And I am emphatic upon this, particularly so because I understood from the distinguished gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Boutwell], who has introduced a resolution here, that he was in favor of having delegates selected and recognized in the way and manner that the precedents of the party had been for years in the past.

Now, the first Republican convention that was called in the State of Illinois was in 1856. The resolution that was introduced upon that subject was by a distinguished gentleman that occupies a seat in the First Congressional district here to-day. The Hon. John Wentworth introduced this resolution:

*"Resolved, That the delegates in attendance from the several Congressional districts be requested to suggest the name of one person from each Congressional district for Presidential Elector, and three persons for delegates to the National Convention. And that a committee of nine, consisting of one from each Congressional district, be appointed by the chair, to recommend two such Electors, and six delegates for the State-at-large."*

At that time, you will recollect, we selected six delegates for the State-at-large. Take the next record and follow it down to the present time. I wish to state to the gentlemen here, that for the first time in the history of the State of Illinois was there a committee appointed upon motion of any gentleman upon the floor. And it was the first time in the history of the party that the distinguished gentleman that spoke here a moment ago took out of his pocket, himself, a list of the committees without their being suggested by the various Congressional districts in the State.

What are the facts in this case as shown by statistics here? The facts are that delegates were elected to the State convention. They went there, and, in accordance with the custom of the party, they held there the Congressional district election. They selected their men as we had done since 1856. The first thing we knew, as I stated, after this had been done, and each of the Congressional districts in the State had selected their delegates to the National Convention, it was found that in various ones of these Congressional districts they would represent different persons, in their preferences, from what the majority of that convention at that time wanted, and they proceeded to set aside the men that had been selected to this Convention. Take in 1860; that was the next State convention of the Republican party at which delegates to the National Convention were appointed. It was held in Decatur, May 9 and 10, 1860. The following is an extract from the proceedings of that body:

*"Mr. John M. Palmer moved that a committee of one member from each Congressional district be appointed by the chair, to nominate four delegates from the State-at-large to the Chicago Convention, with alternates, and two candidates for Electors from the State-at-large. Mr. Murphy moved to amend Mr. Palmer's proposition by providing that the members of the National Committee be selected, not by the chair, but by 'the several representatives present from the Congressional districts.'"*

At a subsequent stage of the proceedings appears this:

*"The report of the Committee on Delegates and Alternates-at-large was presented and received. The committee recommended the selection of the following gentlemen:"* Then follows the names of the gentlemen. *"On motion it was ordered that the various Congressional districts, through the proper*

persons, hand in a list of district delegates selected by them, and also the district alternates."

What did the gentleman mean when he stood up before you here to-night and said that the State convention had selected the delegates to the National Convention? I have the record here. Take the Convention of 1864. The Republican State convention of that year met at Springfield May 25th, and the record on this point is as follows:

"Mr. Scammon, of Cook, moved that 'a committee to consist of one delegate from each Congressional district, to be selected by the delegates from among themselves, be appointed to nominate six delegates-at-large for the Baltimore Convention, and their alternates, and to select two delegates from each Congressional district to the Baltimore Convention, and their alternates, and one candidate for Elector for President and Vice-President in each Congressional district.' Mr. Cook, of LaSalle, moved to amend the last branch of the resolution so as to read as follows: 'That the delegates from each Congressional district select two delegates to the Baltimore Convention, and two alternates.' The amendment was accepted by Mr. Scammon."

That was the action in 1864. Take 1868. In that convention it was as follows:

"The Republican State convention met at Peoria, May 6. As part of the proceedings of that, Mr. Franklin Corwin of La Salle, was elected president, and then announced that four committees had been decided upon, one of which was a committee to choose Electors and delegates to the National Convention. The various Congressional districts were called upon to name one member for each of these committees, and it was announced as follows: Committee to name delegates to the National Convention, *First district*, A. C. Hesing; *Second*, George S. Bangs," and so forth.

After the completion of the nomination of the ticket for the State officers the record continues: "The committee on election was called upon to report, which they did as follows:" Then follows a list of the delegates to the National Convention, which were selected at that time by the Congressional district conventions.

Take 1872. At that convention Mr. James P. Root, of Cook county, acted as temporary chairman and the Hon. Stephen T. Logan was president. "On motion of Mr. Metcalf, it was resolved that the Congressional districts be called in their numerical order, and that each district be requested to present the name of one delegate to represent said district upon the Congressional Committee."

After the nomination had been completed, the next business was the report of the committee on delegates to Philadelphia from both the districts and the State-at-large. In that convention there is no record at any time that the Congressional districts made a report back whom they had selected.

Now, take 1876. (I will be through in a moment; this is the last one I shall refer to.) Gen. Rinaker, of Macoupin, offered the following:

"Resolved, That the Congressional districts be called in their order, and when called each district name its delegate to serve on the committee."

At that time a Congressional district convention was called, and at that time they selected their delegates to the National Convention, and the State Convention, as a convention, had nothing whatever to do with it. I have the record here, and I say to this Convention, whatever the statement of the gentleman was, when he stands before the people of the State of Illinois—

Mr. RAUM. Will the gentleman permit a question?

Mr. ANTHONY. When he says that delegates to the National Convention have been heretofore selected by the State convention, I confront him and say here, upon my knowledge, which is equal to that of the gentleman, that he perverts history itself; it is not true.

Mr. RAUM. May I ask the gentleman a question?

The PRESIDENT. Does the gentleman yield?

Mr. ANTHONY. The distinguished gentleman has occupied a large portion of the time of this Convention this afternoon. I want to get through with my say, and then he can talk on. I represent here the Third Congressional district and I want to tell you about that.

Mr. MURPHY, of New York. I would like to ask the gentleman if he did not state in the corridor of the hotel two days ago this week that, under no circumstances would he vote for Gen. Grant if he was nominated?

Mr. ANTHONY. I, sir? I never said so in my life; and I never thought of saying such a thing in my life. No, sir; I will support Gen. Grant, or any other man that this Convention nominates. I want to say that I represent here the Third Congressional district in this county. It has a population of over 120,000. Nearly 50,000 of that population are Germans. In that district, at the Cook county elections, there were only two men that were elected as Grant men in the entire district. Myself and the other delegate, Mr. Hesing, were by the Congressional convention elected unanimously as delegates to this Convention. Whom did they take to place over us? They took and placed over us for one the Hon. John L. Beveridge, who was beaten out of sight in his own town. They could not find Germans enough in that district to make a representative of, and they took a most reputable man,—a good man,—but a Bohemian, who does not represent the German population at all. The gentleman pictures to you what disasters will follow. I want to tell you, that these ten Congressional districts of the State of Illinois constitute the Republican party itself. In 1876 they gave a Republican majority of nearly 28,000. The counties down south that voted solid against us, gave at that time more than 8,000 Democratic majority. These gentlemen talk about revolutionary measures. The men to introduce and inaugurate revolution were the men who operated and co-operated with the gentleman. We are here pleading for justice, and we ask no more than to follow the precedents of the party.

Mr. STROBACH, of Alabama. *Mr. President:* I rise to a question of privilege.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. STROBACH. I desire as an adopted, so-called "German" citizen of this country, that this question—this bugaboo—should be taken away from the Convention and not always be brought before you, because I desire to state here to-night that I am satisfied it is not true. Every one of us is an *American* citizen, and not a "German" citizen any more. It is misleading the public mind, and it is not true, and I request you not to believe in it. I said the same thing in 1872. I am tired of hearing this.

Mr. STORRS, of Illinois. *Mr. President:* A proposition is made for the first time in the political history of a National Convention to abolish State conventions in Illinois. It will not work. We have gone along since 1856 under our system of State conventions, and have rolled up magnificent Republican majorities. I hope that Maine, I hope that Ohio, looking back to their troublesome history as Republican States, will not undertake to force upon us their methods. It is very clear that they had better adopt ours. The gentleman who last addressed the Convention has arrogated to the Congressional districts, for whom he speaks, the supreme credit of being the Republican party of the State of Illinois. The First, Second and Third Congressional districts, two years ago, gave Democratic majorities of 17,000. So much for



history. The gentleman must have been out of the party, and have forgotten the event. I stand here to-night, with the only evidences of title as a delegate to this Convention that a delegate from the State of Illinois ever presented. It is a question of title. No delegate from Illinois ever appeared in a National Convention that did not bear with him the credentials of the State which he represented in that body; never. And the Illinoisan who got into the Convention on any other terms crawled in under the canvas, or was appointed doorkeeper. He never got in in the regular way. It is a question of title. I hold to-night the credentials from the State convention, and my title is no better because the evidences are the same as of the eighteen delegates whom you propose to exclude. You admit me, and you exclude them, on precisely the same evidences of title. Reconcile the inconsistency if you know how. Since 1856 this State has held Republican State conventions, and there has never been an instance in its history—not one—in which a delegate was appointed to a National Convention where the authority to make the appointment did not proceed from the convention at large. I do not care how vigorous, declamatory, noisy or vehement the assertion to the contrary may be. That is the history of the State. When committees were formed for the selection of delegates, they were formed because the convention authorized them to be formed. Is the creature, I ask this body, superior to the creator? If it was a committee, selected by the Congressional districts, it was because in every instance the convention authorized the organization of the committee, and directed the body from which it should be constituted. And on all occasions the committee, clothed with this power, derived its authority not to select, not to appoint, but merely to *name* delegates to the National Convention; and their action was reported back to that body for its approval or its disapprobation. That has been the history of the State. Now it is proposed to change it. It has been urged, however, that a great, blessed privilege—that of district representation—has been invaded. All these delegates are from the Congressional districts, for which they were named, and there is but one exception to that statement of fact. Among the contesting delegates there is one delegate selected from the Sixth district, who is not a resident of that district, and has not been for years past. I go further with this history. I shall not detain you to-night by reading; but let me call your attention to the call for that convention. It is a convention of what? Of the Republicans of the State of Illinois. To meet how? To meet in State convention. For what purpose? As a State convention as an entire, complete, indivisible political body to nominate candidates for State officers, and to name forty-two delegates to this body. That is the call. Recognizing the call, the thousands of Republicans of this State sent 693 delegates, not to a congregation of Congressional conventions, but to a great solid body called a State convention, in which either the majority or minority must rule; and in this instance the majority decided to rule. Never has there been an instance in the entire history of this State when such a thing as a Congressional district convention was held within, outside, on the verge of, near by, or adjacent to a State convention. Never. In this long history to which I have referred, sometimes the convention has appointed a committee made up of one person from each Congressional district, to do what? Sometimes the chair has named the committee, sometimes the convention has named the committee, to select delegates to the National Convention. When that has been done the work has been referred back to that body, and they approved. The State convention has set its seal of approval upon the work, and by its credentials sent each delegate here, and he has represented not merely a school district, not merely a sewing society, not merely a fractional part of a Congressional district, but he has represented, in part, the majesty of the great State of Illinois.

Now, what is the offense which the State of Illinois on this occasion has committed? It desired, speaking authoritatively through its State convention, to give expression to its will. Whatever its will, we knew of but one method by which that will could be ascertained. It was by an appeal to the convention itself. When the convention, representing the Republicans of the State, declared by its majority its preference for a particular candidate, that was the will of the State, and if it had the power thus to express its will, it had, I undertake to say, power to make this expression effectual. If it had the right to instruct, and no one denies that it does possess that power, with the right to instruct, it had the right to make its instructions so vigorous that they would be obeyed. If it could express its will it had a right to enforce the execution of that will. It had a right to defend itself against treachery, trickery, fraud, corruption, violated faith, broken pledges and disregarded instructions. It did protect itself, and that convention, as all prior conventions have done, selected men who needed not to be instructed. It selected men who knew no law but the will of the majority which they represented; who knew no "boss," and no allegiance to anything, and recognized no despotism except the stern, inexorable and irreversible despotism of duty.

It has been suggested, however, that an argument can be drawn from the call of *this* Convention. Looking back to the various calls of National Conventions, from 1864 down to this day, you will find that down to the call for this Convention no allusion whatever has been made to Congressional districts. There has merely been an expression indicating the number of delegates which each State was to select, but in this case the call was prepared by one of the members of the Committee at the suggestion of its Chairman, and never referred to the Committee as a body for its action. Is the will or accident of some scrivener to be substituted for and made the law of a great National Convention?

Now, if it is within your province to determine for us how we shall select our delegates to a State convention, will you please be good enough, and fair enough, and just enough, to tell us what that law shall be in the future? Obedient citizens, bending before and recognizing the will of the Republicans of the Nation as they have expressed it, we will undertake to obey; but make no law for us to-day which shall be operative *yesterday*. Impose upon us no change in the policy of our party which shall be retroactive in its effect. It is possible that the methods of Massachusetts and Connecticut, and Ohio, and other States are better than ours. Reason with us; change our methods if you can; but do not wipe out the past, and do not by your action undertake to disestablish the methods which we have already pursued.

It may be that the garments of the older States are better than our garments. It may be that they are more genteelly made. Doubtless they are. They do not fit us so well. This is a great, strong, powerful, rapidly growing community. It is a great, independent Republican State. So long as we transgress none of the rules of our political organization; so long as we are faithful to its creed; so long as, by a majority running up to 50,000, we carry your banner in victory, to the front, always in front, respect our precedents and consider kindly our peculiarities. The Republicans of the State of Illinois are not the men to indulge in threats. We do not undertake to terrorize others; and we decline to be terrorized ourselves. We support the ticket; we are for the candidate first, last, and all the time,—whomsoever he may be. We never saw a foe yet in the political field in whose presence our standard was ever voluntarily lowered, even an inch. It has gone down sometimes in defeat. It has never been drawn down. It has never known a surrender.

I appeal to considerations away beyond the mere personal preferences which we feel to-night. I appeal to those considerations infinitely grander, vastly nobler, than those personal preferences that inspire the galleries, and,

I am afraid, the body of this Convention. I appeal to the great cause which absorbs within itself and is grander than all the greatness of our individual leaders. I appeal for that harmony in the future which we must have. I appeal to that just judgment of the party which I do not believe will ever knowingly, or willingly, or deliberately inflict a wrong. I conjure you to stay your hand over what the Republican party in this State will regard as an outrage on its dignity, and on the freedom of its action.

I wish to indulge in no line of commentary that can intensify the bitterness which already exists. I wish to denounce no one. But I have seen upon this platform, advocating a cause which has been espoused here to-night, and announced in the report of this majority of the Committee, what looked to me like disembodied spirits of the party of Liberal movement of 1872.

I am in favor of no such resurrection. When the bolter dies, I hope that he may die, sir, the death that knows no waking. It does seem as if all the tombs of all the chronic bolters of the State had been rifled, and their forms, re-fleshed, set up here to speak a law to the Republicans of the State of Illinois. I object to being instructed from that quarter.

And now, looking to this future into which we are so rapidly walking,—looking to this great contest upon which we are so soon entering, do not, I beg of you, by one single word that you may utter, or one vote that you may cast, impair the energy of that great rank and file which constitute the 50,000 Republican majority of the State of Illinois.

I beg you to deal justly with us all, and whatever individual preference this great Convention may express will be responded to, not half-heartedly, not despairingly, not doubtingly, but with whole soul and in dead earnest. Nominate James G. Blaine, if you will, and when the gentlemen who are cheering in the galleries to-night are reposing under the soft summer sky, tired of politics and disgusted with its fatigues, you will find the followers of the grand, old, silent soldier, awake by their camp fires, and carrying the banner of the sluggard forward to triumphant victory. [Loud and long-continued applause.]

THE PRESIDENT. The question is on the adoption of the report. The gentleman has only four minutes of his hour remaining.

MR. STORRS. Please give me these four minutes. I think I need but three.

MR. RAUM. This Convention can be brought to profound order by everybody uniting in three cheers for the nominee of this Convention.

The cheers were enthusiastically given.

MR. STORRS. *Gentleman*: Give the grand old State that never knew a draft, and never filled up a regiment with paper soldiers,—give the grand old State, the home of Lincoln, and Douglas, and Grant, a fair chance. Put no indignity on the honor of her sons. Then, if you can nominate the worthy son of Ohio, John Sherman, do it fairly, and when the hysterical gentlemen who are afraid that he is not popular enough to carry Illinois, are inquiring their way to the polls, the grand old guard, whose representative I am, will have planted the banner of victory on the citadels of the enemy. By all means let us be free and absolutely untrammelled; put no just cause for complaint on us; have no hesitancy in a candidate who exhibits scars, provided they are honorable scars, won in honorable warfare.

Select no man without a record; pull no skulker from under the ammunition wagon, because he shows not upon him the signs of battle; take the old tried hero,—let us take him if we can get him; and then I believe with the old guard behind him, who have never kept step in this world to any music but the music of the Union, and with the friends of Blaine, and the friends of Sherman, and the friends of all good men, a victory will be achieved, the like of which has never been recorded in the annals of our National politics.

Citizens of one country, members of one party, let us remember that while we accept no indignities from our enemies, we hope and trust and pray our friends will put none upon us. Here in the midnight, with the storm without, and these assembled Republicans within, we are first to be just, first to be fair, and victory is ours as sure as the morning comes. Gentlemen, I thank you.

The PRESIDENT. Is the Convention ready for the question? The time allotted to the minority has expired.

Mr. BUTTERWORTH, of Ohio. Has the time for discussion expired?

The PRESIDENT. The time allotted to the *minority* has expired. There are twenty-three minutes remaining of the time allotted to the majority.

Mr. CONGER, of Michigan. *Mr. President:* The gentleman who had prepared himself to speak for the majority, or for the contestants, fears that the resolution passed by the Convention permitting only delegates to speak shuts him out, because, although a delegate, he is only a proxy. What do you say? Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent, which overrides all rules, for Mr. Ingersoll to speak.

Objection was heard.

Mr. CONGER. The objection comes from New York.

The PRESIDENT. Objection is made. Does the gentleman take the floor in his own right?

Mr. CONGER. No, sir; but I claim the right of a gentleman who is here by the proxy of a delegate, to speak to this question, under the rule.

Mr. CONKLING. I rise to a question of privilege. I want to know what is going on. I want to inform the Chair that we are wholly ignorant of all that the gentleman from Michigan is saying. We know nothing about it even here.

Mr. CONGER. Perhaps after the half hour of argument, we might listen to a little talk.

Mr. PIXLEY, of California. *Mr. President:* Will the Convention indulge me for one moment? We have come three thousand miles—

A DELEGATE. Two thousand.

Mr. PIXLEY—to attend a deliberative Convention. (I have added 1,000 to accommodate myself to the exaggerated kind of speaking I hear to-night.) Our twelve delegates came here for no other purpose than that we could unite with the other gentlemen of this Convention, to secure that chiefest of all American citizens, whomever he may be, that shall be designated by this Convention as the standard-bearer in the coming conflict. Do not let us misunderstand our position, and in the midst of the enthusiasm of the moment be carried away by the conviction that we have not before us an earnest fight—a fight that will demand all the gallantry and the exercise of all the ability of all the Republicans of all sections.

Mr. MERCALF, of Illinois. I call the gentleman to order. He is not speaking to the question.

Mr. PIXLEY. I am going to speak on the question of the contested delegation from the State of Illinois. I say the spectacle we have witnessed here to-night is unworthy of a great National Convention. It is worthy of France

in the Reign of Terror or in the time of the Commune. The enthusiasm—this shaking of umbrellas and of handkerchiefs, and the waving of plumes, and the raising of painted banners—is not the duty which this Convention has before it. Mr. President, mark you, we are standing in the august presence of forty-five millions of people. Our transactions to-night will be sent broadcast over the whole world by the press of to-morrow morning. It is not to our discredit if we shall now come to order, and resume that order of our business and proceed with the deliberations for which we have been called together.

Mr. CONGER. I now call for a vote.

Mr. BUTTERWORTH. If the Convention desires to address itself to the discussion of the merits of the proposition pending before the Convention, I desire to make a motion. Much of this night has been wasted, possibly. The people of the country will not hear the wild applause in behalf of one candidate or another, but will read with deliberate care what we do here; and will pass, as I trust, considerably upon our actions. It is of the first importance, that we conclude the business with which we are charged, with despatch. It is of greater importance that we discharge our duties wisely, considerably and justly, and so that our acts here will meet with the approbation of the constituents we represent. I am delighted to know that there is considerable impartiality in the applause bestowed upon the respective candidates by the galleries. If that is not so, some, through misapprehension, have applauded at the wrong time.

But to my motion. In order that we may act coolly, considerably and wisely in this matter, it being now one o'clock in the morning, I move that this Convention adjourn until ten o'clock to-morrow morning.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman moves that the Convention adjourn until ten o'clock. The motion is not debatable.

Mr. BUTTERWORTH. I mean, of course, until ten o'clock Saturday morning, it being now after one o'clock.

"If it were done, when 'tis done, then 'twere well  
It were done quickly."

The PRESIDENT. The question is on the motion to adjourn. [After putting the question.] The "noes" seem to have it.

Mr. BUTTERWORTH. If the "noes" have it, I insist on a call of the roll.

Other DELEGATES. Call the roll.

The PRESIDENT. A call of the roll is demanded.

Mr. BUTTERWORTH. One moment: I do not personally care about having the roll called, but when the Convention votes, let at least one-half of the members know what they are voting on.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Ohio moves that the Convention do now adjourn until ten o'clock Saturday morning, and upon that question several delegates demand the calling of the roll. The roll will be called accordingly, if the motion be insisted on.

Mr. BUTTERWORTH. So far as I am personally concerned, I do not insist upon the calling of the roll, if the entire Convention heard the motion and knew what it was.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair will put the question again

On the question being again taken, the Chair was in doubt as to the result, and ordered a call of the roll.

The PRESIDENT. The question will be stated again. The question is on the motion to adjourn until Saturday morning at ten o'clock. The Secretary will call the roll.

The roll of States was called and resulted, yeas 103, nays 653, as follows:

States.	No. Del.	Ay.	No.	States.	No. Del.	Ay.	No.
Alabama .....	20	7	13	New York.....	70	1	69
Arkansas .....	12	..	12	North Carolina.....	20	5	15
California .....	12	..	12	Ohio .....	44	22	22
Colorado .....	6	..	6	Oregon .....	6	..	6
Connecticut .....	12	4	8	Pennsylvania.....	58	..	58
Delaware .....	6	..	6	Rhode Island.....	8	..	8
Florida .....	8	8	..	South Carolina.....	14	..	14
Georgia .....	22	1	21	Tennessee .....	24	1	23
Illinois .....	42	..	42	Texas .....	16	11	5
Indiana .....	30	..	30	Vermont .....	10	..	10
Iowa .....	22	..	22	Virginia .....	22	..	22
Kansas .....	10	..	10	West Virginia.....	10	..	10
Kentucky .....	24	..	24	Wisconsin .....	20	1	19
Louisiana .....	16	..	16	Arizona .....	2	..	2
Maine .....	14	..	14	Dakota .....	2	1	1
Maryland .....	16	2	14	District of Columbia.....	2	..	2
Massachusetts .....	26	26	..	Idaho .....	2	..	2
Michigan .....	22	..	22	Montana .....	2	..	2
Minnesota .....	10	..	10	New Mexico.....	2	..	2
Mississippi .....	16	5	11	Utah .....	2	..	2
Missouri .....	30	..	30	Washington .....	2	..	2
Nebraska .....	6	..	6	Wyoming .....	2	..	2
Nevada .....	6	..	6				
New Hampshire.....	10	..	10				
New Jersey.....	18	..	18	Total.....	756	103	653

So the motion to amend was not agreed to.

The PRESIDENT. The question recurs on the adoption of the report.

Mr. CESSNA, of Pennsylvania. In order to keep faith with all gentlemen who desire a division of this question, I now ask that it be divided into two parts—the first part to embrace the first Congressional district of Illinois, and the second division to embrace the other districts in dispute; reserving the right, if occasion should require, to make a further subdivision of the second division.

Several DELEGATES. No, no.

Mr. CESSNA. I ask that the Chair so decide, as matter of right; any member of this Convention has a right to ask for a division of the question.

Mr. CONGER. I rise to a point of order. The motion is to substitute the minority report for the majority report. There is nothing divisible in that.

The PRESIDENT. That motion has not been made.

Mr. CONGER. I understood it had.

Mr. CESSNA. No, sir; we expect to make it now.

Mr. DORSEY, of Arkansas. The proposition to divide this question may be entirely clear to the gentleman from Pennsylvania and to the Committee on Credentials; but I venture the statement that there are not three dele-

gates on this floor that understand the difference between the First district the Seventh district and the Ninth district, and when you attempt to divide this question, you will have to go over again every district on the entire list.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair rules that the gentleman from Pennsylvania has a right to demand such a division of the question as to have a separate vote upon the First Congressional district of Illinois. The other question will be disposed of when it arises.

Mr. CLAYTON, of Arkansas. I offer the following amendment:

WHEREAS, It has been the uniform and long-continued practice and custom of the Republican party of the State of Illinois to send to the National Convention delegates chosen by their State convention; and

WHEREAS, The delegates now holding seats in this Convention from the First district of Illinois were regularly chosen in accordance with such uniform custom and practice; therefore

Resolved, That the report of the minority of the Committee on Credentials, so far as the same relates to said First district of Illinois, be substituted for that part of the report of the majority of said committee which relates to that district.

The PRESIDENT. That motion is in order.

On taking the question, the Chair being in doubt, a call of the roll was ordered.

The roll of States was then called, and resulted, yeas 353, nays 387, as follows:

States.	No. Del.	Ay.	No.	States.	No. Del.	Ay.	No.
Alabama .....	20	16	4	New York.....	70	47	22
Arkansas .....	12	12	..	North Carolina.....	20	19	1
California .....	12	..	12	Ohio .....	44	16	28
Colorado .....	6	6	..	Oregon .....	6	..	6
Connecticut .....	12	..	10	Pennsylvania .....	58	34	24
Delaware .....	6	..	6	Rhode Island.....	8	..	8
Florida .....	8	8	..	South Carolina.....	14	10	4
Georgia .....	22	6	16	Tennessee .....	24	16	8
Illinois .....	42	40	..	Texas .....	16	11	4
Indiana .....	30	5	25	Vermont .....	10	4	6
Iowa .....	22	..	22	Virginia .....	22	13	9
Kansas .....	10	..	..	West Virginia.....	10	..	10
Kentucky .....	24	21	3	Wisconsin .....	20	1	19
Louisiana .....	16	8	8	Arizona .....	2	..	2
Maine .....	14	..	14	Dakota .....	2	1	1
Maryland .....	16	8	8	District of Columbia.....	2	1	1
Massachusetts .....	28	4	22	Idaho .....	2	..	2
Michigan .....	22	1	21	Montana .....	2	..	2
Minnesota .....	10	4	6	New Mexico.....	2	..	2
Mississippi .....	16	11	5	Utah .....	2	..	2
Missouri .....	30	29	1	Washington .....	2	..	2
Nebraska .....	6	..	6	Wyoming .....	2	1	1
Nevada .....	6	..	6				
New Hampshire.....	10	..	10	Total.....	756	353	387
New Jersey.....	18	..	18				

So the amendment was not agreed to.

During the vote:

On the call of the State of Kansas

Mr. PLUMB, of Kansas. *Mr. President:* The State of Kansas withholds its vote for the reason that the same question will come up in regard to this delegation, as is involved in the present case.

The vote was announced as above recorded.

The PRESIDENT. The question recurs on the adoption of so much of the majority report as relates to the First district of Illinois. Is the Convention ready for the question?

Mr. LOGAN. I ask that the roll of States be called.

The PRESIDENT. On that question the gentleman from Illinois demands a call of the roll by States, which the Chair will order. Gentlemen in favor of adopting so much of the majority report as relates to the First district of Illinois, will, as their States are called, vote aye; those opposed, no. Chairmen of the respective delegations will report the vote of their delegations.

The roll of States was then called, and resulted, yeas 384, nays 356, as follows:

States.	No.			States.	No.		
	Del.	Ay.	No.		Del.	Ay.	No.
Alabama .....	20	4	16	New York.....	70	22	47
Arkansas .....	12	..	12	North Carolina .....	20	1	19
California .....	12	12	..	Ohio .....	44	28	16
Colorado .....	6	..	6	Oregon .....	6	6	..
Connecticut .....	12	10	..	Pennsylvania .....	58	24	34
Delaware .....	6	6	..	Rhode Island .....	8	8	..
Florida .....	8	..	8	South Carolina .....	17	4	10
Georgia .....	22	16	6	Tennessee .....	24	8	16
Illinois .....	42	..	40	Texas .....	16	4	11
Indiana .....	30	25	5	Vermont .....	10	6	4
Iowa .....	22	22	..	Virginia .....	22	9	13
Kansas .....	10	..	..	West Virginia .....	10	10	..
Kentucky .....	24	3	21	Wisconsin .....	20	19	1
Louisiana .....	16	8	8	Arizona .....	2	2	..
Maine .....	14	14	..	Dakota .....	2	1	1
Maryland .....	16	8	8	District of Columbia.....	2	1	1
Massachusetts .....	26	22	4	Idaho .....	2	2	..
Michigan .....	22	21	1	Montana .....	2	2	..
Minnesota .....	10	4	6	New Mexico .....	2	2	..
Mississippi .....	16	4	12	Utah .....	2	2	..
Missouri .....	30	1	29	Washington .....	2	2	..
Nebraska .....	6	6	..	Wyoming .....	2	1	1
Nevada .....	6	6	..				
New Hampshire .....	10	10	..	Totals .....	756	384	356
New Jersey .....	18	18	..				

So much of the majority report as related to the First district of Illinois was therefore adopted.

During the vote:

On the call of the State of Kansas.

Mr. PLUMB, of Kansas. For the reason previously given, the Kansas delegation desires to withhold its vote.

The vote was announced as above recorded.

Mr. CONGER. I now call for a vote on the remaining portion of the majority report.

The PRESIDENT. The question now arises upon the remaining portion of the majority report of the Committee on Credentials, relating to the State of Illinois.

Mr. LOGAN. I ask for a division of the question on that report.

The PRESIDENT. On what portion of the report does the gentleman from Illinois demand a separate vote?

Mr. LOGAN. The majority report now, as I understand it, is the same that we have voted on, except that it applies to all of the districts in gross.



I ask a division of the question, so that the vote shall apply to each district separately.

Mr. HALE, of Maine. Let me suggest what will come to the same conclusion—that we take a vote upon the remainder of the report, with the understanding that the vote of Illinois may be cast as though it was for one district, so that she will have the benefit of the thirty-eight votes that she would throw on one district, but save the time of going over so many votes.

The PRESIDENT. Does the gentlemen from Illinois accept the suggestion?

Mr. LOGAN. Allow me to say this: It certainly is very important to the delegates here from Illinois that we have at least a fair record. I do not want the vote of Illinois recorded as a whole by any understanding where we would not have a right in honor to record it without an understanding. I want a separate vote, such as we would be entitled to in any deliberative body, where a member whose seat is contested will not vote, but those whose seats are not contested have a perfect right, according to parliamentary law, to vote. That is the reason why I do it. I do not want our votes recorded so that any criticism might be made upon them, and I ask this Convention at least to be fair enough with us to allow that to be done.

Mr. HALE. The gentleman undoubtedly has the right to the division.

Mr. LOGAN. That is what I want.

Mr. HALE. My suggestion was only in the interest of saving time, because, as each vote is taken, if a district is changed, two votes come in which presumably would vote the other way; but my proposition that we vote for the rest of the report gives Illinois the benefit of all the votes that she would cast now. Still, if the gentleman does not choose to accept it, we must sit here and vote it out.

Mr. LOGAN. Very well; it hurts you no more than it does us.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman asks for a separate vote on each district?

Mr. LOGAN. That is it, sir.

The PRESIDENT. On that question the call of the roll of the States is demanded, and the Chair will order it. Gentlemen in favor of the adoption of the majority report, so far as it relates to the contest in the Third district of Illinois, will, as their States are called, answer "aye;" those opposed will answer "no." The chairmen of the several delegations will respond for their States. The roll will be called.

The roll of States was then called, and resulted, yeas 385, nays 353, as follows:

States	No. Del.	Ay.	No.	States	No. Del.	Ay.	No.
Alabama .....	20	4	16	Kansas .....	10	..	..
Arkansas .....	12	..	12	Kentucky .....	24	3	21
California .....	12	12	..	Louisiana .....	16	8	8
Colorado .....	6	6	..	Maine .....	14	14	..
Connecticut .....	12	10	..	Maryland .....	16	8	8
Delaware .....	6	6	..	Massachusetts .....	26	22	4
Florida .....	8	..	8	Michigan .....	22	20	..
Georgia .....	22	16	6	Minnesota .....	10	4	6
Illinois .....	42	2	38	Mississippi .....	16	4	12
Indiana .....	30	25	5	Missouri .....	30	1	29
Iowa .....	22	22	..	Nebraska .....	6	6	..

States	No. Del.	Ay.	No.	States	No. Del.	Ay.	No.
Nevada .....	6	6	..	West Virginia .....	10	10	..
New Hampshire .....	10	10	..	Wisconsin .....	20	19	1
New Jersey .....	18	18	..	Arizona .....	2	2	..
New York .....	70	22	47	Dakota .....	2	1	1
North Carolina .....	20	1	19	District of Columbia .....	2	1	1
Ohio .....	44	28	16	Idaho .....	2	2	..
Oregon .....	6	6	..	Montana .....	2	2	..
Pennsylvania .....	58	24	34	New Mexico .....	2	2	..
Rhode Island .....	8	8	..	Utah .....	2	2	..
South Carolina .....	14	4	10	Washington .....	2	2	..
Tennessee .....	24	8	16	Wyoming .....	2	1	1
Texas .....	16	4	11				
Vermont .....	10	6	4				
Virginia .....	22	9	13	Total .....	756	385	353

So much of the majority report as related to the Third district of Illinois was therefore adopted.

Mr. CONGER. I ask for a vote upon the remaining portion of the report, unless a separate vote shall be asked for. The remaining portion is as to the Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, Ninth, Tenth, Thirteenth and Seventeenth districts of Illinois.

Mr. BRUCE, of Mississippi. [The hour being 1:50 a. m.] I move that the Convention adjourn until eleven o'clock this (Saturday) morning.

A DELEGATE. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The PRESIDENT. That is not in order. The question is on the motion to adjourn until eleven o'clock this (Saturday) morning.

The motion to adjourn was not agreed to.

Mr. CONGER. If there be no division called for, I ask that the vote be taken on the remainder of the majority report relating to the State of Illinois.

The PRESIDENT. Is a division of the question called for?

Mr. LOGAN. I do not desire to interfere with the desire of the Convention to adjourn. I do not wish to keep the Convention here, but I want to show the world exactly the position we occupy. We will allow the Convention to take such action as it pleases with reference to our State. I have no motion to make.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair understands that no further division will be demanded. Is the call of States demanded?

Mr. LOGAN. There is a point in one of these districts, not to detain the Convention by discussing it, that will merely be named when it comes up and for that reason my colleagues ask me to still ask for a division of the question.

Mr. RAUM. We would like to have a separate vote on some districts.

The PRESIDENT. Will the gentleman state the numbers of the districts on which he desires separate votes

Mr. JONES, of Illinois. The colleagues of Gen. Logan ask that you take these districts *seriatim*, one at a time.

Mr. RAUM. We will be content to take a separate vote on the Thirteenth district. You may have a vote on all the other districts.

Mr. METCALF, of Illinois. I want a separate vote on my (the Seventeenth) district.

Mr. ROWETT, of Illinois. I want a separate vote on that district, and will have it. I want the people in my district to know what has been done here.

A DELEGATE from Illinois. I will be content to have a vote on my district.

The PRESIDENT. Which district?

The DELEGATE. The Fourth district.

The PRESIDENT. The question is on so much of the majority report as relates to the Fourth district of Illinois.

Mr. LOGAN. I ask for a call of the roll.

The PRESIDENT. The roll will be called.

The roll of States was then called, and resulted, yeas 388, nays 351, as follows:

States.	No. Del.	Ay.	No.	States.	No. Del.	Ay.	No.
Alabama	20	4	16	New York	70	22	47
Arkansas	12	..	12	North Carolina	20	1	19
California	12	12	..	Ohio	44	28	16
Colorado	6	..	6	Oregon	6	6	..
Connecticut	12	11	..	Pennsylvania	58	24	34
Delaware	6	6	..	Rhode Island	8	8	..
Florida	8	..	8	South Carolina	14	4	10
Georgia	22	16	6	Tennessee	24	8	16
Illinois	42	4	38	Texas	16	4	11
Indiana	30	25	5	Vermont	10	6	4
Iowa	22	22	..	Virginia	22	9	13
Kansas	10	..	..	West Virginia	10	10	..
Kentucky	24	3	21	Wisconsin	20	19	1
Louisiana	16	8	8	Arizona	2	2	..
Maine	14	14	..	Dakota	2	1	1
Maryland	16	8	8	District of Columbia	2	1	1
Massachusetts	26	22	4	Idaho	2	2	..
Michigan	22	20	..	Montana	2	2	..
Minnesota	10	4	6	New Mexico	2	2	..
Mississippi	16	4	12	Utah	2	2	..
Missouri	30	1	29	Washington	2	2	..
Nebraska	6	6	..	Wyoming	2	1	1
Nevada	6	6	..				
New Hampshire	10	10	..				
New Jersey	18	18	..				
				Total	756	388	351

So much of the majority report as related to the Fourth district of Illinois was therefore adopted.

Mr. MATCALF, of Illinois. On behalf of the Illinois delegation I wish to say that we are willing to allow a vote to be taken on the rest of the report.

The PRESIDENT. The call for a division of the question is withdrawn.

The question then being upon the adoption of so much of the majority report relating to the State of Illinois as remained undisposed of, it was adopted.

Mr. SEWELL, of New Jersey. I now move that the Convention adjourn until eleven o'clock to-morrow morning.

The motion was agreed to.

So at two o'clock and twenty minutes a. m. the Convention adjourned to eleven o'clock this (Saturday) morning.

## FOURTH DAY.

SATURDAY, June 5, 1880—11 A. M.

Pursuant to adjournment the Convention met.

The PRESIDENT. Prayer will be offered by the Rev. John R. Paxton, of Washington.

The Rev. Mr. Paxton offered the following

## PRAYER:

*Let us unite in prayer.* O God, ordainer of all things, mighty sustainer of all Thy creatures, we begin this day with thankful acknowledgment of Thy mercies. We commend unto Thy favor and grace the members of this Convention. Rule, we pray Thee, in all its counsels, guide all its deliberations, declare through its vote for the wisest, for the truest, for the best man to lead this great party in the contest that awaits it. Forbid, O God, that the cry of passion should be louder here than the calm voice of duty. Forbid, O God, that prejudice should warp judgment and compromise principle. Forbid that personal preference should impair or imperil the peace, the harmony, the enthusiasm, the unity of purpose, and the fidelity to trust of this Convention. Teach these men that they be brethren, and teach them all that the cause they represent, the principles they advocate, the interests at stake, the ends to be secured are vastly greater and more important than the success of any man in the race for the nomination. Hear us now, O God, and help us; and may the work of this day be done wisely and be done well; and may the Divine Providence shape all the ends of the Convention, its decisions, its policy, its platform and its candidate. We ask in Jesus' name. Amen.

The PRESIDENT. The Secretary, before proceeding to business, will read for the information of the Convention a communication from some of the railroads.

## RAILROAD TICKETS.

The SECRETARY, Mr. Clisbee. The following railroads have authorized me to announce that the excursion tickets will be good for one day after the adjournment of the Convention: The Michigan Central, Great Western, Chicago and West Michigan, Chicago and Alton, Chicago and Northwestern, and Grand Trunk railways.

## METHOD OF ELECTION OF DELEGATES.

Mr. BOUTWELL, of Massachusetts. I send to the Chair a resolution, which I trust will be agreed to by the Convention, and ask that it may be read by the Secretary.

The PRESIDENT. The resolution will be read for information.

The Secretary read as follows:

*Resolved*, That the National Republican Executive Committee be and it is hereby instructed to prescribe a method or methods for the election of delegates to the National Convention, to be held in 1884, to announce the same to the country, and to issue the call for that Convention in conformity therewith.

The PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the presentation of the resolution?

Mr. HALE, of Maine. *Mr. President*—

The PRESIDENT. The Chair will state that the pending business before the Convention is the completion of the disposition of the report of the Committee on Credentials. The resolution of the gentleman from Massachusetts will be entertained, if at all, by unanimous consent. Does the gentleman rise to object?

Mr. HALE. I wish to ask the gentleman from Massachusetts to lay down here distinctly whether he makes it apply to the National Committee or the National Executive Committee. There is a distinction. The *Executive* Committee is a branch of, or a committee within, the National Committee. I think it ought to apply to all the committees.

Mr. BOUTWELL. Strike out the word "executive," then.

Mr. HALE. That is right.

The PRESIDENT. If there is no objection the question will be stated upon the resolution. It will be read again for information.

Mr. CONGER. I shall object to taking up anything that leads to debate. I call for the regular order which the Convention has adopted in regard to the report of the Committee on Credentials.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Michigan calls for the regular order.

Mr. BOUTWELL. I, then, give notice that, at the earliest moment the rules of the Convention will allow, I shall ask for its consideration.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair will recognize the gentleman from Massachusetts immediately after the disposition of the present order, if he shall rise for the purpose. The question before the Convention is upon so much of the majority report of the Committee as relates to the State of Kansas.

#### RAILROAD TICKETS.

Mr. WARNER, of Alabama. *Mr. President*—

The PRESIDENT. For what purpose does the gentleman rise?

Mr. WARNER. I want to make a suggestion. Many of the delegates are uneasy about return tickets, and I suggest that the Convention pass a resolution asking the Chairman and Secretary to communicate with the railroads, that the time may be extended at least three days beyond the Convention.

The PRESIDENT. A portion of the railroads have already directed a communication to be made to the Convention, which has been read. The Chair, without a formal order of the Convention, will direct the Sergeant-at-Arms

to make that request of the railroads in behalf of all the members of the Convention, no objection being made.

#### THE KANSAS CASE.

Mr. CONGER, of Michigan. *Mr. President:* The case submitted to the Convention I will state in a few words, and the recommendation of the Committee. The Committee recommend the admission as delegates from the Second district of Kansas of T. C. Sears and S. A. Day, and from the Third district Thomas J. Anderson and John W. Steele, and that the ten present sitting members be allowed to retain their seats and to cast six votes among them. The case is simply this: At a State Convention held in Kansas, by one resolution ten delegates were elected to the National Convention—by the same resolution. They were assigned by agreement four to one district, three to another, and three to another, without designating which were delegates-at-large. Subsequently, on notice in the convention, district conventions were held in two of these districts, and the delegates to those two districts elected the two district delegations which I have read to this Convention. Now, Mr. President, this resolution gives seats to the two delegates of each of the conventions elected by the district delegates assembled in convention. The Committee were of opinion that, under the rule and principle they had adopted, they should be entitled to seats, but the Committee could not say whose seats they should occupy or who should be unseated, because there was no distinction made in the general resolution of delegates-at-large and delegates from the districts, and therefore the Committee recommend that the district delegates be admitted in the two districts where they were chosen, and cast each one a vote, but that the ten delegates remain in their seats and between them cast six votes.

Mr. BATEMAN, of Ohio. I move that the debate be limited to thirty minutes—fifteen minutes on each side.

Mr. PLUMB, of Kansas. I desire to modify that motion so that it may better express the desire of the delegates from Kansas as to the matter of time. I would suggest to the gentleman from Ohio that he extend the time to forty minutes, as was done yesterday, giving us twenty minutes to each side. With that I think no injustice will be done to any one. I do not believe that anybody will talk for the purpose of hearing himself talk, but we certainly need more time than thirty minutes. The principle to be settled in this case is just as vital as the one that was acted on yesterday.

The PRESIDENT. Will the gentleman from Ohio accept the modification?

Mr. BATEMAN. Certainly, sir.

The PRESIDENT. The modification is accepted. The gentleman from Ohio moves that the debate on the Kansas case be limited to forty minutes—twenty minutes of which may be occupied by each side.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. PLUMB. *Mr. President:* After the vote of yesterday upon a similar question affecting a portion of the delegation from Illinois, it may be perhaps argument after the fact; but, nevertheless, there is due, not alone to the sitting delegates from the State of Kansas, but to the State convention which sent them here, and to the people who chose the delegates which constituted that State convention, that there should be presented to the National Republican Convention a statement of the facts and of the theories upon which the regular delegates appear and have so far participated in the proceedings of this body.

There are two theories in regard to this case, as in regard to the other cases that have been decided. One is that the call of the National Committee, was directed to the State, and that under that call the State, through such instrumentalities as had been invoked theretofore, or as it might adopt, should proceed to the choice of the number of delegates required by the call to represent it in this body; and that to settle and determine that case we must consider not only the line of action in the given case, but the previous practice, if there had been any, in similar cases within the State.

The other theory is that the call was directed to the districts within the State, ignoring the State, except so far as it related to the choice of delegates-at-large.

The State convention, which sent to this Convention the delegates who have been and are now sitting upon this floor, proceeded upon the first theory. They did so because that was in accordance with the previous practice of the State. They did so because that practice and that idea, was strengthened by the analogy which runs through all this business of electing a President. They knew that when Kansas was called in the Electoral College it was not called for votes by districts, but it was called to cast its entire vote as a State. And they knew, and took some pride in knowing, that when Kansas had made utterance there would be no doubt as to what her position was.

Following that analogy, the State committee issued a call for a State convention. That call distinctly stated that the Republican electors of the several counties, upon an apportionment therein named, should proceed to elect delegates to the State convention, whose function, when assembled, should be the choice of ten delegates for the State of Kansas in the National Republican Convention. The only thing in the call about districts was that the committee proceeded to advise the State convention, or recommended to it when it had assembled, that in choosing delegates it should choose two from each one of the territorial subdivisions known in the State as Congressional districts. There was no recognition in the call whatever of the function or of the power of a Congressional district, as such, to choose delegates to the State convention, or to this Convention, nor of any right to such district to interfere with the proceedings of the Convention in any way whatever; but the call was for the choice and assembling of a single body of men for one particular purpose and acting for the accomplishment of one end, namely: the nominating and electing of ten men who should represent the united voice of the State of Kansas in this Convention.

In response to that call, Mr. President, every county in the State sent delegates to Topeka, who there assembled as a State convention, organized in a regular way, and proceeded under the call to the election of ten delegates upon one ticket, recognizing none of the districts as such, and making no distinction between one delegate and another, in the way of designating one as at large and the other from a district; but in fact, apportioning the delegates, according to the recommendation of the State committee, among the several districts in proportion to their population: that is to say, among those territorial subdivisions which were known and recognized as Congressional districts.

The same convention, in pursuance of the further mandate of the State committee, proceeded to and did choose five electors, upon whom will devolve the duty, as it will be their pleasure, to cast the unanimous vote of the State of Kansas, backed by at least 60,000 majority, for the candidates who shall be nominated here.

Up to 1876 the State of Kansas never had had separate Congressional districts. It had in itself constituted only one district, because at the time of the first apportionment, by which three members of Congress had been assigned to it, the Legislature was not in session to create the districts with-

in which these several members of Congress should be chosen, and so all the States had met together to nominate candidates for members of Congress in the same manner that it did in March last, for the purpose of nominating members of the National Republican Convention.

In 1876 a State convention was called for the purpose of choosing delegates to represent the State in the National Republican Convention at Cincinnati. The delegates were all chosen on one ticket, as at the Convention of 1880, except that certain delegates from the districts assembled together, and made an informal recommendation of certain persons or delegates to the Cincinnati Convention, which recommendation was acted upon to the extent that the convention chose such persons as part of the delegation to represent the State at Cincinnati.

When the convention of 1880 assembled, every delegate took part in the organization. The convention divided in the choice of a presiding officer. The division was upon the line of preference concerning the Presidential nomination. The prevailing party then proceeded to select the ten delegates who are now upon this floor, and the other party, some of them, participated in the election, and some of them simply declined to vote. Prior, however, to this naming of the ten delegates, a caucus of a portion of the delegates from the Second district and also a similar caucus from the Third district of the State got together and recommended to the State convention, each one of them, two candidates, to be placed upon the ticket by the convention. The convention declined to accede to that recommendation, and the persons who are here to-day contesting are the persons who were thus recommended for candidates before the action of the convention had taken place.

Mr. President, if the opinion prevail, and it be determined here that the call was directed to the districts, and not to the State, except so far as the delegates-at-large are concerned, I desire now to call the attention of the Convention specifically to the fact that no delegate appeared at that State convention in response to anything but the mandate of the State committee. There is in each one of the Congressional districts of that State a complete Congressional district organization, in the shape of a committee, having a "local habitation and a name," and having a function with reference to district matters. But these committees never acted. No delegates ever came together in convention in any one of these districts summoned by the authorities of his district. No one ever participated in the election of a delegate here except delegates who came together under the call of the State committee, commanded to appear and represent the Republicans of that State in a State convention to choose ten men to come here; and it seems to me, Mr. President, that in all fairness, and according to the rule which should govern in all deliberative bodies, and especially in bodies which are removed from the people, especially in bodies which cannot be supposed to concern themselves with the details of local organization, the call of the committee should be regarded as the organic command, as the law of the assemblage, and that any person who acts outside of that should be nothing else than simply a member of the body politic—the general body of the State—and that therefore those men who came in compliance with this call and this demand came there as delegates to a State convention, and that, except for the purpose of discharging the functions as such delegates, they had no power any more than any others of the 200,000 voters of the State of Kansas who may have voluntarily assembled anywhere for the purpose of electing delegates to this Convention. While I am on that, I want to say this: That there is no question but what those persons who are here contesting are men who are in every practical sense, in every proper sense, representative men of their respective localities. They are just as the balance of us, no better and no worse than the 100,000 Republican voters of the State of Kansas; and, if they are entitled to seats here, then I submit that any mass meeting of the Republican



electors of any fraction of the State of Kansas would equally be entitled to recognition in this Convention.

Mr. President, the first theory announced is the one upon which the State proceeded. We claim, as I said, that we come here in response to the demand of the State, that that State convention acted within the purview of the rule which had previously been established, and that no other persons come here, representing in any sense any legal body called together for the purpose of electing delegates to this Convention. I am willing to concede, as I do, that there was no doubt whatever that in the Second district the majority of the persons who had been chosen from the counties composing that district as delegates to that State convention met together and recommended to the State convention the choice of two of the contesting delegates now here; but such recommendation did not even purport to be a choice of a delegate to this Convention. In regard to the Third district, while I have always believed the fact to be otherwise, inasmuch as the Committee has found it to be a fact that a majority of the delegates from that district had concurred, either before or after the action of the State convention, in nominating for a similar purpose two of the persons who are here, I admit for the sake of this argument that that finding is true and may be so taken here in the consideration of this case. Let me say, sir, in regard to this matter, that there not only is no personal feeling between the sitting delegates and the contestants here, but that all is in perfect accord. While we differ primarily about the question of who shall be nominated for President here, we are one in accord upon the proposition that that man shall be the one who, in the judgment of a majority of this body, shall best be able to carry the Republican party to victory next fall. I may say further, in regard to that matter, that, as there is personally no ill-will, there is no other feature in it except the determination of this one question as how the State of Kansas ought to have proceeded under the call of the National Committee, viewing not merely the call by itself, but in connection therewith the previous action of the State. That is the only question that is to be decided here. I simply say that whatever the rule may be for the future, however the judgment of the Republicans of the United States may be as to what shall prevail hereafter, a rule should not now be made which should operate in an *ex post facto* manner; that we should have the benefit, in a Republican convention, of our own precedents, and what we believe to be in our State conventions the fair intent and meaning of the call of the National Committee. I may say further, that the cases cited by the gentleman from Ohio yesterday as to the action of his State are not all parallel, and I am as proud of the independence of the Republican voters of the State as he is. I was one of them myself once. I know about as much, I think, as any one need to know about the practice in that State. I know that it differs entirely, and always has differed, from the practice that has obtained in Kansas. In Ohio, the districts elect their delegates themselves, independent of the State convention and independent of the machinery of that convention. The districts elect delegates to perform two things, to-wit: to go to the State convention and *assist* in choosing four delegates-at-large, and to choose, acting in their separate capacity as district delegates, acting directly for the district, the two persons to represent that Congressional district in the National Convention. I beg this Convention to note that there is no parallel whatever between these two cases as matter of fact; because in the case in Ohio, as in Massachusetts and these other States where they have this town-meeting idea in regard to things, which they now seek to apply to communities where this practice does not apply—I say their proceeding is different from ours. We have not elected—never have elected—men whose functions were solely and only, or even partially, to be members of a district convention for the election of two delegates to represent that district in National Convention. In Ohio, under the practice also, when these district delegates are nominated, their names

are certified to the State convention, which as a matter purely of form and convenience certifies or ratifies the action of the district, and the persons so named are put upon the roll of the delegates from the State of Ohio; but their functions were given to them by the districts themselves acting separately and the action of the State convention gives them no vitality whatever—which is an entirely different case from the one under consideration.

As I said, there is no personal controversy in this, neither is there, practically, any political controversy. We contend, simply, for a rule of action we believe to be right. Whomever you put in, or whomever you take out, it makes no difference with the loyalty of Kansas. A State, Mr. President, which fought to get into a Union, then supposed to be trembling on the verge of destruction, and fought to maintain it after it got in, is not going to give up the principles of Republican liberty now.

The PRESIDENT. The time allotted to the side represented by the gentleman who has just taken his seat has exactly expired.

Mr. HOUCK, of Tennessee. I rise to ask if there are two reports from the Committee, on the State of Kansas?

The PRESIDENT. The Chair will call upon the Chairman of the Committee to answer that question.

Mr. CONGER. I do not know that there was a minority report, but the Committee was divided upon that question. I cannot say whether the minority report includes Kansas or not.

Mr. CRESSNA, of Pennsylvania. Allow me to say there is no minority report in this case from any member of the Committee.

Mr. HOUCK. I desire to ask another question. How many Congressional districts are there in the State of Kansas?

Mr. CONGER. Three.

Mr. HOUCK. How are these delegates apportioned between the three districts?

Mr. CONGER. Four to one and three to each of the others, by the resolution of the convention appointing the ten.

Mr. HOUCK. Then the State convention did not, in the selection of these delegates, conform to the call of the National Committee by appointing four for the State-at-large and two from each Congressional district. Am I right?

Mr. CONGER. Not designating them separately.

Mr. HOUCK. Then, as I understand the report of the Committee on Credentials, the State convention of Kansas selected ten delegates, all as though they were selected for the State-at-large, without regard to districts; or rather, they apportioned three to one, four to another, and two to another?

Mr. CONGER. Three to another.

Mr. HOUCK. Three to another.

Mr. CONGER. The State convention, for all that appeared before the Committee, gave four delegates to one district, that being the largest one, and three to each of the others. It is but fair to presume that two of those in the district where there were four were intended for delegates-at-large, but they were not separated or designated. I desire now to add one word —

Mr. HOUCK. One word more. Does the report of the Committee pro-

ceeded upon the idea that the State convention transcended its authority in not following the call and assigning the delegates to the districts as provided in that call?

Mr. CONGER. Not at all. In one district there was no separate District Delegate convention, as it is called. In two there were, on notice given by the chairman of the convention in open convention. Two districts met, and the Committee find that a majority of the delegates in the two districts elected the two persons reported severally for those districts as the delegates-at-large. On that there was no dispute in the Committee. My friend from Kansas [Mr. Plumb] merely says that they only met and designated men to be nominated. It is merely a way of giving force to it.

Mr. HOUCK. I desire to say this: I understand the Chair to announce that the time allotted to the side on which the gentleman from Kansas addressed the Convention has expired. The remaining time belongs to the opposition. I would like to make a few observations on this question, and yet I am unable to say that I am against the gentleman from Kansas or that I am for him.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair is of the opinion that the gentleman must be on one side or the other in order to come within the ruling of the Convention as to time.

Mr. CESSNA, of Pennsylvania. Does the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. Houck] move to amend the rule by adding that five or ten minutes be given to any gentleman who is on neither side, or who is on both sides? [Laughter.]

Mr. HOUCK. I am so well acquainted with the fairness and impartiality of my distinguished friend from Michigan, that I am satisfied he will yield me a couple of minutes to ascertain as to which side of this question I am on.

Mr. CONGER. Not for the compliment, but to enable the gentleman to fix his mind and ascertain upon which side he is.

Mr. HOUCK. I think my mind is fixed after the suggestion of the gentleman.

Mr. CONGER. I yield to him.

Mr. HOUCK. I desire to say this: that if it were an original question, I should be in favor of so construing the Electoral College, and so conforming party usage to that construction and organization of the Government as to select delegates to the National Convention from Congressional districts; but I understand the convention and delegate system is assimilated to that of the Electoral College, by which the electoral vote of a State is secured by a united and joint ticket from one end of the State to the other, comprising all the districts. As long as that policy obtains, and we adhere to the present electoral system, and the convention and delegate system is assimilated to that, I hold that the delegates to a National Convention should be selected through the same forms, the same methods that the electoral vote is cast in the State—all parts of the State to be heard. But, Mr. President, I shall locate myself now, in this exceptional case, inasmuch as the State convention failed to follow the call of the National Committee—failed to select two delegates from each district and four from the State-at-large (and there being no minority report), by voting for the report as it comes from the Committee; but by that vote I do not intend to signify that I would

yield the right of the party in the State—as the electoral vote is either a unit or nothing at all in the State—to select these delegates to a National Convention, assimilated as they are to the Electoral College.

A DELEGATE from Michigan. *Mr. President—*

Mr. PLUMB. I rise to a point of order.

Mr. BATEMAN, of Ohio. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Kansas rises to a point of order. Will he please state the point.

Mr. PLUMB. The order of the convention was that the Kansas men were to fight this out, and I submit we have a right to continue until we are through before we are interrupted by others. The contestants in this State desire to be heard.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair presumes the gentleman from Michigan rises to address the Convention in support of the report of the Committee on the Kansas case. Is not that so?

The DELEGATE. That is so.

Mr. PLUMB. Then I make this inquiry: Is that to come out of the time which has been allotted by the Convention to the parties to this controversy?

A DELEGATE. Certainly it is.

Mr. PLUMB. Does it come out of our side?

The PRESIDENT. The Chair does not understand that the order of the Convention requires the Chair, as a matter of right, to prefer in the allotment of the floor a party to the controversy; but the Chair presumes that the courtesy of the delegates will induce them to give the preference to the persons immediately interested.

Mr. BATEMAN. I do not rise for the purpose of renewing a discussion in which I participated in the first case presented. I do so only at the request of the contestants in this case, and not of my own motion. Mr. President, I think that the facts in this case have been pretty fairly stated to the Convention, and I may be indulged in a brief summary of them. Kansas is divided into three districts. It so happens that in one of these districts the persons holding to a certain Presidential preference—it does not make any difference what—were very largely in the majority, whilst the opposite side held small majorities in the remaining districts. The convention was called, and delegates were appointed to it, and in that convention they selected a committee for the purpose of nominating delegates to the National Convention. Those delegates were apportioned four to one district in which the large majority was placed, and three to the remaining two districts. That committee reported by resolution. Immediately upon its being offered, the previous question was put. No chance was given to the other side or to the remaining two districts to present their candidates to the convention. But the previous question was sustained, and the resolution was carried by the majority of the one district over the small majorities of the other two. As to the other two districts, the delegates met in separate convention and selected their own two representatives, intending to present them to the convention, and intending to propose them as substitutes for the persons that may have been or might be selected by the committee. But, by the application of the previous question, even that opportunity was cut off. Now, Mr. President, this is clearly a case coming within the application of the principle that has been so decisively sustained by this Convention from the outset of

its action upon this report. I do not believe in the right of a powerful majority in one locality to overrule and control votes by means of the State conventions, or otherwise, in other localities. The Republican party of the United States has been compelled to contemplate with sorrow and disgust the spectacle renewed year after year in the great State of New York, where the overwhelming majority under the lead of Tammany—that organization of political janizaries, under "Boss" Tweed and John Kelly—has been able to overrule the glorious Republican communities north of Harlem bridge. I do not want to see the tactics of Tammany Hall kept up and maintained in the Republican party anywhere. And I do not intend to vote for it.

It was upon that principle that I voted for this report. It was to secure a fair representation to these two districts that have thus been overborne. Even a chance to be heard in the convention was denied by the harsh application of the previous question.

Mr. President, I do not know but this is all that it may be proper or necessary for me to say in behalf of the contestants. It is their whole case. It is merely an attempt to secure Congressional district representation in this Convention, according to the rule upon which it is constituted in the call made for it by the National Executive Committee.

Mr. CONGER. *Mr. President:* I now call for a vote on the question.

The PRESIDENT. The question is on the adoption of the report.

A DELEGATE. I ask that the roll be called.

The PRESIDENT. The roll will be called. All those in favor of the adoption of the report of the majority of the Committee, so far as it relates to the State of Kansas, will, as their States are called, vote "aye" through the several Chairmen of the delegations. All opposed will vote "no."

The roll of States was then called, and resulted, yeas 476, nays 184, as follows:

States.	No. Del.	Ay.	No.	States.	No. Del.	Ay.	No.
Alabama .....	20	5	15	New York .....	70	22	..
Arkansas .....	12	..	12	North Carolina .....	20	20	..
California .....	12	12	..	Ohio .....	44	44	..
Colorado .....	6	..	6	Oregon .....	6	6	..
Connecticut .....	12	12	..	Pennsylvania .....	58	25	33
Delaware .....	6	6	..	Rhode Island .....	8	8	..
Florida .....	8	..	8	South Carolina .....	14	3	11
Georgia .....	22	22	..	Tennessee .....	24	8	16
Illinois .....	42	18	24	Texas .....	16	4	11
Indiana .....	30	27	3	Vermont .....	10	9	1
Iowa .....	22	22	..	Virginia .....	22	11	2
Kansas .....	10	5	5	West Virginia .....	10	10	..
Kentucky .....	24	4	20	Wisconsin .....	20	19	1
Louisiana .....	16	16	..	Arizona .....	2	2	..
Maine .....	14	14	..	Dakota .....	2	1	1
Maryland .....	16	11	5	District of Columbia.....	2	1	1
Massachusetts .....	26	24	1	Idaho .....	2	2	..
Michigan .....	22	21	1	Montana .....	2	2	..
Minnesota .....	10	5	4	New Mexico .....	2	2	..
Mississippi .....	16	7	2	Utah .....	2	2	..
Missouri .....	30	1	..	Washington .....	2	2	..
Nebraska .....	6	6	..	Wyoming .....	2	1	1
Nevada .....	6	6	..				
New Hampshire .....	10	10	..				
New Jersey .....	18	18	..	Totals .....	756	476	184

So much of the report of the majority of the Committee on Credentials as related to the State of Kansas was therefore adopted.

## THE WEST VIRGINIA CASE.

The PRESIDENT. The next question before the convention is that portion of the report of the majority which relates to the State of West Virginia.

Mr. CONGER, of Michigan. The case is that of the Third Congressional district of West Virginia. The report of the Committee is very brief, and I will read it to the Convention:

"In the Third Congressional district the Committee recommend that the sitting members, Z. D. Ramsdell and L. A. Martin, be allowed to retain their seats. The seats of these delegates were contested by J. W. Davis and John H. Rossler, on the ground that they were duly elected by the District sub-convention, but there is a controversy whether they actually received the votes of a majority of the delegates to the State convention from the Congressional district, and the Committee find that fact is not proven. The contestants claim that there was a meeting of delegates of the Third Congressional district, and that at that meeting they were elected delegates to the National Convention as district delegates." There is no question but that there was called on the evening of the day of the convention a district convention. There is no question but that some of the delegates from that convention were present. It was disputed, and in the opinion of the majority of the Committee it was proven that there was not present a majority of the delegates of the district.

The difficulty, Mr. President, consists in this: According to the custom in West Virginia each delegate was entitled to cast one vote in the State convention, or in the district convention, for each twenty-five Republican votes of some preceding election. It was claimed, and, in the opinion of the majority of the Committee, proven, that there was not in that district convention a majority, either of the delegates or of the votes represented by those delegates in that district. The only point, therefore, which the majority have to report, is that under this claim they find that there was not a majority of the delegates from the Third Congressional district present in the sub-convention or in the delegate convention, and therefore that there was not a majority of the delegates, or if the votes they were entitled to cast, cast for these contestants. Otherwise the majority of the Committee, following the rule which they have adopted, would have recommended the contestants to their seats.

Mr. CLAYTON, of Arkansas. I offer the following resolution:

"Resolved, That the report of the minority, as relates to the contest in West Virginia, be substituted for that portion of the majority report relating to the same."

It is not my intention to discuss this question; another gentleman will do so.

Mr. RAUM, of Illinois. *Mr. President:* I should like to hear that part of the minority report read which relates to West Virginia. It is very brief, and I will state before the reading of that report, as one of the members of that Committee, that I assisted in the examination of that case. I state deliberately, to this Convention, that it stands precisely on all-fours with the Illinois case and the Kansas case; and as this Convention has seated the contesting delegates from Illinois and those from Kansas, it is proper also to seat those contesting delegates from West Virginia.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair will direct so much of the minority report to be read.

The Secretary, Mr. Clisbee, read as follows:

"The minority wish to call the attention of the Convention especially to the contest in West Virginia. We insist that it stands, in respect to principle and facts, precisely upon the same grounds as the contests in Illinois, Alabama and Kansas. The contestants were selected as delegates by the caucus (or 'convention,' as characterized by the majority) of the Congressional delegation in attendance upon the State convention. Their names were reported to the convention. The State convention refused to give them credentials to this Convention, but selected other delegates, upon the ground that the contestants, although properly representing the sentiments of their constituents, were not in accord with the majority of the State convention.

"The minority insist that, if the report of the majority in respect to the Illinois, Alabama and Kansas cases is adopted, the contestants from West Virginia should also be admitted to seats in this Convention in place of the sitting delegates."

Mr. CODMAN, of Massachusetts. *Mr. President*—

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. EASTON, of New York. I move that the debate on the question be limited to thirty minutes.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman is not in order at this time, the gentleman from Massachusetts having the floor.

Mr. CODMAN. *Mr. President*: I had the honor of being a member of your Committee on Credentials, and I have acted with that Committee. I have come to the conclusion to which they have come, that the district, wherever it determines or desires representation in the National Convention, shall have it accorded. I have been consistent with that in my votes all through. The Convention has supported that view of the question, and I ask the Convention to support it now, although the Committee on Credentials in this case, and in this case alone, has refused to support it. Why, gentlemen, these contestants were elected by their districts, and, because they were not satisfactory to the State convention, the report of the district delegates stating that they had been elected was rejected by that convention, and two other persons, the sitting members, substituted in their places. Why the Committee came to this conclusion I cannot imagine, unless it be that we heard this case about four o'clock in the morning when a great many of us were tired. Some of us may have been asleep and some of us were absent. Now, I submit to the Convention, that we are bound by our own precedents. I hold that the National Convention has a right to make and to establish precedents; and having decided in the case of Alabama, and in the case of Illinois, and in the case of Kansas, that districts shall be represented when district delegates have been chosen, they are bound in this case to seat the contestants and to reject the report of the Committee.

I say further, Mr. President, that the question was raised long after these events, as to whether the districts had met and chosen delegates. It was not raised at the time. It was acquiesced in then. A majority of the district reported the names of their delegates to the convention. There was no question then that they had not been fairly elected. It was assumed that they had been, and an attempt was made to unseat them by adopting the minority report, which was successful in that convention. But it is idle to talk about a question of fact. I hold in my hand a statement, which I do not believe will be denied, that in those counties that represented that district, which we are discussing to-day, there were 308 regular votes. They were counties casting, had they been fully represented, 308 votes; and the other counties, had they been fully represented, would have cast 174 votes; and the county that represented the 308 votes voted for these contestants. I do not think that will be denied.

Now, sir, I do not stand here to help any candidate. We of this delegation have no candidate, but we care for the honor of the Republican party. I ask you, as honorable men, wholly regardless of candidates, to reject the report of the Committee in this instance and to seat these contesting delegates.

Mr. HAGANS, of West Virginia. *Mr. President*—

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from West Virginia.

Mr. CONGER. On the time of the contestants I wish to say an additional word. Then I will leave the discussion.

The PRESIDENT. There is no time limited.

Mr. CONGER. Will the gentleman [Mr. Hagans] allow me to make a remark?

The PRESIDENT. Will the gentleman yield to the Chairman of the Committee?

Mr. HAGANS. Yes, sir.

Mr. CONGER. *Mr. President*: As Chairman of the Committee, I have stated the action of the majority of the Committee. I have felt it my duty, acting in that capacity, to state to this Convention just what the majority directed me to say. It is due to myself personally, perhaps, if it is of importance enough, to say that the Committee were nearly evenly divided upon the question, and that my own personal convictions, and those of some other members, may not have been represented by the majority report of this Committee. But fidelity to my duty as Chairman required me to present the views of the majority as they were expressed, and I endeavored to do so faithfully. The gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. Hagans], himself a delegate from that State, and himself a delegate on the Committee of Credentials, will explain these matters more and better than I can.

Mr. HAGANS. The gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Codman], who spoke a few minutes ago on this subject, may have been asleep at the hour of four o'clock in the morning when we of that Committee were examining the case of West Virginia; and, judging from his own statement of the facts in the case, I am sure I am inclined to think he was asleep. [Laughter.] Why, sir, he has totally misconceived the case. He was either asleep or has misstated it now. What are the facts? The sitting delegates, Messrs. Martin and Ramsdell, were elected by a district convention held on the same day that we held our State convention in West Virginia. They were reported to the State convention, and the action of the district committee was ratified by the State convention, and the majority of all those participating were satisfied when these two identical gentlemen were elected by that district convention. They have the best credentials, or as good credentials as any gentleman representing any State on this floor. It is the custom, the usage and the practice of West Virginia Republicans to call a State convention to nominate delegates to the National Convention. We did so. After the State convention organizes, provides its various committees on organization and its basis of representation, and other matters, it generally takes a recess of two or three hours, in order to enable the district delegates to meet in the afternoon at separate places, and nominate delegates to the National Convention, to be reported to the State convention. That course was pursued on the twelfth of May, when we held our State convention, and these two gentlemen, Messrs. Ramsdell and Martin, were elected by their district convention, and afterwards were ratified by the State convention. Now, let me tell you one thing further, because it would seem very strange to the gentlemen, after making such a statement as that, why there was a contest at all.

A DELEGATE. How did it happen there was any contest?



Mr. HAGANS. I will make an explanation. I know gentlemen might reasonably expect to make an inquiry of that kind after the statement I have made regarding these two members. The difficulty arises just here: There was a difference of opinion among the delegates in that district. They differed as to the choice of Presidential aspirants, if I may make use of such an expression; and held a convention, and by some fortuitous circumstance (I know not what, for I was far away, attending to affairs in my own district—the Second Congressional district) they separated, and one district convention was held in a room at the hotel, and the other in a room at the Republican headquarters. The two gentlemen who are the sitting members, and whom the majority report recommends shall be entitled to seats on the floor, were the gentlemen elected at the convention held at the Republican headquarters. This question, and this alone, was submitted at the meeting of the Committee on that given state of facts, because the Committee had passed on the question of district representation long before the case of West Virginia was reached. Here they stood. Which were the district delegates was the question for the Committee to determine. The contestants said *they* were. The sitting members said "*We* are." Now to the law and the testimony. The sitting members produced an affidavit, which I hold in my hand now, in which they say that in their meeting various or sundry counties were represented—I will not read the names. They are familiar Virginia names. "Braxton" they give as one name, "Lincoln" (so named since the War) as another; "Mason," another, and the names of other heroes of the State or Nation. It is not worth while to read them. They say that the counties represented were entitled, according to the basis of representation fixed by the State conventions, to 370 votes—that they represented in that convention 370 votes, being a majority of all the votes to which the Third Congressional district was entitled in said convention, under the basis of representation adopted by the State convention; because when we first meet in the State convention we adopt then and there the basis of representation, and complete our organization before these delegates meet in district convention. Now, I think I have stated that whole case. The whole question for this Committee to decide was, which of the gentlemen represented the majority? These gentlemen produce an affidavit to that effect, signed by four gentlemen, some of them delegates and some of them not; and it is sworn to under seal. The other gentlemen produce no affidavits whatever.

Mr. BUTTERWORTH, of Ohio. Will the gentleman allow me to ask him a question?

Mr. HAGANS. Certainly.

Mr. BUTTERWORTH. Does the gentleman understand that it was agreed between the contestants and the contestees that the proceedings of the State and district conventions, as reported in the daily press of Wheeling, were to be accepted as presenting a fair and correct statement of what took place in the State and district conventions in the several districts?

Mr. HAGANS. I do not know how that is, but I am informed by a member of the Committee on Credentials, who sits near me, that it was not.

Mr. BUTTERWORTH. I so understood it.

Mr. HAGANS. Perhaps they did so, but I do not think it changes the record in the least.

Mr. BUTTERWORTH. I understand that the report showed that the contestants received in their district convention, so called, a decided majority of the votes of the district, and it was so reported to the State convention. I may be in error, but I so understood it from the delegation.

Mr. HAGANS. I take pleasure in making an explanation to the gentleman from Ohio. It is this, sir: When the Third district was called for, to report from its district convention, a gentleman arose and made a statement—he read it from a paper—that they had had a meeting, and that certain candidates had been elected. Very well. When he closed it, then the gentleman representing the other wing of this business arose, and he also read the proceedings of a district convention. Both parties claimed a majority, and God only knows how it was—I do not. I only know that four gentlemen have sworn to the fact in these affidavits, and with them and God and this Convention the matter lies. I am candid and impartial in the matter. I have only stated the facts, and that is all I know of it.

A DELEGATE. There is no affidavit against it—no counter-proof.

Mr. HOUCK. I should like to ask the gentleman a question.

Mr. HAGANS. Certainly.

Mr. HOUCK. I desire to ask the gentleman—

The PRESIDENT. Does the gentleman yield?

Mr. HAGANS. I yield for that purpose, sir.

Mr. HOUCK. According to his own statement, the matter is left uncertain as to whether the contestants were elected by the district convention or not. Now, the question I desire to propound to the gentleman is wholly in regard to the sacred right of representation for which he and his friends contend—if he had not better give the district the benefit of the doubt, and not override this "sacred right."

Mr. HAGANS. If the gentleman desires to put himself and his party in the prisoner's box, I will give him the benefit of it. Now, sir, so far as that is concerned—

Mr. HOUCK. I and my party are not very familiar with prisoners' boxes only when we prosecute felons. I do not know what the gentleman means by that method of answering. I have heard a great deal about "the sacred right of district representation." If this right be so sacred, I think the gentlemen who have expended so much eloquence in defense of that right ought to show their faith by their works and see that the districts are not cheated out of their rights.

Mr. HAGANS. All right, Mr. President. The gentleman can take either horn of the dilemma he pleases. The majority of the Committee report that the contestants did *not* prove their cases. The sitting members have a *prima facie* case, having been certified to by the State convention. They went to the proof before the Committee; the proof was disclosed, and the contestants failed to prove their case. Wherefore the *prima facie* case lay with the sitting members. If the gentlemen want legal technicalities they stand with the sitting members. But I am for the "sacred right of district representation." That is where I stand.

Mr. HOUCK. Will the gentleman yield for another question?

Mr. HAGANS. Certainly.

Mr. HOUCK. I desire to ask the gentleman for whom the majority in that district are—whether they are for the gentleman represented by the sitting member or for the candidate represented by the contestants?

A DELEGATE. What the public sentiment is?

Mr. HOUCK. I want that question answered.

Mr. HAGANS. I will do my best to answer that question.

Mr. HOUCK. I want to know what the people would have done if they could have done it.

Mr. HAGANS. I can only say this: The Third district is 150 miles away from where I live, and I have not personally visited the district for about six or eight years. It lies over on the other side of the water-shed from me. I know not what the public sentiment was, and I cannot tell what it is. I do not run around before conventions and endeavor to ascertain what public sentiment is, as far as I am concerned.

Mr. HOUCK. Will the gentleman yield another moment? I desire to ask him if it was not reported that at a meeting of delegates in this district the gentleman declared for John Sherman, or some other candidate than the one represented by the sitting member?

Mr. HAGANS. If I am to be accountable for all the reports in this country in relation to such matters the Lord only knows what will become of me.

Mr. HOUCK. I will not hold the gentleman accountable for all the reports, nor will I hold him responsible for the condition of that district, but I do think he is a very unsatisfactory witness, as he lives two or three hundred miles over mountains from it, and evidently does not know anything about it.

Mr. HAGANS. *Mr. President:* I have made a statement in this case. These parties are all personal friends of mine. I have endeavored to do it with the same degree of candor and fairness that I would upon the bench, determining a question in a judicial form.

Mr. BUTTERWORTH, of Ohio. I would ask if the *prima facie* case made by the sitting members was not a disregard of the understanding, if there was one, that the newspaper account of the affair should be received as evidence? I will put the question again. Is it not the fact that the understanding, if there was one, that the newspaper account should be received and accepted as a correct statement of the proceedings of the convention was disregarded, and that the newspaper account was rejected as evidence by your Committee, in violation of the understanding to which I have referred, and the paper you hold in your hand accepted instead?

Mr. HAGANS. I can only answer the gentleman in this respect: Both papers were before the Committee just like, I suppose, the plaintiff and defendant stand before the jury, and just as if the plaintiff's evidence is not believed and the defendant's is. I know of no other way of stating it.

Mr. BUTTERWORTH. It was understood that it was accepted on all hands as a correct statement of what took place, and that, having reached here, the contestants, being only armed with that newspaper, found that there was

some supplemental matter, and that was this other paper prepared in violation of that understanding, or in contravention of it.

Mr. HAGANS. I now catch the gentleman's idea. There was no arrangement and no agreement that the newspaper statement should be taken as the facts in the case, until, if there was one at all, the case was brought up before the Committee. Surely none was made in West Virginia that ever I heard of. I do not think the parties passed a word of intercourse from the time that convention met, or had a word of communication in any way, written or oral, until they reached this city.

Mr. HAYMOND, of California. *Mr. President:* I think that gentlemen need not work about the question of district or State representation, for that question is not involved in this case. Whichever way this Convention votes upon this question it will recognize the right of district representation. Both the sitting members and the contestants claim title to their seats by virtue of an alleged election at the hands of the district. The only question before this Convention, and the only question considered by the Committee, was as to which of the two were the regularly elected delegates of the district. Now, that is a question of fact, and all the Committee decides is, by a majority of the men who were there and were awake, that the sitting members here were legally elected district delegates. Whichever way this Convention may vote a man need not be afraid to stultify himself. The result of that vote is only a decision that the party receiving the majority was the legally elected representative of that district to this Convention.

Mr. CODMAN, of Massachusetts. I want to say two words.

The PRESIDENT. There is no time limited on this case by any order of the Convention.

Mr. CODMAN. I desire to say this: The gentleman [Mr. Haymond] tells us that there is no question involved here of district representation as against State representation. Will that gentleman deny to this Convention that the State convention of West Virginia undertook to substitute for the report of the district delegates the report of a minority of those delegates? Will he undertake to deny what was known to every man in West Virginia, or in Wheeling, where the convention had met? He has not denied it. It is a question involving district representation. It is this: whether the majority of the district shall rule, or the minority of the district shall rule. I put that to the Convention in reply to the gentleman from California [Mr. Haymond].

Mr. HAGANS. There is no question of whether this is a minority or a majority. It was determined upon the affidavit. The affidavit determined the question that the convention that elected the sitting members was the majority of all the delegates from that district.

The PRESIDENT. Is the Convention ready for the question?

Mr. CONGER. I move that the debate on this case be now closed.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. RILEY, of West Virginia. I desire to ask that the Secretary read this affidavit that pertains to this case. It is a short one.

The PRESIDENT. The Convention has decided to close the debate. It can only be done by unanimous consent. Is there objection?

Objection was heard.

The PRESIDENT. Objection is made. The question is, will the Convention substitute for so much of the report of the majority as relates to the State of West Virginia so much of the report of the minority as relates to that State? Gentlemen in favor of the contestants vote *for* the motion; gentlemen in favor of the sitting members vote *against* the motion.

On taking the question, the Chair being in doubt, a call of the roll was demanded, and the President ordered the roll of States to be called.

Mr. GEO. TURNER, of Alabama. I rise to ask if this is upon the adoption of the substitute?

The PRESIDENT. This is upon the adoption of the substitute. Gentlemen in favor of the substitute, which reports in favor of the contestants, will, as their States are called, say "Aye." Gentlemen opposed to the substitute, and in favor of the sitting members, as their States are called, will say "No." The Clerk will call the roll.

Mr. WHITE, of Kentucky. There are some gentlemen in this part of the hall who do not understand the question. Will the Chair please to put it?

The PRESIDENT. The Chair will state the question again, and the Convention will give its attention in quiet. The question is on the motion to substitute the report of the minority for the report of the majority, so far as they respectively relate to the State of West Virginia. The report of the minority is for the contestants; the report of the majority is for the sitting members. The Secretary will call the roll of States.

The roll of States was then called, and resulted, yeas 417, nays 330, as follows:

States.	No. Del.	Ay.	No.	States.	No. Del.	Ay.	No.
Alabama .....	20	14	4	New York .....	70	49	20
Arkansas .....	12	12	..	North Carolina .....	20	20	..
California .....	12	..	12	Ohio .....	44	28	16
Colorado .....	6	6	..	Oregon .....	6	..	6
Connecticut .....	12	3	8	Pennsylvania .....	68	33	25
Delaware .....	6	..	6	Rhode Island .....	8	..	8
Florida .....	8	8	..	South Carolina .....	14	11	3
Georgia .....	22	19	3	Tennessee .....	24	16	8
Illinois .....	42	25	17	Texas .....	16	11	3
Indiana .....	30	8	22	Vermont .....	10	10	..
Iowa .....	22	..	22	Virginia .....	22	16	6
Kansas .....	10	4	6	West Virginia .....	10	..	8
Kentucky .....	24	20	4	Wisconsin .....	20	10	10
Louisiana .....	16	4	12	Arizona .....	2	..	2
Maine .....	14	..	14	Dakota .....	2	..	2
Maryland .....	16	16	..	District of Columbia .....	2	1	1
Massachusetts .....	26	26	..	Idaho .....	2	..	2
Michigan .....	22	1	21	Montana .....	2	..	2
Minnesota .....	10	4	6	New Mexico .....	2	..	2
Mississippi .....	16	11	5	Utah .....	2	..	2
Missouri .....	30	30	..	Washington .....	2	..	2
Nebraska .....	6	..	6	Wyoming .....	2	1	1
Nevada .....	6	..	6				
New Hampshire .....	10	..	10	Total .....	756	417	330
New Jersey .....	18	..	18				

So much of the minority report as related to the State of West Virginia was therefore substituted for so much of the report of the majority as related to that State.

The PRESIDENT. The question now comes on the adoption of the amended report.

The report, as amended, was then adopted.

#### THE UTAH CASE.

The PRESIDENT. The next case is that of the Territory of Utah.

Mr. CONGER, of Michigan. I move to limit debate on that case to fifteen minutes on each side.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. CONGER. I ask unanimous consent on behalf of the Committee that the alternates, who have been left out by mistake in the Kansas case, may be included, so that they may be entitled to their seats.

The PRESIDENT. No objection being made, it will be ordered that the report in regard to Kansas, which relates to the delegates, and which has been adopted, be considered as also dealing in the same way with the alternates of those delegates. There being no objection, it will be so ordered.

Mr. CONGER. *Mr. President:* Mr. Clayton will appear for the contestants.

Mr. CLAYTON, of Arkansas. Will the Chair state the question?

The PRESIDENT. The question is on the adoption of so much of the majority report as relates to the Territory of Utah?

Mr. CLAYTON. On that I offer the following resolution.

The Secretary, Mr. Broadwell, read as follows:

*"Resolved, That the minority report of the Committee on Credentials be substituted for the majority report in the Utah contest, and that the contestants be entitled to seats in this Convention in the place of the sitting members."*

The PRESIDENT. The question is on the substitution of so much of the report of the minority as relates to the Territory of Utah for so much of the report of the majority as relates to that Territory.

Mr. CLAYTON, of Arkansas. *Mr. President:* I desire to be heard upon this motion but a very few moments. This is a very simple case, and is briefly as follows: The Territorial committee of Utah met to consider the question of sending delegates to this Convention, and, instead of calling a convention of the Republicans of the Territory, they undertook themselves to send delegates here. After having taken this action they passed a resolution perpetuating their power and their office. After their adjournment, the Republicans of Utah, or at least a large number of them, were dissatisfied with this course, and as the committee had themselves refused to call a convention, they signed a call to the Republicans of the Territory to meet in delegate convention for the purpose of sending delegates here. In accordance with this call a convention assembled and sent the contestants to this Convention. I have heard a great deal said of late about getting down close to the people in these matters. Now, I ask this Convention whether a party committee, composed of a few gentlemen appointed about four years pre-

viously, get closer to the people than a convention of the people, called at a time when these questions are being agitated? That is the whole question. I do not design, in this case, to occupy more of the time of this Convention than I have. I yield the balance of my time.

Mr. CASSODAY, of Wisconsin. I wish to say one word on this question. The PRESIDENT. On which side of the question?

Mr. CASSODAY. In favor of the contestants. I have been acquainted with one of the contestants for twenty-five years. I am informed by him that the convention held in the Territory was held by about 400 Republicans, and I, for one, shall respect the wishes of the Republicans of the Territory of Utah.

Mr. PIXLEY, of California. The members of the Committee have requested me to present the side represented by the majority. The facts, as we understood them, are few and simple.

It has been the custom in Territories for the Central committee to name the delegates to the National Convention. This custom grew up because it was almost impossible, in large Territories, sparsely settled, to hold conventions, and this was an unusual year west of the Rocky Mountains, storms extending late into April. The regularly constituted committee of that Territory met under a regular call, and elected two delegates to this Convention. Some few men, dissatisfied with the result of that election, without ever asking the Central committee to call a convention, without ever appealing to the County committee of Salt Lake to call a convention, met together, without any authority, and elected the two gentlemen who are contesting the election. Upon this state of facts the Committee, I believe, were almost unanimous. Even my friend from Colorado, who always votes on the other side, at this time voted with the majority of the Committee. And, Mr. President, I would call upon the Chairman of the Committee to inform this Convention how the Committee upon Credentials stood upon this question.

Mr. TUTHILL, of Illinois. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. Does the gentleman from California yield to the gentleman from Illinois?

Mr. PIXLEY. I simply desire to conclude my remarks by asking the gentleman from Michigan to state how the committee stood upon this question. Then I will yield.

Mr. CONGER. I do not think that is a proper question to ask the Chairman of the Committee. Members of the Committee can state what they choose upon that subject. It is sufficient for the Chairman to report what the majority directed, without stating anything further.

Mr. TUTHILL. I am informed, and if I am incorrectly informed I desire to be corrected, that this Central committee of Utah consists of eleven members, appointed four years ago. I am also informed that only five of the members of the committee met to appoint these delegates to the National Convention. I am also informed that those five members of this committee, constituting only a minority of the committee, went to work and filled up the committee there and then, by the appointment of other members of that committee; and that the committee, so filled up, so manufactured on the spur of the moment, went to work, and, without any consultation with the Republicans of the Territory of Utah, nominated this delegation to the National Convention. If that is not correct, I desire to have it corrected. If it be correct, I desire the members of this Convention to bear it in mind when they come to vote.

Mr. CODMAN, of Massachusetts. I desire to say to this Convention that I was compelled to dissent from the majority of the Committee. I will not go over the circumstances, because everybody here knows the fact now, that there are seated here two gentlemen elected by the Territorial committee. The statement of the gentleman from California [Mr. Pixley] is that they have a custom in that Territory of electing delegates by the Territorial committee, because it is convenient. If they have, it is a very good custom, perhaps, for those Territories in which they have it; but they do not have it in the Territory of Utah. That is the point in this case. Why, sir, four years ago the people of Utah got together. There were more railroads, and they were able to get together more conveniently than before. They had a convention, and they chose delegates to the National Convention; but the Central committee of the Territory this year, because it is an unusual year—to use the expression of the gentleman from California—"a year of unusual severity," "unusual" in many senses, I fear, of that word, thought they would not call a convention, but could elect delegates themselves; and when they got together they proceeded to re-elect themselves; and four years hence, Mr. President, you will find them sending here another pair of delegates, all ready to represent them.

Now, sir, what are the people to do when their agents betray them in this way? Why, they must take the thing into their own hands; and that is what they did in Utah. And the people rose up and demanded a convention; they had a convention; and they elected two delegates, and those two gentlemen are the contestants to-day. I hope the Convention will have the sagacity to seat them. The very gentlemen who are here to-day as sitting members are themselves members of this Central committee.

Mr. WARNER, of Alabama. I would like to ask the gentleman a question for information. Will the gentleman from Massachusetts answer it? Will the gentleman state to us how the call was made—whether it was advertised, by whom made, or how made?

Mr. CODMAN. I do not undertake to say by whom it was made; but I will tell you, gentlemen, by whom it was *not* made. It was not made by the Territorial committee, for obvious reasons.

Mr. WARNER. Was there a public call?

Mr. CODMAN. I understand there was, so far as a call in the newspapers could be called a public call; and what could be more public than that?

Mr. BLAKE, of Montana. I desire to bore this Convention for about the space of two minutes. I represent one of the Territories of the United States. This call, under which the sitting members are seated, or hold their seats at this time, was issued regularly by the Republican committee of Utah. There is no Republican party in Utah. There is no Democratic party in Utah. Whenever an election has been held, lines are always drawn between the Mormons on one side, and the Gentiles, or non-Mormons, on the other.

Mr. CONKLING. Are these the Mormons or the Gentiles [Laughter.]

Mr. BLAKE. I claim that the contestants in this case represent the Mormon element. I say, further, that while all Democrats are not Mormons, all Mormons are Democrats. After this meeting of the committee was held, at which every vote was represented—eleven members—and as soon as it was ascertained that one of these contestants was not elected, a call was issued; for what purpose? Not for the Republicans of Utah to hold a convention and select delegates, but for a convention opposed to the action of the committee. In other words, if this committee had elected one of these contestants, that would have been regular, that would have been fair, and



we would have had no contest. And when this convention of the people met, out of twenty-one counties in Utah, only six were represented. The contestants are here representing, as they claim, six out of the twenty-one counties in the Territory of Utah. They attended a meeting at which there appears to have been about fifty persons. I wish to say another word. These Territories are commonwealths of magnificent distances. In the Territory of Montana it occupies the time of some of the delegates to a convention nearly three weeks to attend. In the Territory of Utah the same difficulty prevails. The Territory of Arizona and one other Territory are here represented in just the same way. I understand that the State Republican committee of Indiana elected four delegates-at-large to this Convention. I claim that if we are to dwell upon strict legal technicalities, the four delegates-at-large from Indiana are not entitled to their seats. But certainly they have no better claim than the sitting members from Utah. Now, before I close, I say, these contestants represent the Mormons of Utah. When they held their convention, Mr. Bradley introduced the following motion:

"I move, as the sense of the convention, that the political ostracism to which the non-Mormon minority of the Territory are subjected by an ecclesiastical organization calling itself a political party calls for united action on the part of a taxed but unrepresented minority, and we recommend the non-Mormon voters of Utah, without distinction of party, to unite and perfect a political organization that will make itself felt as a standing protest, at least, at the polls."

This was voted down—nine in the affirmative and forty-one in the negative. With these remarks I yield the floor to the gentleman from California.

Mr. PIXLEY, of California. I have had allotted to me a moment of time, by the people holding their seats on this floor, to answer the interrogatory of the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Codman]—a question accompanied by a sneer; but there is an answer to the question he asked. He asked these gentlemen if they themselves were not on the State Central committee that sent them here. I answer that they were not; but I will further answer that the contesting delegate was himself a member of the Central committee by proxy, and was voted down, and tried to circumvent the custom of the Territory by getting himself sent here in a most irregular manner.

Mr. TUTHILL, of Illinois. *Mr. President:* I have heard no answer to the proposition stated by me. That was, that five of this committee of eleven assumed to act for the whole committee. I assume, therefore, that that is a fact. If that be so, this minority had no right to fill up that committee, and they had no right whatever under any circumstances, to name delegates to this Convention. I would suggest to the gentleman from the Territory of Montana [Mr. Blake] that if in the great, populous Territory of Utah, containing the large city of Salt Lake, there is no Republican party, it is time that this National Convention should look forward to the day, not far distant, when Utah will be a State, and it is time that this National Convention of Republicans should inaugurate and create a Republican party in Utah.

Mr. TAYLOR, of Pennsylvania. *Mr. President:* I know very little about this case of Utah; but I wish to say a word or two upon the principle that I understand rises above it, in behalf of my people in the Sixth Congressional district of Pennsylvania, as against almost the whole body of the rest of Pennsylvania. For twenty years we have fought for the rights of the people of a district, against the politicians of a State government or county town.

As a Whig, I attended nearly every national convention of the Whig party, and never heard of a State convention overriding the people. Until the Republican party, or the leaders of it, attempted it in 1860, it was undreamed of in Pennsylvania. They attempted to select the delegates for the Congressional districts to the Chicago Convention. The people of the then Sixth district of Pennsylvania immediately called a convention of the people, and selected myself and others delegates to that convention. We immediately wrote a letter to the Harrisburg paper, stating that we entertained the idea that it was possible the convention about to assemble at Harrisburg may assume the extraordinary and unwarranted authority of overriding the people's will in selecting the Congressional Representatives to the National Convention, and entertained, also, the idea that it was possible for it to attempt that equally extraordinary, and, in our opinion, unwarrantable authority, of instructing the people's Congressional district delegates to the Chicago Convention, and, being unwilling that the Republicans of the Sixth Congressional district of Pennsylvania should be left in an equivocal position by reason of our silence as their representatives, we wished it distinctly understood by that convention that if they should pursue the former course, and not select us— if they selected any other gentlemen than ourselves, we would contest their seats, to the best of our ability, in that convention. If they passed any instructions affecting us we would disregard them, unless they were ratified by a regular convention of the people of the Sixth Congressional district. We came to Chicago instructed to vote as a unit. Well, then, I will say we voted for Lincoln and against the instructions. Again I am here, and again they try to instruct me, and again they try to strike me off; but they cannot do it. Never.

Mr. BENNETT, of Utah. I desire to be heard, as I am one of the contesting delegates, and charges have been made against our Republicanism, and our fealty to the country and to God. We are not Mormons. We represent the growing opposition to Mormonism. There is a live Republican party, although small, in Utah. It is so much alive that we refuse to abide by the dictates of any committee to come up here and represent us. We were so alive that when this committee appointed delegates to go to this Convention, by signatures to the extent of 400 a convention was called, regularly convened and held, and delegates elected. I am one of them, and I represent that Republican party of Utah.

Mr. CONKLING, of New York. How many counties were there represented?

Mr. BENNETT. There are twenty counties in Utah, and twelve were represented. The eight counties unrepresented only poll about six votes opposed to Mormonism.

Mr. ROBINSON, of New York. Were the delegates in that convention actually elected from the counties which they claimed to represent?

Mr. BENNETT. There were some who were there with proxies; how many I cannot tell, but I think that twenty-eight out of forty-seven of the delegates were persons living in Salt Lake county. There were the thirteen regular delegates from Salt Lake county, and the balance held proxies. It should also be said that Salt Lake county polls fifty per cent of all the vote opposed to Mormonism, Democratic or Republican. So that Salt Lake county, with any fair representation, would be entitled to half the delegates.

She had thirteen in the convention, and her people held these proxies for outside counties.

Mr. ROBINSON. Were not a large number appointed to represent counties in which they did not belong?

Mr. BENNETT. All the parties holding proxies, residing in Salt Lake county, had actual proxies from actually elected delegates in outside counties. It was not a put-up convention in any sense, but very active and fully representative of the Republicans of Utah, and I am here to represent them. It is nothing to you, save as a matter of principle; but for that reason you should give us some encouragement, not only as against the Democrats, but as against Mormonism as well, and give us a chance so that we may build up a fine Republican party, to be ready when we come in as a State. We are live Republicans. All we want is recognition. We will not bend the neck to any committee, or any committee-men. The committee refused to call a convention. I, myself, demanded it, and it was not called. I demanded that that convention be called. The Republicans had consulted together about it. I was directed by them to make the demand. The chairman refused to call it, and he did not call it. (I was out of the Territory, so he did not refuse to me, but he did not call it.) He called a meeting of his committee for the third of April, under a published call, which did not state that they would take up the question of electing delegates, for we supposed they would call a convention. This is the first time I ever heard of a committee refusing to call a convention to elect delegates. The first we heard was that they had elected delegates to this Convention and refused to call a Territorial convention.

The PRESIDENT. The time allowed to the contestants for discussion has expired.

Mr. CARTER, of Mississippi. *Mr. President:* I am very glad, sir, to have this opportunity of making a few remarks that I regard as important upon the question.

The PRESIDENT. Does the gentleman support the majority report?

Mr. CARTER. Yes, sir.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman can proceed for three minutes.

Mr. CARTER. I rose more to ask a question than I did to make a speech. Being a delegate from the "Southern wilds," as characterized by the Chairman of the Committee on Credentials, the rude barbarian from the South simply rose to ask one question. I am opposed to representation in any form in the National Convention of delegates from the Territories and from the District of Columbia; but since it has become the province of the Convention to allow these gentlemen to come into the Convention, and perhaps by their votes determine the results, and by their votes deprive perhaps the representation which should be accredited to a State like Illinois, upon the question before the Convention, I only desire, Mr. President, to know, before casting this vote, where Utah might be found in the Convention as to the nominee for President of the United States. I desire to ask the gentleman from Utah [Mr. Bennett] of what class of citizens in Utah Territory he is the representative—whether it is the Brigham Young set or not; and then I will know how to vote.

Mr. HOUCK, of Tennessee. I desire to ask a question. As I understand this case, there are two sets of delegates, one having been appointed by the Executive committee, for the Territory of Utah. I further understand, in connection with the action of that committee, that it was about to cease to exist, when it met and passed a resolution resolving that it was not dead, but

that it should have a revived political animation and continue to exist for another term without any action of the people——

[Here the hammer fell.]

The PRESIDENT. The time allotted for debate on this question has expired. On both sides. The question is upon the substitution of the minority for the majority report so far as they respectively relate to the Territory of Utah. The roll of States will be called. Gentlemen in favor of the minority report, which is for the contestants, will, as their States are called, vote "Aye;" those opposed will vote "No."

Mr. HOUCK. Please have the pending resolution read, so that we may understand it.

The PRESIDENT. The pending resolution will be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

"Resolved, That the minority report of the Committee on Credentials be substituted for the majority report in the Utah contest; and that the contestants be entitled to seats in this Convention in the place of the sitting members."

The PRESIDENT. The Clerk will call the roll.

The roll of States was then called, and resulted, yeas 426, nays 312, as follows:

States.	No. Del.	Ay.	No.	States.	No. Del.	Ay.	No.
Alabama .....	20	16	4	New York .....	70	50	19
Arkansas .....	12	12	..	North Carolina .....	20	20	..
California .....	12	..	12	Ohio .....	44	33	10
Colorado .....	6	..	6	Oregon .....	6	..	6
Connecticut .....	12	9	2	Pennsylvania .....	58	28	30
Delaware .....	6	6	..	Rhode Island .....	8	..	8
Florida .....	8	8	..	South Carolina .....	14	11	3
Georgia .....	22	6	7	Tennessee .....	24	19	5
Illinois .....	42	24	18	Texas .....	16	11	4
Indiana .....	30	4	26	Vermont .....	10	10	..
Iowa .....	22	..	22	Virginia .....	22	10	12
Kansas .....	10	4	6	West Virginia .....	10	1	8
Kentucky .....	24	22	2	Wisconsin .....	20	17	3
Louisiana .....	16	6	10	Arizona .....	2	..	2
Maine .....	14	..	14	Dakota .....	2	1	1
Maryland .....	16	11	5	District of Columbia.....	2	1	1
Massachusetts .....	26	26	..	Idaho .....	2	..	2
Michigan .....	22	11	10	Montana .....	2	..	2
Minnesota .....	10	6	4	New Mexico.....	2	..	2
Mississippi .....	16	13	3	Utah .....	2	..	..
Missouri .....	30	29	..	Washington .....	2	1	1
Nebraska .....	6	..	6	Wyoming .....	2	..	2
Nevada .....	6	..	6				
New Hampshire .....	10	..	10	Total .....	756	426	312
New Jersey .....	18	..	18				

So much of the minority report as related to the Territory of Utah was therefore substituted for so much of the report of the majority as related to the same Territory.

The PRESIDENT. The question now recurs on the adoption of the report as amended.

The report as amended was then adopted.

Mr. CONGER. That closes the report of the Committee on Credentials.

## METHOD OF ELECTION OF DELEGATES.

Mr. BOUTWELL, of Massachusetts. *Mr. President:* This morning I presented a resolution having reference to the constitution of the next National Convention, and the President was kind enough to say, that after the disposition of the report of the Committee on Credentials I should be recognized for the purpose of asking the attention of the Convention to that resolution. The original understanding was that the Committee on Rules should be next heard. I think it will be more appropriate for me to offer the substance of my resolution as an amendment to the tenth rule as reported, or as it is understood it will be reported, by the Committee on Rules. Therefore I waive the consideration that I had from the Chair, and give notice that when the report of the Committee on Rules is under consideration I will move my resolution, or the substance of it, and the Convention can then act upon it.

Mr. SEWELL, of New Jersey. I rise to a point of order. It is, that the report of the Committee on Rules, having been laid on the table pending the action of the Convention on the report of the Committee on Credentials, is now the only business before this Convention. I call for it.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair sustains the point of order. The report of the Committee on Rules is before the Convention.

## RULES.

Mr. GARFIELD, of Ohio. I desire to inquire of the gentleman representing the minority how much time, if any, he desires for discussion.

Mr. SHARPE, of New York. I desire to hear what motion the gentleman from Ohio will make. I do not intend to detain the Convention, and he will be entirely satisfied with the motion that I shall make, after I propose to hear what he has decided upon.

Mr. GARFIELD. Then I move, Mr. President, that the report of the Committee on Rules be adopted, and upon that subject, if any amendment is to be offered, I hope it will be offered before the discussion, if any is to be had, shall begin.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Ohio moves the adoption of the report.

Mr. GARFIELD. I think the report of the minority of the Committee should be offered, and then any other amendments.

The PRESIDENT. It is not in the memory of the Chair at this moment—was the report of the minority of the Committee offered?

Mr. SHARPE, of New York. Yes, sir, and laid upon the table, to be called up with the majority report.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair will, then, direct the majority and minority reports, both, to be read for the information of the Convention.

## THE MAJORITY REPORT ON RULES.

The Secretary, Mr. Clisbee, read as follows:

The Committee on Rules and Order of Business beg leave to make the following report:

Rule 1. The Convention shall consist of a number of delegates from each State equal to double the number of its Senators and Representatives in Congress, and two delegates from each Territory and two from the District of Columbia.

Rule 2. The Rules of the House of Representatives shall be the rules of the Convention, so far as they are applicable and not inconsistent with the following rules:

Rule 3. When the previous question shall be demanded by a majority of the delegates from any State, and the demand seconded by two or more States, and the call sustained by a majority of the Convention, the question shall then be proceeded with and disposed of according to the rules of the House of Representatives in similar cases.

Rule 4. Upon all subjects before the Convention the States shall be called in alphabetical order, and next the Territories and District of Columbia.

Rule 5. The report of the Committee on Credentials shall be disposed of before the report of the Committee on Resolutions is acted upon; and the report of the Committee on Resolutions shall be disposed of before the Convention proceeds to the nomination of candidates for President and Vice-President.

Rule 6. When a majority of the delegates of any two States shall demand that a vote be recorded, the same shall be taken by States, Territories and the District of Columbia, the Secretary calling the roll of the States and Territories and the District of Columbia in the order heretofore stated.

Rule 7. In making the nomination for President and Vice-President, in no case shall the calling of the roll be dispensed with. When it shall appear that any candidate has received a majority of the votes cast, the President of the Convention shall announce the question to be, Shall the nomination of the candidate be made unanimous? But if no candidate shall have received a majority of the votes, the Chair shall direct the vote to be again taken, which shall be repeated until some candidate shall have received a majority of the votes cast; and when any State has announced its vote, it shall so stand until the ballot is announced, unless in case of numerical error.

Rule 8. In the record of the vote by States, the vote of each State, Territory and the District of Columbia shall be announced by the Chairman; and in case the vote of any State, Territory or the District of Columbia shall be divided, the Chairman shall announce the number of votes cast for any candidate or for or against any proposition; but if exception is taken by any delegate to the correctness of such announcement by the chairman of his delegation, the President of the Convention shall direct the roll of members of such delegation to be called, and the result shall be recorded in accordance with the votes individually given.

Rule 9. No member shall speak more than once upon the same question, nor longer than five minutes, unless by leave of the Convention, except that delegates presenting the name of a candidate shall be allowed ten minutes in presenting the name of such candidate.

Rule 10. A Republican National Committee shall be appointed, to consist of one member from each State, Territory and the District of Columbia, represented in this Convention. The roll shall be called, and the delegation from each State, Territory and the District of Columbia shall name, through their chairman, a person to act as a member of such committee.

Rule 11. All resolutions relating to the platform shall be referred to the Committee on Resolutions, without debate.

Respectfully submitted,

J. A. GARFIELD, *Chairman.*

THOMAS W. CHASE, *Secretary.*

The PRESIDENT. The minority report will now be read.

THE MINORITY REPORT ON RULES.

The Secretary read as follows:

"The minority from the Committee on Rules and Order of Business consisting of the delegates from Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Kentucky, Mississippi, Missouri, New York, Tennessee, Virginia, Illinois and Colorado, respectfully recommend the retention of Rule No. 8, being Rule No. 6 of the Convention of 1876, in the same language held by this rule in former Republican conventions, under which the rights of all delegates have been heretofore protected, and which is as follows:

"In the record of the votes by States, the vote of each State, Territory and the District of Columbia shall be announced by the Chairman; and in case the votes of any State, Territory or the District of Columbia shall be divided, the Chairman shall announce the number of votes cast for any candidate or for or against any proposition."

"Your Committee believe that the addition made by a majority of the Committee, after a protracted debate, is unwise; that it tends to invite discussions, which may not otherwise be forced upon the Convention; that it is unnecessary to protect the rights of individual members, and that it gratuitously and in advance casts an imputation upon the chairmen of the respective delegations."

J. H. THOMASSON, Alabama.  
J. H. JOHNSON, Arkansas.  
JAMES DEAN, Florida.  
W. GODFREY HUNTER, Kentucky.  
H. C. CARTER, Mississippi.  
THOMAS B. RODGERS, Missouri.  
GEORGE H. SHARPE, New York.  
J. M. CORDELL, Tennessee.  
W. R. WATKINS, Virginia.  
A. W. METCALF, Illinois.  
M. M. MEGRUE, Colorado.

The PRESIDENT. Will the gentleman from New York [Mr. Sharpe] state the precise form of motion with which he accompanies his minority report?

Mr. SHARPE. I understand the motion before the Convention to be that the report of the majority be adopted. Am I right?

The PRESIDENT. That is the motion made by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Garfield], and it is pending.

Mr. SHARPE. Then, I have stated it correctly?

The PRESIDENT. Yes, sir.

Mr. SHARPE. I suppose, then, Mr. President, that my motion ought to be to substitute the minority report. But I desire, before making any motion, to make one or two remarks, and I do it in order to shorten the work of the Convention. Some suggestions were made yesterday that delays that had occurred were intentional. The delays that were asked for by the Committee on Rules were intended to produce just action by this Convention. That has been had; and now, Mr. President, I confess that I am a little surprised that when the gentleman from Ohio made any motion he did not move that the minority report be made the law of this Convention. Under the action of the rule, as formerly established, we have been in session Wednesday, Thursday and Friday, and no such embarrassment has arisen as the gentleman from Ohio thought might arise, and which he proposed to guard against

by this celebrated amendment to the eighth rule. Not a single delegation has undertaken here to fly in the face of its chairman or to question his honesty. No scene has occurred, and after having lived under the extension of the eighth rule for three days and a half, it seems to me that the gentleman would have been justifiable in moving that the report of the minority be adopted. But, Mr. President, in good faith I am not here to ask for further delay. Sir, there is a time when further movement to secure position would be unjustifiable. The battle line is formed. Each side is ready. And the people are waiting for the result. We all feel that whatever was to be obtained on the skirmish line has been obtained, and we are standing in the ranks of battle, opposed to each other, and ready to give the people news of the contest. I therefore offer the following resolution:

*"Resolved, That this Convention will proceed immediately to ballot for candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States, and that one speech of fifteen minutes be allowed for the presentation of each candidate, and ten minutes for one speech to second each nomination."*

I send my resolution to the Chair.

Mr. GARFIELD. I rise to a point of order.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Ohio will suspend. The resolution will first be read for the information of the Convention, and then the gentleman's point of order will be heard. The gentleman from New York moves the following as a substitute for the proposition reported by the gentleman from Ohio from the Committee. It will be read for the information of the Convention.

The resolution was read.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Ohio will now state his point of order.

Mr. GARFIELD. My point of order, Mr. President, is, that in the first place, under the order of the Convention, the Committee on the rules of the Convention was ordered to report. The resolution now offered by the gentleman he did not offer as a substitute for rules, but as a resolution about another business; and it is not in order to take up another business distinct from the order under which the Convention is acting.

Mr. SHARPE. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The Chair does not desire to hear further debate on the point of order.

Mr. SHARPE. The Chair understands, of course, that my motion is made as a substitute for the report of the Committee on Rules.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair understands the motion. The Committee on Rules reported for the government of a Convention whose functions will expire when its candidates are nominated and other incidental business—a series of rules, one of which provides for the method of procedure in that nomination. The others provide other matters for the government of the Convention. The Chair is of opinion that a substitute which provides for the same thing and nothing else, to wit: for the proceeding to nominate candidates, and for the method of such proceeding, making no provision for any other subject, is in order, and the Chair so holds.

Mr. SHARPE. I want to complete the procedure by completing my motion—by adding, "and at the end thereof that the roll of States be called."



The PRESIDENT. The gentleman will modify his substitute, and it will be read as modified.

The Secretary read as follows:

*"Resolved, That this Convention will proceed immediately to ballot for a candidate for President and Vice-President of the United States, and that one speech of fifteen minutes be allowed for the presentation of each candidate, and ten minutes for one speech to second each nomination, and that, after such nominations are made, such ballot will be taken by a call of the roll of the States."*

Mr. SEWELL, of New Jersey. I rise to ask for information. If this substitute is adopted, under what rules will this Convention be governed? Have we any rules

The PRESIDENT. The Chair will state that if this resolution be substituted and adopted, it will of itself form a rule for the government of the Convention, so far as it applies. Other orders which have been made by the Convention, or which may be made, will likewise govern its action. Further than that, the Convention will be governed by what may be conveniently called the general parliamentary law.

Mr. SEWELL. I move to lay the substitute on the table.

The PRESIDENT. The motion to lay the substitute on the table, if it prevails, carries the whole matter with it.

Mr. GARFIELD. I ask the gentleman to withdraw it.

Mr. SEWELL. In deference to the views of the Chairman of the Committee I withdraw it.

Mr. GARFIELD. The Chair having ruled the resolution in order—and I bow, of course, to his ruling—I ask the attention of the Convention for a moment to the merits of the pending substitute for the rules. In my judgment, it does not purport to be a body of rules by which to regulate or decide any question or method whatever, except the mere time to be granted to present nominations. All questions whether the vote shall be cast by ballot, in ballot-boxes, whether they shall be cast by a show of hands, whether they shall be cast by a call of the roll, or whether they shall be cast by a majority of the votes of each State, without regard to the individual votes of the delegates, are questions unsettled by the resolution. If it be adopted, it rejects all that is offered as the old code of rules of four years ago, and leaves us to the vague uncertainty that belongs to a great Convention without formal rules. We have now been here four days, patiently waiting to do the great business upon which we have come here, in order and with decorum of proceeding. We have waited to find out first who are entitled to be delegates, and four days have been occupied in settling that question. In order that there might be the utmost fairness, the question of what rules shall bind us has been properly postponed until everybody who is to be bound shall be consulted about the rules. And now, in that same spirit of order, in that same spirit of settling all controversies likely to arise, we propose to lay before the President, and put in his hand, by the authority of this Convention, a code of rules by which he shall conduct its great business to the end. If these rules are not right, change them, amend them, make a substitute for them, but let that substitute cover the case. While on my feet I desire to say that I am a little surprised at an expression in the minority report implying that the report of the majority is in some vague and mysterious sense a reflection upon the various chairmen of the State delegations. How is it possible that this great Convention reflects on any man here, when it lays down a rule not only for him, but for every other delegate? It is quite too much

to say that anybody in this Convention is reflected on when there are rules made for governing him and all of equal rank with him. It was said that there had never occurred anything to indicate that the word of any chairman could not be trusted. Certainly not. But I think this Convention is sufficient witness that there are controversies between honorable gentlemen, and there may be controversies between chairmen and their delegates. We saw a spectacle that will probably be photographed in history, of four delegates rising on the top of their seats and protesting against the vote announced by their chairman. That cast no reflection upon the chairman of the delegation from Kentucky; none whatever. He was obeying his duty as he understood it, and the delegates were obeying their duty as *they* understood it. It is the business of this Convention to prescribe a rule which *all* shall obey—chairmen and delegates equally. No man is greater than the law, and no man should be greater than a just rule. Settle the rule. Settle it in any way you please. Make it the "unit" rule, and I am bound by it. Make it the individual rule—that each individual shall have the right to vote—and I am bound by it, for two great reasons: first, because you make it the rule, and, greater still, because I believe it to be everlastingly right. There is but one point of difference between the majority and the minority, and it can readily be settled by one vote, after a fair and reasonable debate. That point of difference may be stated in a single sentence. It is this: the minority desire the old rule to stand, under which unseemly controversy arose in 1876. The majority desire to make certain what they believe to be, and what the minority also intimate they also believe to be the proper rendition of that rule. On that view of the case I ought to demand of my honorable friend who makes the minority report that he should move to adopt the report of the majority, for it is his own construction of the rule.

Mr. FRYE, of Maine. I desire to ask—

The PRESIDENT. Will the gentleman from Ohio yield to the gentleman from Maine?

Mr. GARFIELD. Certainly.

Mr. FRYE. I desire to ask the distinguished gentleman from Ohio this question: Without adopting any of those rules as reported, and especially that rule which makes the rules of the House of Representatives the rules of this Convention, is there any such thing as a previous question?

Mr. GARFIELD. I take it that there is not.

Mr. FRYE. Then, sir, I desire to ask you one question further. If there is no previous question in this Convention, and after one ballot in answer to this resolution of the gentleman from New York [Mr. Sharpe] has been taken, and another gentleman then makes the motion that the Convention proceed to ballot for President, is there any rule in this body by which debate, from the time it is offered until twelve o'clock at night, can possibly be stopped?

Mr. GARFIELD. Manifestly there is not.

Mr. FRYE. Then, I take it that this Convention will see the point.

Mr. CONKLING. Will the gentleman from Ohio yield to me?

Mr. GARFIELD. Certainly.

Mr. CONKLING. As the gentleman from Ohio gives way to me, I wish to reply to the closing remarks of the gentleman from Maine, which seemed to be leveled pointedly in my direction. I beg to assure the gentleman from Maine that I do most clearly see the point, at this moment, of his opposition and his statement.

**Mr. GARFIELD** *Mr. President:* At this preliminary stage I do not desire to enter upon a discussion of the merits of the rule. I have only made the point, with which I close my remarks at present, that we ought to have rules, and have them now, to conduct and control the future business of this Convention. I am sure the gentleman from New York [Mr. Sharpe] did not intend, certainly I think he could not have intended, in the drafting of this resolution, to exclude the Territories of the United States from voting on this question. But I believe that they are excluded by the language of his resolution.

**Mr. SHARPE.** Whether the Territories are excluded or not, I leave to my friend the Secretary, to whom I went and asked that he would finish the resolution according to the usual form of words used in asking for a call of the roll.

**The PRESIDENT.** The Secretary states that he wrote the words stated to him by the gentleman from New York [Mr. Sharpe] himself, and that it was not becoming for him to undertake to modify or change them. If the gentleman desires now to modify the motion, it will be in order.

**Mr. SHARPE.** Most certainly, sir, I simply used, as I supposed, the ordinary form of directing the call of the roll of this Convention. Now, Mr. President, my friend from Ohio [Mr. Garfield] has undertaken to make a supposed state of circumstances. He sees danger which nobody threatens, and he makes a valiant battle against it. Indeed, after having been aided by the gentleman from Maine [Mr. Frye], he finally gets the Convention into such a condition of being terror-stricken that we are overcome with amazement at the injustice that this Convention might possibly do. What is there left to be done? Nothing but to make the nominations, and to read the report of the Committee on Resolutions. The delegates are anxious to go home. A sufficient number will remain to finish the platform; and when the candidates are nominated, relief will be produced among thousands of those who are here present.

Does the gentleman in good faith ask me whether this ballot is to be taken by ballots being put in a ballot-box, by "aye" and "no," or by each man's vote being called? Does he in good faith ask me whether every delegate is to have the right on the floor of expressing his preference through the chairman of his delegation? Does he in good faith ask *that* of a Convention, which for three days and a half, has been a law unto itself? Has there been a single appeal from any decision? Has anybody disputed the vote of any State? And when the four gentlemen from Kentucky stood up, was there a call of the whole roll from Kentucky? No, sir. Why, Mr. President, all that we ask to avoid is this—(all that we *did* ask to avoid; we have got nothing now to avoid in it.) You know how long it takes to call the roll of these States and Territories. How long would it take, upon the application of individuals who might seek, like my friend from Maine, to call the roll of the 700 and odd delegates of this Convention? There is nothing more to be done. The report of the Committee on Rules would have no application, except, as the Chairman of that Committee states, when the report of the Committee on Resolutions should be read. And it is simply to avoid *that* that I ask now that the Convention will proceed to nominate its candidates, in order that we may all see our way to leave for our homes before the breaking of the Sunday morning.

**The PRESIDENT.** The resolution of the gentleman from New York [Mr. Sharpe] will be read again, and he will give it his attention, to see whether it is in accordance with his desire.

## OFFICIAL PROCEEDINGS OF THE

Mr. SHARPE. Has the Secretary added the usual words?

The PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read it if the gentleman will wait.

Mr. SHARPE. Will the Secretary be kind enough to add "the Territories and the District of Columbia," if not in it?

The SECRETARY. I have added those words.

The Secretary, Mr. Clisbee, then read as follows:

"Resolved, That this Convention will proceed immediately to ballot for candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States; and to each one speech, of fifteen minutes, be allowed for the presentation of each candidate, and ten minutes for one speech to second each nomination; and that after such nominations are made such ballot will be taken by a call of the roll of the States, Territories and the District of Columbia."

The question being on this resolution, a call of the roll was demanded and the President ordered the roll of the States to be called.

The roll of States was then called, and resulted, yeas 276, nays 49, follows:

States.	No. Del.	Ay.	No.	States.	No. Del.	Ay.	No.
Alabama .....	30	15	5	New York .....	70	43	
Arkansas .....	12	12		North Carolina .....	20	4	
California .....	12		12	Ohio .....	44		
Colorado .....	6	6		Oregon .....	6		
Connecticut .....	12		12	Pennsylvania .....	58	21	
Delaware .....	6		6	Rhode Island .....	8		
Florida .....	8	8		South Carolina .....	14	9	
Georgia .....	22	6	18	Tennessee .....	24	10	
Illinois .....	42	24	18	Texas .....	16	11	
Indiana .....	30		30	Vermont .....	10		
Iowa .....	22		22	Virginia .....	22	12	
Kansas .....	10	4	6	West Virginia .....	10	1	
Kentucky .....	24	20	4	Wisconsin .....	20	1	
Louisiana .....	16	2	14	Arizona .....	2		
Maine .....	14		14	Dakota .....	2		
Maryland .....	16	7	9	District of Columbia .....	2		
Massachusetts .....	26	4	22	Idaho .....	2		
Michigan .....	22	1	21	Montana .....	2		
Minnesota .....	10		10	New Mexico .....	2		
Mississippi .....	16	5	11	Utah .....	2		
Missouri .....	30	29	1	Washington .....	2		
Nebraska .....	6		6	Wyoming .....	2		
Nevada .....	6		6				
New Hampshire .....	10		10	Totals .....	756	276	4
New Jersey .....	18		18				

So the resolution was rejected.

Mr. GARFIELD. In the apparent effort to expedite business time enough has been wasted to have adopted the rules and gone to work. I suggest, therefore, that without further debate we vote upon the report of the Committee as submitted.

Mr. SHARPE. Mr. President: I accept the proposition of the gentleman from Ohio. I simply want—I mean all this in good faith—to move to substitute the minority report. I want the question understood, and I shall refrain from calling for a vote of the States upon it. I now move to substitute the minority report.

The motion to substitute was not agreed to.

The PRESIDENT. The question now is on the adoption of the report of the majority of the Committee on Rules and Order of Business.

Mr. BOUTWELL, of Massachusetts. I now ask the Secretary to read the resolution I proposed, omitting in it all before the word "prescribe," and inserting before that word "Said committee shall," and add it to the tenth rule.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Massachusetts moves to amend the report in the form which will now be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

"Add to rule 10 as presented by the majority of the Committee on Rules, the following:

"And said committee shall prescribe a method or methods for the election of delegates to the National Convention to be held in 1884, announce the same to the country, and issue a call for that Convention in conformity therewith."

A DELEGATE. Will the Secretary read the rule as it will read when amended?

The Secretary, Mr. Clisbee, read as follows:

"Rule 10. A Republican National Committee shall be appointed to consist of one member from each State, Territory and the District of Columbia, represented in this Convention. The roll shall be called and the delegation from each State, Territory and the District of Columbia shall name, through their chairman, a person to act as a member of such committee. Said committee shall prescribe a method or methods for the election of delegates to the National Convention to be held in 1884; announce the same to the country, and issue a call for that Convention in conformity therewith."

Mr. BOUTWELL. I will add the words, "within the next twelve months," after the words, "said committee shall."

The PRESIDENT. The Secretary will again read that portion of the rule which has now been amended.

The Secretary read as follows:

"Said committee shall, within the next twelve months, prescribe a method or methods for the election of delegates to the National Convention to be held in 1884; announce the same to the country, and issue a call for that Convention in conformity therewith."

Mr. BUTTERWORTH, of Ohio. I move to amend the amendment of the gentleman from Massachusetts by adding the following words:

"Provided that nothing in the method or rule so prescribed shall be so construed as to prevent the several districts of the United States from selecting their own delegates to the National Convention."

I will put my amendment in writing and send it to the Secretary,

Mr. BOUTWELL. I accept that amendment.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Massachusetts accepts the modification of his amendment, and now moves to amend by adding to the tenth rule as the Secretary will read.

The Secretary then read as follows:

"Said committee shall, within the next twelve months, prescribe a method or methods for the election of delegates to the National Convention to be held in 1884; announce the same to the country, and issue a call for that Convention in conformity therewith: *Provided*, that such methods or rules shall include and secure to the several Congressional districts in the United States the right to elect their own delegates to the National Convention."

The PRESIDENT. The question is upon the amendment moved by the gentleman from Massachusetts, which has been read.

Mr. GARFIELD. Of course I have no authority on behalf of my Committee to accept this amendment. For myself I cheerfully accept it, and I hope it will be adopted without dissent.

The amendment was agreed to.

The PRESIDENT. The question now recurs on the adoption of the report of the majority of the Committee as amended.

The report as amended was adopted.

#### RESOLUTIONS.

Mr. GARFIELD. I move that the Committee on Resolutions be now ordered to report for the consideration of the Convention.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. PIERREPONT, of New York. *Mr. President:* I hardly need to say that in a committee composed of one from every State in this Union, from every Territory, and from the District of Columbia, there was a great diversity of opinion about the questions which in the resolutions should be brought before this Convention. Early in this Convention it became apparent that we would have a sufficient number of exciting topics which would keep us active and awake. We have endeavored in the resolutions we present to have nothing upon which we could not ourselves agree, and nothing which would tend to disturb the harmony of this Convention or awaken angry debate or long delay. I have now the honor to present the resolutions which the Committee have agreed upon.

The Secretary, Mr. Clisbee, read as follows:

#### REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS.

##### THE PLATFORM.

The Republican party, in National Convention, assembled, at the end of twenty years since the Federal Government was first committed to its charge, submits to the people of the United States this brief report of its administration:

It suppressed a rebellion which had armed nearly a million of men to subvert the national authority. It reconstructed the Union of the States, with freedom instead of slavery as its corner-stone. It transformed 4,000,000 human beings from the likeness of things to the rank of citizens. It relieved Congress from the infamous work of hunting fugitive slaves, and charged it to see that slavery does not exist. It has raised the value of our paper currency from 38 per cent. to the par of gold. It has restored upon a solid basis payment in the coin for all the national obligations, and has given us a currency absolutely good and equal in every part of our extended country. It has lifted the credit of the Nation from the point where six per cent. bonds sold at eighty-six to that where four per cent. bonds are eagerly sought at a premium.

Under its administration, railways have increased from 31,000 miles in 1860, to more than 82,000 miles in 1879. Our foreign trade has increased from \$700,000,000 to \$1,115,000,000 in the same time, and our exports, which

were \$20,000,000 less than our imports in 1860, were \$265,000,000 more than our imports in 1879.

Without resorting to loans, it has, since the war closed, defrayed the ordinary expenses of Government, besides the accruing interest of the public debt, and has disbursed annually more than \$30,000,000 for soldiers' and sailors' pensions. It has paid \$880,000,000 of the public debt, and by refunding the balance at lower rates has reduced the annual interest charge from nearly \$150,000,000 to less than \$89,000,000. All the industries of the country have revived; labor is in demand; wages have increased, and throughout the entire country there is evidence of a coming prosperity greater than we have ever enjoyed.

Upon this record the Republican party ask for the continued confidence and support of the people, and this Convention submits for their approval the following statement of the principles and purposes which will continue to guide and inspire its efforts.

1. We affirm that the work of the Republican party for the last twenty-one years has been such as to commend it to the favor of the Nation; that the fruits of the costly victories which we have achieved through immense difficulties should be preserved; that the peace regained should be cherished; that the Union should be perpetuated, and that the liberty secured to this generation should be transmitted undiminished to other generations; that the order established and the credit acquired should never be impaired; that the pensions promised should be paid; that the debt so much reduced should be extinguished by the full payment of every dollar thereof; that the reviving industries should be further promoted, and that the commerce already increasing should be steadily encouraged.

2. The Constitution of the United States is a supreme law, and not a mere contract. Out of confederated States it made a sovereign Nation. Some powers are denied to the Nation, while others are denied to the States; but the boundary between the powers delegated and those reserved is to be determined by the National, and not by the State tribunal.

3. The work of popular education is one left to the care of the several States, but it is the duty of the National Government to aid that work to the extent of its constitutional power. The intelligence of the Nation is but the aggregate of the intelligence in the several States, and the destiny of the Nation must be guided, not by the genius of any one State, but by the aggregate genius of all.

4. The Constitution wisely forbids Congress to make any law respecting the establishment of religion, but it is idle to hope that the Nation can be protected against the influence of secret sectarianism while each State is exposed to its domination. We, therefore, recommend that the Constitution be so amended as to lay the same prohibition upon the Legislature of each State, and to forbid the appropriation of public funds to the support of sectarian schools.

5. We affirm the belief, avowed in 1876, that the duties levied for the purpose of revenue should so discriminate as to favor American labor; that no further grants of the public domain should be made to any railway or other corporation; that slavery having perished in the States, its twin barbarity, polygamy, must die in the Territories; that everywhere the protection accorded to a citizen of American birth must be secured to citizens by American adoption; that we deem it the duty of Congress to develop and improve our sea-coast and harbors, but insist that further subsidies to private persons or corporations must cease; that the obligations of the Republic to the men who preserved its integrity in the day of battle are undiminished by the lapse of the fifteen years since their final victory. To do them honor is, and shall forever be, the grateful privilege and sacred duty of the American people.

6. Since the authority to regulate immigration and intercourse between the United States and foreign nations rests with the Congress of the United States and the treaty-making power, the Republican party, regarding the unrestricted immigration of the Chinese as a matter of grave concernment, under the exercise of both these powers, would limit and restrict that immigration by the enactment of such just, humane and reasonable laws and treaties as will produce that result.

7. That the purity and patriotism which characterized the earlier career of Rutherford B. Hayes, in peace and war, and which guided the thoughts of our immediate predecessors to him for a presidential candidate, have continued to inspire him in his career as Chief Executive; and that history will accord to his administration the honors which are due to an efficient, just and courteous discharge of the public business, and will honor his vetoes interposed between the people and attempted partisan laws.

8. We charge upon the Democratic party the habitual sacrifice of patriotism and justice to a supreme and insatiable lust for office and patronage; that to obtain possession of the National Government, and control of the place, they have obstructed all efforts to promote the purity and to conserve the freedom of suffrage, and have devised fraudulent ballots and invented fraudulent certifications of returns; have labored to unseat lawfully elected members of Congress, to secure at all hazards the vote of a majority of the States in the House of Representatives; have endeavored to occupy by force and fraud the places of trust given to others by the people of Maine, rescued by the courage and actions of Maine's patriotic sons; have, by methods vicious in principle and tyrannical in practice, attached partisan legislation to appropriation bills, upon whose passage the very movement of the Government depended; have crushed the rights of the individual; have advocated the principles and sought the favor of the Rebellion against the Nation, and have endeavored to obliterate the sacred memories of the war, and to overcome its inestimably valuable results of nationality, personal freedom and individual equality.

The equal, steady and complete enforcement of laws, and the protection of all our citizens in the enjoyment of all privileges and immunity guaranteed by the Constitution, are the first duties of the Nation. The dangers of a solid South can only be averted by a faithful performance of every promise which the Nation has made to the citizen. The execution of the laws, and the punishment of all those who violate them, are the only safe methods by which an enduring peace can be secured and genuine prosperity established throughout the South. Whatever promises the Nation makes the Nation must perform. A Nation cannot safely relegate this duty to the States. The solid South must be divided by the peaceful agencies of the ballot, and all honest opinions must there find free expression. To this end the honest voter must be protected against terrorism, violence or fraud. And we affirm it to be the duty and the purpose of the Republican party to use all legitimate means to restore all the States of this Union to the most perfect harmony that may be possible; and we submit to the practical, sensible people of these United States to say whether it would not be dangerous to the dearest interests of our country at this time to surrender the administration of the National Government to a party which seeks to overthrow the existing policy, under which we are so prosperous, and thus bring distrust and confusion where there is now order, confidence and hope.

EDWARDS PIERREPONT, *Chairman*.

T. D. EDWARDS, *Secretary*.

The PRESIDENT. The question is on the adoption of the resolutions.



CIVIL SERVICE.

Mr. BARKER, of Massachusetts. I desire to move an amendment to the resolutions, by adding an additional resolution, which I will send to the Chair—a resolution touching the civil service.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Massachusetts moves to amend the resolutions by adding the following:

"The Republican party, adhering to the principles affirmed by its last National Convention, of respect for the constitutional rules governing appointment to office, adopts the declaration of President Hayes, that the reform in the civil service shall be thorough, radical and complete. To that end it demands the co-operation of the Legislative with the Executive Departments of the Government, and that Congress shall so legislate that fitness, ascertained by proper practical tests, shall admit to the public service. That the tenure of administrative offices, except those through which the distinctive policy of the party in power is carried out, shall be made permanent during good behavior, and that the power of removal for cause, with due responsibility for the good conduct of subordinates, shall accompany the power of appointment."

Mr. BARKER. I have no desire, Mr. President, to delay this Convention in making an argument upon the position which the Republican party now—

Mr. VAN HORN, of Missouri. *Mr. President:* I rise to a point of order.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Missouri will state his point of order.

Mr. VAN HORN. Under the rules just adopted that resolution should go to the Committee on Resolutions without debate.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair overrules the point of order. It is an amendment to the report of the Committee.

A DELEGATE. I move to lay the resolution on the table.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman has not the floor for that purpose.

Mr. BARKER. As I said, I have no desire to delay this Convention in order to argue this point. Every member of this Convention, every member of the Republican party, every voter in these great United States, has his opinion upon the civil service. From the eminent man whom many of us desire to nominate, the man who introduced by his message as President a reform in the civil service, down to every man who is an humble voter, our minds are made up about that. But, sir, I take the position here—I take the position before the country—that it is not fitting for the Republican party, the party of principles in this country, to pass over, without mention, such a subject as this at this time. There have been four divisions, or periods, in the history of the civil service. One of these periods was under the administration of that great man whose portrait overlooks us [Washington], and of his successor, when the civil service needed no reform; for it had never been corrupted. The next was the period when the party whom we attack today brought that vicious principle into practice, that "To the victors belongs the spoils." The third period was the period when Gen. Grant, having saved this country by his military genius, sought also to save it by his statesmanship and his patriotism; and attempted, by his message, by recommending the enforcement of civil-service reform, to save it in that direction; and he only was compelled to desist that because he was not supported in Congress. The fourth period is the period which was inaugurated in our last Convention; and at that time a plank was adopted which I ask that the Secretary may read

—the fifth plank of the platform, under which we marched to victory four years ago. I ask that it may be read. It is on the fifty-sixth page of the proceedings of the last National Convention.

The Secretary read as follows:

"Under the Constitution, the President and heads of departments are to make nominations for office; the Senate is to advise and consent to appointments, and the House of Representatives is to accuse and prosecute faithless officers. The best interest of the public service demands that these distinctions be respected; that Senators and Representatives who may be judges and accusers should not dictate appointments to office. The invariable rule for appointments should have reference to the honesty, fidelity and capacity of appointees, giving to the party in power those places where harmony and vigor of administration require its policy to be represented; but permitting all others to be filled by persons selected with sole reference to the efficiency of the public service and the right of citizens to share in the honor of rendering faithful service to their country."

Mr. BARKER. Now, we mean, Mr. President, just what we say when we speak for Massachusetts in this Convention. The point in the civil service which needs amendment—the point practically where the reform has failed, if it has failed, though I deny that it has failed, is, that legislation is needed in Congress. From a Democratic Congress, to be sure, we have to ask for it; but let us demand it. That is the point. And, sir, I cannot let this time pass without having an opportunity to record my vote in favor of this principle, and also of extending to every gentleman here an opportunity, if he shall so desire, so to record his vote. I, therefore, have moved this amendment.

Mr. FLANAGAN, of Texas. Mr. President: Texas has had quite enough of the civil service. During the last four years, sir, out of 1,400 officers appointed by the President of the United States, 140 represented the Republican party. We are not here, sir, for the purpose of providing offices for the Democracy. There is one plank in the Democratic party that I have ever admired, and that is, "To the victors belong the spoils." After we have won the race, as we will, we will give those who are entitled to positions office. What are we up here for? I mean that members of the Republican party are entitled to office, and if we are victorious we will have office. I, therefore, move to lay the amendment on the table.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair desires the gentleman from Texas to give his attention to the Chair.

A DELEGATE. I move to postpone the amendment.

The PRESIDENT. No motion can be made which will separate the amendment from the general subject before the Convention.

Mr. HOUCK, of Tennessee. Will it be in order to move to refer this resolution to the Committee on Resolutions?

The PRESIDENT. The Chair is of opinion that it would carry with it the whole pending subject.

Mr. HOUCK. Well, the sooner we get rid of it in some way the better. If it can be voted down, of course that will do.

Mr. CESSNA, of Pennsylvania. I move you, sir, that the whole platform, together with the amendment, be recommitted to the Committee on Reso-

lutions, with instructions to report back the platform forthwith without the amendment.

Mr. CODMAN, of Massachusetts. *Mr. President:* The gentleman from Pennsylvania, if his motion pass, will get out of the difficulty. For, sir, if the Committee report back the platform without the amendment proposed by my colleague, we shall, I hope, be here, and we shall propose it again. We want a vote on this subject, and I think we shall have it. We may not be numerous, or we may be, that advocate this resolution, but we shall have a vote on it.

I am impressed, Mr. President, with the good opinion which the gentleman from Texas entertains of his associates on this floor. He tells us that we have come up here to arrange for getting offices. I protest, for one, against having come here for any such purpose. I thought I came here, and so did my colleagues, to help to nominate a man for President of the United States who would see, so far as he had anything to do with the offices, that the right men were put in the right places. I hope we will nominate here somebody who will not peddle out offices as a reward for services. I know this Convention is weary and desires to proceed to business. But let me tell my friend from Texas that if he thinks that the men of Massachusetts here will not have a vote on that proposition he is vastly mistaken.

Mr. CESSNA. I did not make my motion with any intention to deprive my friend from Massachusetts of a vote. He can get it upon my motion as readily as he can get it in any other way. And when he informs me that he will see that, when it comes back, we will have a vote—have it offered again, I simply reply that I made my motion for the purpose of ascertaining the sense of the Convention on that proposition, and if it is upon my side on this question, we will see if the previous question will bring us to a direct vote, and he will not have the pleasure of making it again. But if the Convention should be in favor of the proposition introduced by the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Barker] they can so indicate it by voting down my motion. I opposed the motion, not on account of any feeling whatsoever, but for other reasons. We come here to our Convention for the purpose of gathering Republican views, and the Republican doctrine, and the Republican policy, from all the States and Territories of this Union, and in order to accomplish that purpose and to promote unity and harmony, which are the foreleaders and harbingers of success, we select one gentleman from every delegation from every State and Territory in this Union as a Committee on Platform; and to that Committee we refer the difficult task of making that platform. I assume that they made it in good faith, that they deliberated and discussed all these questions with judgment and discretion, and that they—Massachusetts being represented there with the rest of the States—after due deliberation, being by themselves, embodied what was supposed to be good and necessary, and that they have brought out nothing upon which the whole party of this country is not united. And it is because I did not like to see any attempt to tamper with or interfere with the action of that Committee that I made the motion I did, because if we have a right to so act upon one subject, other members might do so upon other subjects. But, while I am on the floor (I did not intend to say a word if it had not been for the remarks of the gentleman from Massachusetts) I will go one step further. He knows, and I know, that the offices at Washington are half full of men who were placed there by the Democratic party of this country, when in power, and they are incrustated like rats in their holes, and we cannot get them out. They are full of rebels—rebel soldiers; some of them rebel officers; and I, for one, do not want this civil service to be put too strongly upon us until we are allowed to turn out the rebel brigadiers and rebel captains and put in Union soldiers. I simply want to get them out and make way for our one-legged and one-armed Union soldiers.

Mr. WARNER, of Alabama. I would not have offered this resolution, but it is here, and I suggest to the Republicans of the United States, in National Convention assembled, that we cannot, we ought not and we dare not to vote it down. I say I would not have offered it; but the suggestion of my friend from Pennsylvania [Mr. Cessna] amount to this—that when we get all our men in office we are ready to have civil service reform; and, if we are beaten four years hence, the Democratic party will say, when they turn all our men out and get all theirs in they are in favor of civil-service reform. Now, I say I would not have offered this resolution, but it is here, and the Republican party of the country—the great body of good citizens who hold the balance of power and who will elect the next President—are in favor of it. I am in favor of it myself. A good deal of contumely has been thrown upon the civil-service rules because of their lax enforcement. The same might be said of the Ten Commandments. It has taken a good while to enforce the Ten Commandments. It will take a good while to get real civil-service reform in this country, but unless we begin we will never get it done. President Hayes has done some good work. There is evidence enough here in this Convention that the work is not all done, and, if a vote is to be taken on this question, I would suggest to the Chair, in mercy to the civil service, that Federal officeholders be not required to vote.

Mr. CARTER, of Mississippi. I am in favor of the motion made by the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Cessna] to re-commit the report to the Committee on Resolutions, not on the ground of civil service, but upon the ground that it sets forth, in the first few words, that the Republican party had made out of chattels, citizens. Sir, it is true that we were in chains of physical bondage when the proclamation was made by the immortal Lincoln, but we are still slaves. We are not free in the South. We come here to your city, and, when we visit this great Northwest, and look upon the manner in which men of our color are entertained in the Northwest, we feel that there yet remains a grand duty for the Republican party to discharge. When the war broke out those men proved loyal to the Union. The gentleman from West Virginia, in his remarks the other day, stated that he had fought for my liberty. No man fought for me, sir. In September, 1862, I was enrolled as a Union soldier in the city of New Orleans, and, Mr. President, with reference to that portion of the platform that says, "as slavery went down, so must go polygamy," may God grant that polygamy shall never stop where slavery rests now. As to the civil service and the delegates from the South who are sent to Chicago, we come here imbued with loyalty to the Federal Government, imbued with loyalty to the Republican party; we intend, while here, to cast our votes. We have no compromises to make. We have no trades to make. We were sent here by the people of the South to cast our votes for the most distinguished man that lives in the world to-day—Gen. Grant, the proud son of the State of Illinois. There is not a civilized government upon the face of the globe but what would be willing to own him. The black soldier that fought beneath his starry banner still claims that he wants Grant, and nobody else.

The PRESIDENT. The five minutes awarded to the gentleman have expired. We are now working under the new rules. The question is on the adoption of the amendment moved by the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Barker.]

Mr. BARKER. I call for a vote by States.

The PRESIDENT. Is the gentleman authorized by a majority of his delegation to make the call? It is required by the new rules.

Mr. CESSNA. What has become of my motion to re-commit, with instructions?

The PRESIDENT. The Chair would suggest that the object of the gentleman can be better accomplished after the pending vote has been taken.

Mr. CESSNA. I accept the suggestion of the Chair, if that is preferred.

The PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read the rule in regard to a demand for a vote by States.

The Secretary, Mr. Broadwell, read as follows:

"Rule 6. When a majority of the delegates of any two States shall demand that a vote be recorded, the same shall be taken by States, Territories and the District of Columbia, the Secretary calling the roll of the States and Territories and the District of Columbia in the order heretofore stated."

The PRESIDENT. An individual member of the delegation is not entitled, under this rule, to call for a vote by States. Does the gentleman from Massachusetts state that he is authorized by a majority of the delegates from his State to make that request?

Mr. BARKER. I so state.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman's statement will be accepted by the Chair. The delegation from the State of Massachusetts request a vote on this question by States. Is that request seconded by the delegation from any other State?

Mr. PIXLEY, of California. California seconds the motion.

The PRESIDENT. The roll of States will be called.

Mr. HOUCK, of Tennessee. There is some confusion in this part of the hall as to what the precise question is.

The PRESIDENT. The precise question stated by the Chair is the question of a direct vote on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Barker], the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Cessna] withdrawing his motion, if a direct vote is to be taken.

A DELEGATE from Maryland. I ask that the pending resolution be again read.

The PRESIDENT. The resolution will be again read, for information.

The Secretary read as follows:

"The Republican party, adhering to the principle affirmed by its last National Convention, of respect for the constitutional rules governing appointments to office, adopts the declaration of President Hayes, that the reform of the civil service should be thorough, radical and complete. To this end it demands the co-operation of the Legislative with the Executive Department of the Government, and that Congress shall so legislate that fitness, ascertained by proper practical tests, shall admit to the public service; that the tenure of administrative offices, except those through which the distinctive policy of the party in power is carried out, shall be made permanent during good behavior, and that the power of removal for cause, with due responsibility for the good conduct of subordinates, shall accompany the power of appointment.

The PRESIDENT. The question is upon the adoption of this amendment. The Clerk will call the roll.

Mr. WARNER, of Alabama. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. For what purpose does the gentleman from Alabama rise?

Mr. WARNER. I rise to ask whether the motion to strike out part of the resolution is in order.

The PRESIDENT. It is in order.

Mr. WARNER. I move to strike out the latter part, "That the tenure of administrative offices, except those through which the distinctive policy of the party in power is carried out, shall be made permanent during good-behavior."

A DELEGATE from Missouri. A word of explanation on behalf of the Committee. I rose partly to make that motion. This proposition was twice rejected by a formal vote of the Committee on Resolutions; and had the Committee any idea that such a plank was desired or would be offered, they would have tried to have reported it in a form more consonant with the wishes of the members of the Convention. But I have no idea that the most ardent friend of civil service reform, or whatever you may call it, is in favor of establishing life-tenure of office in this country. I complain that the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Barker] has not treated the Committee fairly, in withholding notice that he intended to bring this before the Convention. Otherwise we might have considered and brought in a resolution consonant with the common sense of the people of this country, even those who favor it.

Mr. ANTHONY, of Illinois. I agree with a number of gentlemen in what they have said in behalf of this resolution, and with the gentleman who is the author of it. It will be seen, by reading it, that it provides in the latter part of it a code of laws as to how it shall be carried out. It is not necessary, in order to the clear enunciation of the principle that he wishes to put before the Convention and to become part of the platform, that *that* should be done; and I, therefore, move to strike out all after the words "Executive Department of the Government." The resolution will then provide for the co-operation of the legislative and executive powers of the Government, and that is all that is necessary to put into this platform to enunciate the principles for which we are contending.

Mr. BARKER. I am willing, sir, to accept that amendment.

The PRESIDENT. The amendment is accepted by the mover. The question now is on the resolution as amended, and on that question a call of States has been demanded.

A DELEGATE from Kentucky. I would like to hear the resolution read as it will be as amended.

Mr. CODMAN, of Massachusetts. I desire to state, in behalf of my colleagues, that in order to save the time of the Convention we are willing to withdraw the call for the vote by States, reserving the right, however, if the vote shall seem to be in the negative, then to call for the vote by States.

The PRESIDENT. The resolution will be read as amended.

The Secretary, Mr. Broadwell, read as follows:

"The Republican party, adhering to the principle affirmed by its last National Convention, of respect for the constitutional rules governing appointments to office, adopts the declaration of President Hayes that the reform of the civil service should be thorough, radical and complete. To this

end it demands the co-operation of the Legislative with the Executive Department of the Government, and that Congress shall so legislate that fitness, ascertained by proper practical tests, shall admit to the public service."

Mr. WINKLER, of Wisconsin. I, for one, want to declare my thorough indorsement of that resolution.

The PRESIDENT. The call for the vote by States is withdrawn for the present, if the Convention consent.

The amendment was agreed to.

The PRESIDENT. The question now recurs upon the entire platform as amended.

The resolutions, as amended, were then adopted.

#### RECESS.

Mr. CRESWELL, of Maryland. [The time being 5:20 p. m.] After our very long and tedious services to-day I think it is due to the body of the Convention, and would greatly accelerate the future business of the Convention, that we should now take a recess until seven o'clock.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair asks leave, before putting that question to make a statement to the Convention. An inquiry has been made of the Chair whether it is within his power to issue an order excluding all intoxicating liquors from this building. The Chair does not conceive that he has that power, but he asks the unanimous consent of the Convention that an order be passed that no such liquors be admitted in the building until the final adjournment of the Convention. Is there any objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered by the Convention. The question is now upon the motion of the gentleman from Maryland, that the Convention take a recess until seven o'clock.

Mr. CRESWELL. That motion is not debatable.

The PRESIDENT. The motion is debatable under the rules.

Mr. CRESWELL. Not under the rules of the House of Representatives.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman is right; the motion is not debatable.

The motion was agreed to.

So the Convention, at five o'clock and twenty-five minutes, p. m., took a recess until seven o'clock this evening.

#### AFTER RECESS.

The PRESIDENT. [The hour being 7 p. m.] The Secretary will read a communication which has been received by the Chair.

#### THE GAVEL.

The Secretary, Mr. Clisbee, read as follows:

CHICAGO, June 5th, 1880.

*To the Honorable President of the Republican National Convention:*

DEAR SIR: The gavel which lies upon your desk possesses historic associations and interest. The head of the gavel is made from a piece of wood

taken from the home of Abraham Lincoln, which he left to accept the Presidential chair, and to that home he never returned. The handle of the gavel is made from a cane grown on the Mount Vernon estate, to which Washington returned when the people of our whole country could live in peace, and in the possession of all their rights under the flag of our country. May I ask that you will accept this gavel as a memento of one of the most interesting Conventions in the history of our party.

Very truly yours,

JAMES P. ROOT.

#### THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

Mr. HALE, of Maine. *Mr. President:* I move that the roll of States be called, that announcement may be made of the members of the National Committee, as selected by the States and Territories and the District of Columbia.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Maine moves that the roll of States be called, that announcement of the members of the National Committee from each State may be received. The Secretary will read the rule adopted, so far as it relates to the call of the roll.

The Secretary read as follows:

"Rule 10. A Republican National Committee shall be appointed, to consist of one member from each State, Territory and the District of Columbia represented in this Convention. The roll shall be called, and the delegation from each State, Territory and the District of Columbia shall name, through its chairman, a person to act as member of such Committee."

The motion was agreed to.

The roll of States was then called and the following named gentlemen were appointed members of the National Committee:

Alabama .....	Paul Strobach.
Arkansas .....	S. W. Dorsey.
California .....	Horace Davis.
Colorado .....	John L. Routt.
Connecticut .....	Marshall Jewell.
Delaware .....	Christian Febiger.
Florida .....	William W. Hicks.
Georgia .....	James G. Deveaux.
Illinois .....	John A. Logan.
Indiana .....	John C. New.
Iowa .....	John S. Runnels.
Kansas .....	John A. Martin.
Kentucky .....	Wm. O. Bradley.
Louisiana .....	Henry C. Warmoth.
Maine .....	William P. Frye.
Maryland .....	James A. Gary.
Massachusetts .....	John M. Forbes.
Michigan .....	James H. Stone.
Minnesota .....	D. M. Sabin.
Mississippi .....	George C. McKee.
Missouri .....	Chauncy I. Filley.
Nebraska .....	James W. Dawes.
Nevada .....	J. W. Mackey.
New Hampshire .....	W. E. Chandler.
New Jersey .....	George E. Halsey.
New York .....	Thomas C. Platt.
North Carolina .....	W. P. Canady.



Ohio .....	W. C. Cooper.
Oregon .....	D. C. Ireland.
Pennsylvania.....	J. D. Cameron.
Rhode Island.....	William A. Pierce.
South Carolina.....	Samuel Lee.
Tennessee .....	William Rule.
Texas .....	
Vermont .....	George W. Hooker.
Virginia .....	Samuel L. Yost.
West Virginia.....	John W. Mason.
Wisconsin .....	Elihu Enos.
Arizona.....	R. C. McCormick.
Dakota .....	
District of Columbia.....	
Idaho.....	George L. Shoup.
Montana .....	Alex. H. Beattie.
New Mexico.....	Stephen B. Elkins.
Utah.....	C. W. Bennett.
Washington.....	Thomas T. Miner.
Wyoming.....	Joseph L. Carey.

During the roll-call:

On the call of the State of Alabama.

Mr. GEO. TURNER, of Alabama. "Paul Strobach."

Mr. PARSONS, of Alabama. Before his name is entered upon the roll as a member of the National Committee from the State of Alabama, I would state that there have been three members in the Alabama delegation unseated, who acted when Mr. Strobach was named, and three others have since been put in, and that there was also one member of the delegation absent at the time Mr. Strobach was named. I would ask that no action be taken, or that his name be not entered upon the roll, until further action be taken by the delegation of members who have been declared elected and entitled to seats on this floor.

Mr. TURNER, of Alabama. Nineteen members of the Alabama delegation, sir, met, and with substantial unanimity selected the gentleman that I have named to be the member of the National Executive Committee from Alabama. No meeting has been held or called for since that meeting by the members of the delegation for the purpose of changing this name, and I insist under the motion which has been carried here that the name of Mr. Strobach be recorded from Alabama.

The PRESIDENT. Under the rule adopted by the Convention the report of the Chairman must be accepted as conclusive for this purpose. If any point is made it must be brought to the attention of the Convention hereafter, by proper motion. The Clerk will proceed with the roll-call.

On the call of the Territory of Dakota.

Mr. WARNER, of Dakota. "Seth Bullock."

Mr. MCCOY, of Dakota. *Mr. President:* I have been instructed by the Territorial Republican convention of Dakota to present the name of the Hon. Newton Edmunds as a member of the National Committee. In compliance with this instruction I present his name.

The PRESIDENT. The Secretary will call Dakota again.

The Territory of Dakota was again called.

Mr. McCoy. I hold in my hands a paper which I will send to the Secretary to be read.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair will cause the communication to be read for the information of the Convention.

The Secretary read as follows:

"At the Territorial Republican convention, held at Fargo, on May 19, 1880, it was resolved that the delegates to the National Convention be instructed to present the name of Newton Edmunds for a member of the Republican National Committee. I therefore, pursuant to said resolution, present his name for the purposes aforesaid.

"C. T. McCoy, *Delegate from Dakota.*"

Mr. WARNER. *Mr. President*—

The PRESIDENT. The Territory of Dakota will be passed until the order of the Convention is executed, two persons being presented by that delegation. The Secretary will proceed with the call. We will come back to Dakota after having called the other Territories.

At the conclusion of the roll-call (no names having been presented for the State of Texas or the District of Columbia):

The PRESIDENT. The delegates from the State of Texas and the District of Columbia ask unanimous consent to present the names from that State and that Territory to the Convention at a later period. Is there any objection? The Chair hears none. From the Territory of Dakota two names are presented, neither being presented according to the rule, the delegation being not agreed.

Mr. CONGER, of Michigan. I move that the question of the member of the National Committee from Dakota be referred to the new National Committee, with power to designate who shall fill the place.

Mr. CONKLING. Is that in order? It is not, under the rule, I submit. I object to it.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from New York objects. The Chair is of opinion that the motion is in order. It is a method of filling a vacancy in a committee that has been completed as far as possible under the rule.

The motion was agreed to.

#### FILLING VACANCIES IN THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

Mr. DRAKE, of Minnesota. *Mr. President*: I wish to offer a resolution relating to the National Committee.

The Secretary read as follows:

"Resolved, That in case of the death or resignation of any member of the Republican National Committee the vacancy may be filled by appointment made by the State Central committee of the proper State, or Territory, or District."

The resolution was adopted.

#### NOMINATIONS FOR PRESIDENT.

Mr. HALE, of Maine. *Mr. President*: I move that the role of States be called in alphabetical order, and that whenever any State shall be reached

from which a nomination is to be made for a candidate for President, the nomination be made under the rules adopted by this Convention.

Mr. LOGAN, of Illinois. I would like to make an inquiry.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair will state the question first. The gentleman from Maine moves that the roll of States be now called alphabetically, and that nominations be received whenever any State is reached from which a nomination is made under the rule already adopted by the Convention.

Mr. LOGAN. I did not hear the rule. At the time the rules were read at the desk I did not clearly understand, in reference to seconding nominations, whether more than one seconding speech would be allowed or not.

The PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read the rule on the subject of nominations for President.

The Secretary, Mr. Broadwell, read as follows:

"Rule 9. No member shall speak more than once upon the same question, nor longer than five minutes, unless by leave of the Convention, except that delegates presenting the name of a candidate shall be allowed ten minutes in presenting the name of such candidate."

Mr. LOGAN. Read the other portion of the rule.

The PRESIDENT. The question is on the motion of the gentleman from Maine.

Mr. LOGAN. Before the question is put, there are quite a number of gentlemen here who desire information whether or not, under that rule, more than one person is allowed to second a nomination. That was the inquiry that I made.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair does not understand that there is any provision for seconding a nomination under the rule as adopted.

Mr. LOGAN. Then do I understand that under that rule there is only allowed the presentation of a name, without the seconding of the nomination? I merely desire to get it so we will understand it.

The PRESIDENT. Ten minutes are allowed for the presenting of a name. There is no provision for seconding the nomination.

Mr. GARFIELD, of Ohio. *Mr. President:* In the discussion in the Committee on Rules, all the precedents of former Conventions of the Republican party were examined, and this is the rule that has prevailed. Under the practice, if the time for nomination, the ten minutes, was not exhausted, other speakers might exhaust the ten minutes; but, by the leave of the Convention, frequently an extension of the time was granted, and I presume always will be, for the rule provides for it if such leave is asked; and I have no doubt that in case the question arises the Chair will ask unanimous consent for further time in case it be called for.

Mr. LOGAN. I make no objection to the rule, but merely inquire what it is. The other inquiry is as to the rule restricting nominations from the States.

Mr. GARFIELD. The rule is that when the State is reached from which the candidate comes, any delegate, either from that State or any other, may present his name.

Mr. HALE, of Maine. *Mr. President:* That there may be no confusion, if the gentleman from Ohio will give me his attention for a moment I will

endeavor to state what I think will regulate this matter. As I understand the rule, as it was interpreted four years ago, it applies to the person *who moves the nomination*, and not to the candidate. For instance, when a State is reached from which a nomination is to be made—not in which the candidate lives, but from which the nomination is to be made—it is then made.

Mr. GARFIELD. The gentleman may be correct about that. The rule itself the Chair will doubtless construe.

The PRESIDENT. It seems proper that this matter should be understood by the Convention before the proceedings begin, so that nobody might be embarrassed by a ruling made by the Chair afterwards. If the Convention permit a seconding of the nomination of any candidate, it would be inconvenient if the person who makes the nomination comes from a State found later on the roll than the person seconding the nomination.

Mr. CONGER. Before there be any requests for unanimous consent, I think it would be well to ask unanimous consent for each case. I, therefore, ask unanimous consent that there may be allowed five minutes to one person to second each nomination, and that that time be granted immediately after the nomination is made.

The PRESIDENT. The Convention will listen to the request. The gentleman from Michigan asks unanimous consent that in the case of each nomination there be granted five minutes for a second of that nomination, to be occupied immediately after the person making the nomination is concluded. Is there objection? The Chair hears none. It is so ordered.

A DELEGATE, from Kentucky. I ask, Mr. President, that the person desiring to second the nomination be allowed ten minutes.

Several DELEGATES. "Oh, no."

The PRESIDENT. That is objected to. The question now arises on the motion of the gentleman from Maine [Mr. Frye], that the roll of States be called in alphabetical order, and that nominations be received. The roll of States will now be called in execution of the order of the Convention.

The Secretary proceeded to call the roll of States.

#### NOMINATION OF JAMES G. BLAINE.

On the call of the State of Michigan.

Mr. Joy, of Michigan. *Mr. President, and Gentlemen of the Convention:* I shall never cease to regret that circumstances have been such as to impose the duty upon myself to make the nomination of a candidate to this Convention. I have been absent from the country for the past two months, and had but arrived home just before this Convention. Since the Convention has been in session I have been employed upon the floor all the time. If, therefore, words of mine are important for the candidate who shall be proposed, they will benefit him but little. I will, however, bring him before the Convention in as brief a manner as possible. That it will be very brief will, I presume, satisfy the Convention and the audience, because we are now all impatient for the voting.

It was in 1860, I think, that a then young man, born in the old Keystone State, but resident in the State of Maine, entered the House of Representatives. It was at that time when the sky was lowering, when the horizon

was filled with clouds, indicating a tempest. It was just before the war. The tempest burst upon the country, and the war ensued, which raged for four long years. Fortunately for us, there were at the helm of the ship of State the right men, and it was manned with the right crew. After the whirlwind of war had raged for four years, the elements of strength in one of the contending parties gave way, and peace at length settled down upon the country. Then ensued the contest of reconstruction, which occupied nearly three or four years more. During all that period of time that young man, always true, always brave, always eloquent, applied his talent in all the debates and in all the procedures which were necessary either to carry on the war or to bring about reconstruction upon a proper basis.

During the period of these controversies his reputation had been constantly growing, until at last, when, in 1868, reconstruction had been practically secured his reputation was towering before the country, and his name had become one of its great names, and had spread abroad all over the land. It had become a household word. It was familiar in every corner. It was looked up to from every part of the country. The name was that of the Hon. James G. Blaine, the Senator from Maine. When the stormy period of Andrew Johnson's administration had passed, or was passing away, and Gen. Grant was nominated for President of the United States, all eyes turned to James G. Blaine, who was called upon to canvass the country. He canvassed it from Maine to the Mississippi, and beyond. He made himself familiar with the great North and the great West, and the people in the North and in the West became familiar with him. He had about him that wonderful power of attraction which a half century earlier was possessed in the most eminent degree also by another great man in this country, the great son of the great State of Kentucky—Henry Clay.

On the second nomination of Gen. Grant, in 1872, James G. Blaine was called upon in the same way, and he traversed the country exercising his power, his ability and his eloquence over the same extent of this northern territory. He had become so well known, the people had become so well acquainted with him, he had fastened them to him by attractions so great, that in the Convention which was held at Cincinnati four years ago he had become the leading candidate of the Northern people for the Presidency of the United States. He was the favorite candidate of the State which I represent in this Convention. Its delegates went to that Convention with a view of urging and securing, if it were possible, his nomination. He came within a few votes of success, when for some reason his column broke, and the result was another nomination, which had not been before the country. You all know the disappointment, you all know perhaps, the astonishment which was created in some sections of the country at that result. In the State which I have the honor to represent upon this floor it was considered almost a calamity to the individual members of the Republican party. They felt it almost as a personal blow. But while he might have been disappointed reasonably in the result, when the canvass came, and when the fight was a close one, and when it was doubtful whether the Republicans would succeed in electing their candidate, although he had been repudiated at the Convention, he buckled on his harness, he entered the ranks, he traversed the country, and fought manfully, gloriously and vigorously until the battle was won, though by a small majority.

[Here the hammer fell.]

Mr. CARTER, of Mississippi. I hope unanimous consent will be given to the gentleman to close his remarks.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman cannot proceed without unanimous consent.

Mr. GARFIELD. I am sure no man will object. I ask the Chair to allow the gentleman to proceed.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman will proceed, no objection being made.

Mr. JOY. The result was, gentleman, that he endeared himself ten-fold more to the working Republicans of this Northwest than he had ever done before. And when this Convention was called, the people of the State which I represent, and which had so earnestly advocated him before, determined again to place him before this Convention. I am but executing their wish when I do so.

Now, I will say with regard to the State of Michigan, it is not a doubtful State. It is a State which stands by its banner all the time. It will not matter, so far as the work, the vigor and the energy which that State will put into the contest, whether he be nominated here or not. We stand by the flag there, whoever may be the standard-bearer.

With these remarks, gentlemen, which have been longer than I intended, I have the honor to present to this Convention, as a candidate for the Presidential chair for the ensuing term, to be voted for by the people, the name of the Hon. James G. Blaine, of the State of Maine. [Loud and long-continued applause.]

Mr. McBERN, of Missouri. I want to know, Mr. President, if this Convention is going to be run by a mob; whether it is capable of running itself and maintain order, or whether the galleries are going to drive this Convention from the purpose for which it came here. I want to know if we are capable of running this Convention, or whether this mob shall drive us out. Mr. Chairman, I ask this: that if the galleries will not be so kind as to allow us to proceed with our business, with a certain amount of cheering, a proper amount of recognition, then we, as members of this Convention, shall have to ask that the galleries be cleared entirely, that the business of the Convention may be transacted in a business-like and gentlemanly manner.

Mr. PIXLEY, of California. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from California is entitled to five minutes.

Mr. PIXLEY. *Mr. President and Gentlemen, Delegates of the Republican National Convention:* I have been assigned to a most pleasurable duty. It has been accorded to me by the desire of my associates and by the consent of the friends of Mr. Blaine, that I should have the honor to second his nomination in this Convention for the office of President of the United States. All the delegates of the Territories of Washington, Idaho and Arizona, the States of Oregon, Nevada and California, composing, together, the magnificent Empire of the Pacific—than which a grander and prouder empire elsewhere does not exist under the sun—unite with me in the pleasure of this opportunity to second the nomination of Mr. Blaine, and will supplement the compliment by casting for him the united vote of all the States and all the Territories composing this Pacific Empire.

Our delegation, though limited in numbers, represents an empire broad in territorial area, extending with Alaska, from the eternal ice of the Arctic seas to the semi-tropical belt where the apple and the pineapple grow side by side, extending from the wave-washed golden sands of the Western sea to the rock-ribbed mountains that separate, but do not divide, us from you, our Eastern friends; embracing a present wealth of gold and grain, and wine and wool, and an incalculable future wealth that shall yet astonish the world. It is a broad and splendid domain. Its western shore looks eastward to eastern lands. Its golden gates stand wide ajar, to admit the rich commerce

of the Orient and to welcome the intercourse necessary to its enjoyment. It is the future home of your children. It is the inheritance of your sons. It is the rich dower of your daughters. And we think, and all of our Republicans think, that the nomination of James G. Blaine will result in his becoming the President of the United States. And because we think, and because the whole of the Republican party think, that as President he will help to guard this rich empire, and to preserve it as the home and inheritance and dower of all the children of this Christian commonwealth, we have been sent here by the Territories of Washington, Idaho and Arizona, and the States of Nevada and California, a united delegation, to cast an unbroken vote for the distinguished statesman and Senator from Maine.

In him we recognize distinguished ability, that unflinching nerve which is at all times demanded in the performance of public duties; the possession of an unstained name, which even partisan malice has been unable to blacken; the possession of a brain and a heart that embrace in their magnetic sympathy all his countrymen who love their country, honor its institutions and obey its laws. He is gifted, eloquent and brave; he is patriotic, honest and true; he has been tried in long public service, and may be trusted. He will carry into his great office no personal or party resentments; he will bring to the discharge of his official duties no local or sectional prejudices; he is broad-minded, comprehensive, and generous in the exercise of undaunted moral courage. He will dare to defy the baser political elements, and delight to surround himself with the best and ablest men of the Nation. He will call into the counsels of his Administration the tried and honored and honest men of his party. He will exert, to the fullest extent, the powers and prerogatives of the Presidential office, and secure to the humblest citizen the protection of the law. He will, in the performance of his executive duty, shirk no responsibility, nor seek to avoid any duty required of him by the Constitution and the law. His nomination will violate none of the time-honored traditions of the party—traditions that in their long-continued existence and force have become binding as the unwritten law of the land—traditions that ought to be more inviolable than formulated codes, and as sacred as the unwritten Constitution of our fathers. His nomination is demanded by the majority of the delegates from the solid Republican North, and it ought to be conceded by a solid South, that has everything to receive and nothing to give; that in the coming contest has everything to gain, and nothing, except honor, that is has not already lost. Give us this gentleman for a candidate, and we of the ultimate West pledge to you the gallant service of the gallant band of Republican soldiers that has now for these twenty years held and guarded the frontier outpost of the Republican army. We have never been surprised nor found off duty; we have never flinched a fight nor lost a Presidential battle; we have never allowed a Democratic vote to be deposited in the Electoral urn since we have been welcomed to the sisterhood of States. Give us this gentleman for a candidate, and we will go back to our homes with banners flying, with glad, proud hearts; our people will welcome and applaud us; our Western sea shall sound its roaring anthems across the continent to your Eastern ocean; our pine-clad Sierras shall nod their tassels in graceful courtesy to the bending plumes of Maine; and we, Mr. President and gentlemen, will give twelve Electoral votes to make James G. Blaine the next President of the United States.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Maine asks unanimous consent that he may have two minutes. Is there objection to giving him two minutes, The Chair hears none.

Mr. FRYE, of Maine. I saw, once, a storm at sea, in the night time. A stanch old ship fighting its fury! Darkness everywhere! The wind shrieking and howling through her rigging; the huge waves dashing against her sides; the lightning flashing, the thunder rolling—danger threatening all

around. I saw at the helm her pilot, in all the tempest, calm; in all the turmoil, quiet; in all the danger, courageous; in all the threatenings, peaceful; in all the uncertainty, hopeful. Firm, steadfast, commanding, I saw him bring the tempest-tost ship into harbor, into peaceful waters, into safety! That pilot was a hero.

The good old ship, "The State of Maine," has just encountered such a tempest. Freighted with the precious principles of this Republic, with the rights of American citizenship, with the privileges guaranteed by the Constitution, she was battling with the waves. The eyes of the whole Nation were upon her. They beheld, with intense anxiety, the terrible perils to which she was exposed. A true man was at her helm. Sagacious himself, he made even the foolish, wise, courageous; he inspired the timid. Strong, he strengthened the weak. Calm, he restrained the impetuous, and brought the imperilled ship, with her precious cargo, into the port of Safety, and there she floats to-day—stronger, better and safer from her baptism of danger. That man, too, was a hero, and his name is James G. Blaine! [Tremendous cheering.]

Maine sends greeting to this magnificent Convention, with the memory of her salvation from terrible perils fresh and vivid. She says to you, representatives of fifty millions of American people, who have met here to counsel together how this grand Republic shall be saved, "Take that man—wise, stout and brave—who is now fresh from her salvation, for your leader, and he will surely bring you to safety and glorious victory. [Loud and long-continued applause.]

#### NOMINATION OF WILLIAM WINDOM.

On the call of the State of Minnesota.

Mr. DRAKE, of Minnesota. The Republicans of the State of Minnesota place before this Convention as a candidate for the office of President of the United States the Hon. William Windom, of Minnesota. We believe that the candidate that we present will better unite all the discordant elements of the party than any of the distinguished names that will be before this Convention. Mr. Windom is a statesman of ripe experience. He has served twenty years in the Congress of the United States, and during all that time with acceptance to his constituents. Four times was he nominated as a Representative by acclamation, and twice elected to the Senate of the United States without opposition in his own party. During the dark days of the Rebellion he supported the country unfalteringly. His Republicanism is of a high order. He has ever, in all his public life, maintained a character unsullied for honesty. His private life is blameless. In his course he has ever sustained the cause of the oppressed and supported the Government loyally. Such is the candidate we present to you, and ask for your support. One word more, and I have done. Whomever this Convention may select to be the standard-bearer of the party, whether it is William Windom or either of the distinguished gentlemen whose names will come before you, I am authorized to pledge in advance, by the Republicans of Minnesota, to your nominee an unfaltering and unyielding support, and to give you the vote of Minnesota in November.

#### NOMINATION OF ULYSSES S. GRANT.

On the call of the State of New York.

Mr. CONKLING, of New York.

"And when asked what State he hails from,  
Our sole reply shall be,  
He hails from Appomattox,  
And its famous apple tree."



In obedience to instructions which I should never dare to disregard, expressing also my own firm convictions, I rise, Mr. President, in behalf of the State of New York, to propose a nomination with which the country and the Republican party can grandly win. The election before us is the Austlerlitz of American politics. It will decide, for many years, whether the country shall be Republican or Cossack. The supreme need of the hour is not a candidate who can carry Michigan. All Republican candidates can do that. The need is not of a candidate popular in the Territories, because the Territories have no vote. The need is of a candidate who can carry doubtful States. Not the doubtful States of the North alone, but also doubtful States of the South, which we have heard, if I understood aright, ought to take little or no part here, because the South has nothing to give, but everything to receive. The need which urges itself on the conscience and reason of the Convention is of a candidate who can carry doubtful States both North and South. And believing that he, more surely than any other man, can carry New York against any opponent, and can carry not only the North, but several States of the South, New York is for Ulysses S. Grant.

Never defeated—in peace or in war—his name is the most illustrious borne by living man.

His services attest his greatness, and the country—nay, the world—knows them by heart. His fame was earned not alone by things written and said, but by the arduous greatness of things done; and perils and emergencies will search in vain in the future, as they have searched in vain in the past, for any other on whom the Nation leans with such confidence and trust. Never having had a policy to enforce against the will of the people, he never betrayed a cause or a friend, and the people will never desert or betray him. Standing on the highest eminence of human distinction, modest, firm, simple, and self-poised, having filled all lands with his renown, he has seen not only the high-born and the titled, but the poor and the lowly, in the uttermost ends of the earth, rise and uncover before him. He has studied the needs and the defects of many systems of government; and he has returned a better American than ever, with a wealth of knowledge and experience added to the hard common sense which shone so conspicuously in all the fierce light that beat upon him during sixteen years, the most trying, the most portentous, the most perilous in the Nation's history.

Vilified and reviled, ruthlessly aspersed by unnumbered presses, not in other lands, but in his own, assaults upon him have seasoned and strengthened his hold on the public heart. Calumny's ammunition has all been exploded; the powder has all been burned once—its force is spent—and the name of Grant will glitter a bright and imperishable star in the diadem of the Republic when those who have tried to tarnish it have moldered in forgotten graves; and when their memories and their epitaphs have vanished utterly.

Never elated by success, never depressed by adversity, he has ever, in peace as in war, shown the very genius of common sense. The terms he presented for Lee's surrender foreshadowed the wisest prophecies and principles of true reconstruction. Victor in the greatest war of modern times, he quickly signalized his aversion to war and his love of peace by an arbitration of international disputes which stands the wisest, the most majestic example of its kind in the world's diplomacy.

When inflation, at the height of its popularity and frenzy, had swept both Houses of Congress, it was the veto of Grant, single and alone, which overthrew expansion and cleared the way for specie resumption. To him, immeasurably more than to any other man, is due the fact that every paper dollar is at last as good as gold.

With him as our leader, we shall have no defensive campaign. We shall have nothing to explain away. We shall have no apologies to make. The

shafts and arrows have all been aimed at him, and they lie, broken and harmless, at his feet.

Life, liberty and property will find a safeguard in him. When he said of the colored men in Florida, "Wherever I am, they may come also," he meant that, had he the power, the poor dwellers in the cabins of the South should no longer be driven in terror from the homes of their childhood and the graves of their murdered dead. When he refused to receive Denis Kearney in California, he meant that communism, lawlessness and disorder, although it might stalk high-headed and dictate law to a whole city, would always find a foe in him. He meant that, popular or unpopular, he would hew to the line of right, let the chips fly where they may.

His integrity, his common sense, his courage, his unequalled experience, are the qualities offered to his country. The only argument—the *only* one—that the wit of man or the stress of politics has devised is one which would dumbfounder Solomon, because Solomon thought there was nothing new under the sun. Having tried Grant twice and found him faithful, we are told that we must not, even after an interval of years, trust him again. My countrymen!—my countrymen!—what stultification does not such a fallacy involve. The American people exclude Jefferson Davis from public trust. Why? Because he was the arch-traitor and would-be destroyer. And now the same people is asked to ostracize Grant, and not to trust *him*! Why? Why? I repeat. Because he was the arch-preserver of his country, and because, not only in war, but twice as Civil Magistrate, he gave his highest, noblest efforts to the Republic. Is this an electioneering juggle or is it hypocrisy's masquerade? There is no field of human activity, responsibility or reason in which rational beings object to an agent because he has been weighed in the balance and not found wanting. There is, I say, no department of human reason in which sane men reject an agent because he has had experience, making him exceptionally competent and fit. From the man who shoes your horse to the lawyer who tries your cause, the officer who manages your railway or your mill, the doctor into whose hands you give your life, or the minister who seeks to save your soul—what man do you reject because by his works you have known him, and found him faithful and fit?

What makes the Presidential office an exception to all things else in the common-sense to be applied to selecting its incumbent? Who dares to put fetters on that free choice and judgment which is the birthright of the American people? Can it be said that Grant has used official power and place to perpetuate his term? He has no place, and official power has not been used for *him*. Without patronage, without emissaries, without committees, without bureaux, without telegraph wires running from his house or from the seats of influence to this Convention, without appliances, without electioneering contrivances, without effort on his part, Grant's name is on his country's lips. He is struck at by the whole Democratic party, because his nomination is the death-blow of Democratic success. He is struck at by others, who find an offense and disqualification in the very services he has rendered and the very experience he has gained. Show me a better man. Name one, and I am answered. But do not point as a disqualification to the very experience which makes this man fit beyond all others.

There is no "third term" in the case, and the pretense will die with the political dog-days that gendered it. One week after the Democratic convention we shall have heard the last of this rubbish about a "third term." Nobody now is really disquieted about a third term except those hopelessly longing for a first term, and their dupes and coadjutors. Without effort or intrigue on his part, he is the candidate whose friends have never threatened to bolt unless this Convention did as they said. He is a Republican who never wavers. He and his friends stand by the creed and the candidates of the Republican party. They hold the rightful rule of the majority as the very essence of their faith, and they mean to uphold that faith against not

only the common enemy, but against the charlatans, jayhawkers, tramps and guerrillas who deploy between the lines and forage, now on one side and then on the other. This Convention is master of a supreme opportunity. It can name the next President of the United States. It can make sure of his election. It can make sure not only of his election, but of his certain and peaceful inauguration.

It can assure a Republican majority in the Senate and the House of Representatives. More than all, it can break that power which dominates and mildews the South. It can overthrow an organization whose very existence is a standing protest against progress.

The purpose of the Democratic party is spoils. Its very hope and existence is a solid South. Its success is a menace to order and prosperity. This Convention can overthrow and disintegrate these hurtful forces. It can dissolve and emancipate a distracted "solid South." It can speed the Nation in a career of grandeur eclipsing all past achievements.

Gentlemen, we have only to listen above the din and look beyond the dust of an hour, to behold the Republican party advancing, with its ensigns resplendent with illustrious achievement, marching to certain and lasting victory, with its greatest Marshal at its head.

Mr. BRADLEY, of Kentucky. *Mr. President—*

Mr. MITCHELL, of Nebraska. *Mr. President:* I desire to give notice that when the five minutes are up I shall insist upon the rule.

Mr. BRADLEY. *Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention:* I have never before witnessed such a scene of enthusiasm as this, and never expect to again until after the election of Gen. Grant in November. We, too, heard the portentous storm of which the gentleman from Maine spoke. We beheld the bright lightning and heard the rolling thunder in its stately march. We saw the old ship of State—strained in every timber—tossed upon the foaming waves of an angry sea. Again we beheld her as she safely entered port, but the pilot who sat at her wheel was the grand old hero, magnificent in the majesty of his silence. I desire to second the nomination of that man who, through the goodness of God, during the darkest hours of our nationality, became the leader of the noblest army whose banners ever darkened the sky. Swept on by the waters of the lordly Mississippi from victory to victory, he at length wound his grand army like a serpent around the embattled hosts of treason and crushed them within its ample folds. He gave voice and strength to the proclamation which struck the shackles from four millions of fellow-creatures. The merciless slave-driver tremblingly read it by the flash of victorious cannon. He pinned it on the breast of murderous treason with a million loyal bayonets. And when the Confederate chieftain surrendered his sword, he accepted it with one hand while with the other he gave substantial aid to his brave and fallen foe. There never was a success, however complete, that witnessed his persecution of a powerless enemy; there never was a misfortune, however dire, that visited his country or his friend, that witnessed his betrayal of either. Called by a grateful people twice to the office of President, to perfect that which was baptized with the fires of battle and sealed with the covenant of blood, he at all times proved honest, efficient, capable and brave. By his wise statesmanship our relations with other countries were extended and strengthened; protection was offered the humblest man beneath the flag, and arbitration palsied the hand of war. And when the hour of financial distress came upon us, and some of our most trusted leaders were lost in its tangled meshes, in a laconic message of half a dozen lines he dispersed the angry horde that was clamoring at the door of the Treasury, and made specie resumption a possibility.

Descending from this high estate, he girded the earth with renown as he traveled in the pathway of the sun. Wherever he journeyed kings lifted their crowns in recognition of his merit and nations hastened to do him

honor. But amid all this pageant, this hero-worship, this grandest experience the world has ever known, he ever remained the plain and unassuming American citizen. We heard his voice as it came over the white caps of the sea: "It is not on my account these honors are done me, but by reason of the great country I represent." In this momentous hour, when we reflect upon our recent history; when we remember that only a few months since the dominant party in Congress undertook to starve the Nation to death and to throttle the Executive; when we recollect that only a short while after that Democracy attempted to defeat the will of Maine at the ballot-box; when we recall the recent threats of those exalted in power to inaugurate their President, whether elected or not, we turn instinctively to Grant.

We demand a man whose name will carry terror to the hearts of our country's foes. We demand a man at the sound of whose bugle-call a million soldiers will spring into being to inaugurate him if legally elected. We demand a man who, rising to the necessities of the hour, may say, "Let us have peace," and whose voice will be heard and heeded all over our beautiful land. We demand a man whose name is the synonym of power—not kingly power, but the power which represents a preserved nationality on the one hand and a defeated treason on the other. I come not here to sound the praises of a trained politician; of a trumpeter who, inciting others to battle, slyly creeps away, hiding himself during the conflict, and when it is over crawls forth to claim the victory which others have honorably won. He sits enthroned in the hearts of fifty millions of people, wearing no imperial crown, but a wreath of modest laurel, in which glitter such names as Donelson, Vicksburg, Shiloh and Appomattox.

The slanders of lying tongues, the malice of envious hearts, have not been able to tear a single leaf from that crown. They may for a moment have darkened the lustre of his name, but, vanishing before the light of truth as clouds before the sun, have left it only brighter by the contrast. His fame is as broad as the universe, as deep as the ocean which with pride so recently bore him on her bosom, and will live as long as the heavens bend above us or the stars are reflected in the sea.

Kentucky, holding within her bosom the ashes of the "Great Commoner," and in her heart the memory of her best and greatest native son, the adopted child of Illinois and our martyred President, instructs me, in the name of these and her hundred thousand brave soldiers who marched under his command, to second the nomination of U. S. Grant. [Long-continued applause.]

#### NOMINATION OF JOHN SHERMAN.

On the call of the State of Ohio.

Mr. GARFIELD, of Ohio. *Mr. President:* I have witnessed the extraordinary scenes of this Convention with deep solicitude. Nothing touches my heart more quickly than a tribute of honor to a great and noble character; but as I sat in my seat and witnessed this demonstration, this assemblage seemed to me a human ocean in tempest. I have seen the sea lashed into fury and tossed into spray, and its grandeur moves the soul of the dullest man; but I remember that it is not the billows, but the calm level of the sea from which all heights and depths are measured.

When the storm has passed and the hour of calm settles on the ocean, when the sunlight bathes its peaceful surface, then the astronomer and surveyor take the level from which they measure all terrestrial heights and depths.

Gentlemen of the Convention, your present temper may not mark the healthful pulse of our people. When your enthusiasm has passed, when the emotions of this hour have subsided, we shall find below the storm and passion that calm level of public opinion from which the thoughts of a mighty

people are to be measured, and by which their final action will be determined.

Not here, in this brilliant circle where 15,000 men and women are gathered, is the destiny of the Republic to be decreed for the next four years. Nor here, where I see the enthusiastic faces of 756 delegates, waiting to cast their lots into the urn and determine the choice of the Republic; but by four millions of Republican firesides, where the thoughtful voters, with wives and children about them, with the calm thoughts inspired by love of home and country, with the history of the past, the hopes of the future, and reverence for the great men who have adorned and blessed our nation in days gone by, burning in their hearts—*there* God prepares the verdict which will determine the wisdom of our work to-night. Not in Chicago, in the heat of June, but at the ballot-boxes of the Republic, in the quiet of November, after the silence of deliberate judgment, will this question be settled. And now, gentlemen of the Convention, what do we want?

A VOICE. "We want Garfield."

MR. GARFIELD. Bear with me a moment. "Hear me for my cause," and for a moment "be silent that you may hear."

Twenty-five years ago, this Republic was bearing and wearing a triple chain of bondage. Long familiarity with traffic in the bodies and souls of men had paralyzed the consciences of a majority of our people; the narrowing and disintegrating doctrine of State-sovereignty had shackled and weakened the noblest and most beneficent powers of the National Government; and the grasping power of slavery was seizing upon the virgin Territories of the West, and dragging them into the den of eternal bondage.

At that crisis the Republican party was born. It drew its first inspiration from that fire of liberty which God has lighted in every human heart, and which all the powers of ignorance and tyranny can never wholly extinguish. The Republican party came to deliver and to save. It entered the arena where the beleaguered and assailed Territories were struggling for freedom, and drew around them the sacred circle of liberty, which the demon of Slavery has never dared to cross. It made them free forever. Strengthened by its victory on the frontier, the young party, under the leadership of that great man who, on this spot, twenty years ago, was made its chief, entered the national capitol and assumed the high duties of government. The light which shone from its banner illumined its pathway to power. Every slave-pen and the shackles of every slave within the shadow of the capitol were consumed in the re-kindled fire of freedom.

Our great national industries by cruel and calculating neglect had been prostrated, and the streams of revenue flowed in such feeble currents that the treasury itself was well-nigh empty. The money of the people consisted mainly of the wretched notes of two thousand uncontrolled and irresponsible State banking corporations, which were filling the country with a circulation that poisoned rather than sustained the life of business.

The Republican party changed all this. It abolished the Babel of confusion and gave to the country a currency as national as its flag, based upon the sacred faith of the People.

It threw its protecting arm around our great industries, and they stood erect with new life. It filled with the spirit of true nationality all the great functions of the government. It confronted a Rebellion of unexampled magnitude, with slavery behind it, and, under God, fought the final battle of Liberty until the victory was won.

Then, after the storms of battle, were heard the calm words of peace spoken by the conquering nation, saying to the foe that lay prostrate at its feet: "This is our only revenge—that you join us in lifting into the serene firmament of the Constitution, to shine like stars for ever and ever, the immortal principles of truth and justice: that all men, white and black, shall be free, and shall stand equal before the law."

Then came the questions of reconstruction, the national debt, and the keeping of the public faith.

In the settlement of these questions, the Republican party has completed its twenty-five years of glorious existence, and it has sent us here to prepare it for another lustrum of duty and of victory. How shall we accomplish this great work? We cannot do it, my friends, by assailing our Republican brethren. God forbid that I should say one word, or cast one shadow upon any name on the roll of our heroes. The coming fight is our Thermopylae. We are standing upon a narrow isthmus. If our Spartan hosts are united, we can withstand all the Persians that the Xerxes of Democracy can bring against us. Let us hold our ground this one year, and then "the stars in their courses" will fight for us. The census will bring reinforcements and continued power. But in order to win victory now, we want the vote of every Republican—of every Grant Republican, and every anti-Grant Republican, in America—of every Blaine man and every anti-Blaine man. The vote of every follower of every candidate is needed to make success certain. Therefore I say, gentlemen and brethren, we are here to take calm counsel together and inquire what we shall do.

We want a man whose life and opinions embody all the achievements of which I have spoken. We want a man who, standing on a mountain height, traces the victorious footsteps of our party in the past, and carrying in his heart the memory of its glorious deeds, looks forward prepared to meet the dangers to come. We want one who will act in no spirit of unkindness towards those we lately met in battle. The Republican party offers to our brethren of the South the olive branch of Peace, and invites them to renewed brotherhood, on this supreme condition: That it shall be admitted, forever, that in the War for the Union we were right and they were wrong. On that supreme condition we meet them as brethren, and ask them to share with us the blessings and honors of this great Republic.

Now, gentlemen, not to weary you, I am about to present a name for your consideration—the name of one who was the comrade, associate and friend of nearly all the noble dead, whose faces look down upon us from these walls to-night [referring to portraits of Lincoln, Sumner, Wade, Chandler and other eminent Americans hanging in the hall]; a man who began his career of public service twenty-five years ago; who courageously confronted the slave power in the days of peril on the plains of Kansas, when first began to fall the red drops of that bloody shower which finally swelled into the deluge of gore in the late Rebellion. He bravely stood by young Kansas, and returning to his seat in the National Legislature, his pathway, through all the subsequent years, has been marked by labors worthily performed in every department of legislation.

You ask for his monument. I point you to twenty-five years of National Statutes. Not one great, beneficent law has been placed on our statute books without his intelligent and powerful aid. He aided in formulating the laws to raise the great Armies and Navies which carried us through the war. His hand was seen in the workmanship of those statutes that restored and brought back "the unity and married calm of States." His hand was in all that great legislation that created the war currency, and in the still greater work that redeemed the promises of the Government and made that currency equal to gold. When at last he passed from the halls of legislation into a high executive office, he displayed that experience, intelligence, firmness, and poise of character, which has carried us through a stormy period of three years, with one-half the public press crying "crucify him," and a hostile Congress seeking to prevent success. In all this he remained unmoved until victory crowned him. The great fiscal affairs of the nation, and the vast business interests of the country he guarded and preserved while executing the law of resumption, and effected its object without a jar, and against the false prophecies of one-half of the press and of all the Democratic party.

He has shown himself able to meet with calmness the great emergencies of the Government. For twenty-five years he has trodden the perilous heights of public duty, and against all the shafts of malice has borne his breast unharmed. He has stood in the blaze of "that fierce light that beats against the throne;" but its fiercest ray has found no flaw in his armor, no stain upon his shield. I do not present him as a better Republican or a better man than thousands of others that we honor; but I present him for your deliberate and favorable consideration. I nominate John Sherman of Ohio. [Long-continued applause.]

Mr. WINCKLER, of Wisconsin. *Mr. President:* As a representative from the commercial metropolis of Wisconsin, I desire to express our appreciation of enlightened statesmanship by seconding the nomination of John Sherman.

Yielding to no man in the tribute I would pay to those who hastened to the defense of the Nation in the hour of rebellious attack, and who have since then stood by the principles of human freedom, I nevertheless confess to an especial regard for those who have stood by the cradle of the Republican party, and who, in the dark days, when it required all the moral courage that a human soul could sustain to maintain a great principle, came forward and laid down the first platform for the enfranchisement of the enslaved race. And, Mr. President, when I look back on the course of years, I am proud to see there in that early day, in a most conspicuous place, the candidate whom I now support. We see him encountering peril on the plains of Kansas, and contributing his share of all that one man could contribute to the great achievement of that day, to making Kansas free. I am proud to see him at that early day, and within a few years after, singled out as the worthy leader of the Republican party in that earnest conflict in the House of Representatives in 1859, when the Republican party for nearly two months, day after day, cast their votes for John Sherman for Speaker, in which conflict he only failed of success because he was too radical a Republican to conciliate Democratic votes. From that time forth he has been greatly honored; he has been greatly trusted; and it is not too much to say that in every public trust he has administered he has exceeded the expectations of his friends. And thus advancing through a term of years, always a leader, always intrusted with important interests, we see him to-day standing before us as the acknowledged and foremost finance minister of the world.

I do not claim for his hand the touch of magic, least of all would I claim for him the doubtful talent of pyrotechnics; but I do claim that he, in the administration of public affairs, would give us the most precious gift that we could ask—absolute safety to all the great and varied interests of the land. His administration would afford the most absolute safety to all our industries, and it would afford the same absolute safety to the humblest citizen appealing for his rights. It is such a man in the era of peace, and for the purposes of peace, a statesman in the very best sense of the word, that we would put at the helm of State.

The PRESIDENT. Mr. Elliott, of South Carolina, asks unanimous consent of the Convention to further second the nomination which has been proposed. Is there any objection? The Chair hears none.

Mr. ELLIOTT, of South Carolina. *Mr. President:* From the land of the bulldozer and the tissue-ballot we have come, with ready feet, to stand once again with you around the altar of our party dedicated to universal liberty, there to renew our obligations of loyalty to our country and of fealty to our party. We have come, gentlemen, appealing to you who represent constituencies from more favored sections of our country to put in nomination for the support of the country only such candidates as will be most certain to meet the country's approval. This, gentlemen, is the purport of our mission.

While we have thus come, you will pardon me, on behalf of a portion of the delegation from the South, and at their request, to respond to the nomination of the distinguished statesman whose name has been presented by the gentleman from Ohio. And in so doing I would not seek to take one single jewel from the rich diadem of heart-felt gratitude with which his countrymen have gemmed the proud coronet of that distinguished soldier whose name has been presented by the gentleman from New York. Nor would I willingly pluck one single flower from that bright garland of hearty appreciation with which an admiring and grateful people have encircled the brow of the gallant leader, James G. Blaine. By the greatness of the services he has rendered to his country, by the magnitude of the achievements he has wrought for his party, he has won the proud title of a leader among leaders. Whatever may be our individual preferences in the selection of a Presidential nominee, we can do no otherwise than render our fullest meed of praise to James G. Blaine, of Maine. Nor, gentlemen, would I willingly utter one single word that could be justly regarded as an intention on my part to take away one jot or tittle from the just fame of any other candidate. While bestowing upon the other gentlemen whose names are in nomination full tribute, I nevertheless must heartily respond to the nomination of the distinguished patriot and statesman, John Sherman, of Ohio.

I respond to his nomination because, by his long and consistent advocacy of the Right, by his far-seeing and enlightened views upon all public questions, by his sublime moral enthusiasm, he has lifted himself up beyond the plane of ordinary politics into the higher and grander region of American statesmanship. I respond to the nomination of John Sherman because he is a man of well-defined and approved methods. In his aims he is always direct, and in the selection and acquirement of means for their accomplishment he has always been likewise direct. I support the nomination of John Sherman, because, a friend of humanity, he has been for a quarter of a century the unyielding and consistent champion of human rights everywhere. When were the rights of man ever called in question—when did the claims of humanity need a champion—that the voice of John Sherman was not heard in their defense?

Believing that his country, under Divine Providence, it fitted for the highest possible destiny, when has he ever failed to uphold its just cause or to defend its honor? Believing that the true grandeur of the Nation must rest not alone upon its vast resources or upon its physical power, but as well upon its fine sense of natural justice, when has he ever failed to insist upon the fullest and strictest enforcement of the golden rule, in all its dealings, whether with nations or with individuals?

Gentlemen of the Convention, I respond to the nomination of John Sherman because his whole life has been a continual battle against all forms of oppression, of caste prejudice, and of human injustice. I support the nomination of John Sherman, of Ohio, because I believe that, if he should be the nominee of this Convention, the rights of every citizen of the United States, without regard to their race or their nationality, without regard to their station or condition in life, will receive the fullest protection at his hands.

Gentlemen of the Convention, I respond to the nomination of John Sherman, of Ohio, because I cannot forget how, with that heroism greater than Roman devotion itself, for nine long weeks in the Thirty-sixth Congress he stood as the shining mark for the concentrated hate of the Pro-Slavery party of the country, on account of his devotion to the principle and his patriotism to his country. I support the nomination of John Sherman because, in the Thirty-fourth Congress, in the election of a Speaker, he stood pledging himself to a continual warfare against slavery until it should be extinguished from the land. Who can forget his utterance when he said, "I will unite with men of all parties and of all shades of opinion who will



steadily aid in preserving our Western Territories to free labor; and I say that I never will support any man for Speaker of this House unless he convinces me, by his conduct and by his views, that he never will, if he has the power to prevent it, permit the institution of slavery to derive any advantage from repealing the compromise of 1820."

These, Mr. President, were words, indeed, of glad tidings to the slave and of rich promise to the friends of freedom. Throughout the whole memorable period of reconstruction, on all the measures for the enforcement of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, and for the suppression of kluksism in the South, the voice of John Sherman was heard vigorously insisting upon the vindication of the rights of the citizens and the strict observance of the laws of the country. I support the nomination of John Sherman, because, in addition to the reasons that I have already assigned, he has, by his genius and by his energy, by his prudent management, directed by wise forethought, advanced the interests of the country, restored the currency to a sound basis, and established, beyond all danger of adversity, the success of our industries. Gentlemen of the Convention, it is not my purpose to trespass upon the time of this Convention. I have endeavored, briefly, to bring the thoughts that I desire to express within the limits of the time fixed by the Convention for seconding or supporting nominations.

I am aware that gentlemen in this Convention have their preferences; I have mine. And we desire to present our candidates to this Convention, asking for its support, believing that if John Sherman is the nominee of the Republican party he will be able to bring success to the banners of the Republican party. We believe that if John Sherman is the nominee of this Convention he will be able to carry States which are said to be doubtful. It has been said that he could not carry any of the States of the South. Neither can any other candidate, in my judgment, that can be named by his Convention, secure a single electoral vote in the South. With a solid Democratic South, controlling 138 votes in the Electoral College, with the voice of loyalty hushed throughout the entire South-land, with universal suffrage practically abolished, with free speech strangled, a race of helpless people, subject to the domination and control of treason itself, I confess to you that we must rely entirely upon you who come from the Republican States of the North and West to carry our party to victory. And whatever others may say, I desire to express this one thought, that if the Republican party goes into the canvass relying upon any State in the South as an element of calculation for success, it cannot triumph. Gentlemen, we shall certainly do all that we can to help you in the canvass. We will put the votes in the ballot-box; but we desire to say to you that we are powerless at the present moment to have them counted in favor of our nominee.

Mr. President and gentlemen of the Convention, I have said about all that I desire to say in the time which was allotted to me. I have endeavored to present the reasons why I advance the claims of John Sherman, of Ohio. I have endeavored to state to the Convention, as briefly as I could, my observation concerning the condition of political affairs in the section or country from which I come. I do not come here to paint with roseate hues the condition of affairs in the Southern States. I do not come here in the spirit of dictation, to force upon this Convention any candidate against the deliberate judgment of those who have the electoral vote to give. I come here rather in the form a petitioner, asking that, whatever may be done in this Convention, it will not nominate any candidate upon the belief, which, in my opinion, is erroneous, that he can be elected by the aid of electoral votes obtained from the Southern States. Having said this much, gentlemen, and thanking you for the courtesy which you have extended me, I now give way.

## NOMINATION OF GEORGE F. EDMUNDS.

On the call of the State of Vermont.

Mr. BILLINGS, of Vermont. *Mr. President:* The State earliest born into the Union after the old Thirteen, whose people have always been loyal to liberty, enthusiastically urges the name of her most distinguished son as the fittest name to be inscribed on the Presidential banner. Her delegates bring that message here with joy and pride alike supreme because they know no State has a better right to name a Republican candidate, and that no State can name a better man. For the first time in her history, Vermont, although always in the advance guard of the Republican hosts, thus comes to the front in a National convention. She thus comes, not seeking reward for loyalty which has never faltered in the years gone by, not asking a price for loyalty never to falter in the years to come. Her Republicanism is not born of selfishness. It is bred in her bone, and it runs in her blood. Nor does she thus come because the man she names for the Presidency sprung from her loins. He is no longer hers. He is the possession and the pride of the Nation. Still more: Vermont would call on her everlasting mountains to fall on and hide her before she would thrust any local pride or selfish ambition into the counsels of this critical epoch.

Vermont rises to the height of the occasion. She looks backward through the years. She looks forward through the years. She sees the infinite peril, the ignominy—aye, the crime, of turning over the administration of this Government to a revolutionary Democracy. She longs for victory—the victory of patriotism at the polls, and the victory of statesmanship after the polls. She implores the Convention to let no unnecessary issues, no discords born of hot rivalries, no personal ambition, no dissensions, no anything, put this victory in peril. She prays you to make this victory secure by going straight to the conscience and intelligence of the people, not only by a platform ringing with honor and honesty, from money clear up through everything to human rights, but by putting thereon a candidate far better than the platform, because known everywhere through the length and the breadth of the land as its very incarnation, long tried and never found wanting. A candidate weak nowhere, strong everywhere, who will consolidate the party, bring every independent into line, and win recruits from the enemy. That is victory here and now, victory for years to come. Any other course forebodes disaster and courts defeat now and for years to come. Such a candidate, healing all dissensions, of wondrous ability, of aggressive integrity, of the largest experience in public affairs, of the highest statesmanship, is that brave, clean, vigilant man, upon whom rests no shadow of reproach, to whom in every crisis in the councils of the Nation we turn with joy and confidence—the central figure and leader of the Senate, the foremost type and defender of all that is best in the Republican faith, the ideal candidate, seeking not the office, worthy of the best days of the Republic, having the promise of potency of victory, is George F. Edmunds; and him Vermont nominates for the Presidency.

Welcome, gentlemen of the Convention, this breeze from the Green Mountains. How quickly it will swell into a gale, and how surely sweep the land.

Mr. SANFORD, of Massachusetts. *Mr. President:* In behalf of the Republicans of Massachusetts, and by the express sanction of her delegation, to which I have the honor to belong, I desire to second the nomination which has just been made by the gentleman from Vermont. I shall not repeat the tribute which he has so justly and eloquently paid to the gallant Republican State for which he has spoken, and to the ability, the statesmanship, the character and the services of her distinguished son. The record of the State, and of the statesman, alike conspicuous and untarnished, needs no encomium here.

By all Republicans, at least, it is already known, and no word can be spoken here to add to its lustre or diminish its fame. The Republicans of Massachusetts, trained like their brethren of Vermont by long and unflinching devotion to the principles and fortunes of the Republican party, have learned to regard the success of that party as far more important than the success of any candidate within the party. They have also learned to believe that, if there is wisdom in the maxim that the most available nominations are the best, there is also truth in the converse of that maxim, that the best nominations are the most available. Deeply sensible of the importance of the impending election to the prosperity, the honor and safety of the Nation, the Republicans of Massachusetts, unembarrassed by any candidate of their own, have selected from the list of eminent names presented to their choice a leader who should bear the standard of the party triumphantly through the contest that lies before us; with that enthusiasm wholly spontaneous, and a large degree of unanimity, they have given their preferences unsolicited, but earnestly, to the Senator whose name, and the fame of whose manhood is identified with that Green Mountain State among whose majestic hills he was born and reared. I shall enter, sir, upon no comparisons. I shall not disparage the claims or merits of any candidate to whom any State or delegate in this Convention has given preference. It is enough to say, and I desire to say it with all courtesy, that we of the State of Massachusetts have found no other man who has seemed to us to possess in a larger degree the requisite qualifications for the high office of President, or who has seemed to us more likely to combine the hosts of the Republican party in the emergency before us.

I will not delay you, gentlemen. You are weary and impatient, and I close by saying that the Republicans of Massachusetts join with their brethren of his own State in respectfully presenting to this Convention and commending to its support George F. Edmunds, of Vermont.

#### NOMINATION OF ELIHU B. WASHBURN.

On the call of the State of Wisconsin.

Mr. CASSIDY, of Wisconsin. *Mr. President:* During the exciting and arduous duties of this Convention I have not occupied to exceed three minutes of your time, notwithstanding I was the chairman of a delegation. I promise now, if you respectfully listen to me for a few moments, not to use up the time of ten minutes allotted to me, by two or three minutes.

It is indeed fortunate for our party and civilization that we have so many able statesmen from whom to select our candidates. Far be it from me to detract a single syllable from the praise justly due to any; but we live in a vast country, embracing many eminent statesmen whose names have not been presented to this Convention. Here are 756 delegates, representing 4,000,000 to 5,000,000 Republican voters, embracing many nationalities, having diverse interests and theories, that are scattered over 3,000,000 square miles of territory. And any view of our duty is incomplete and altogether too narrow which fails to take in the whole field and all the probabilities and improbabilities of a united support in November.

It may be that in France and some other nations success in government depends wholly upon the character of the leadership; but in this representative Government it must ever depend largely upon the broad common sense and good judgment of the masses of the people. And hence the truism uttered by our martyred President, that no one life is necessary to the existence of a nation. Behold in these seats, in this very presence, men whose ability and statesmanship have become famous on this and other continents. There is no lack of capacity for leadership, much less of a disposition to lead.

What we want most just now, is unity of purpose through the entire party, for the public good, and that can best be secured, not by self-assertion, but by self-negation.

The question is not whose name will elicit the greatest applause at this present moment of time, but whose name is so established in the confidence of the people as to allay all opposition in his own party and secure the greatest number of votes in November. The man of my choice is not a candidate, and has not sought any support from any quarter. He has rather repelled it. But let us remember that in the tabernacle of God those are not chosen who seek the highest seats and demand the richest crowns, but rather those who empty themselves of all vanity and conceit, and go down into the arena, into the face of death, and there are content to labor for the common good.

Such ought to be the rule in every Republican convention. Let us not be too sanguine. A comfortable berth is of no account to the passenger when the ship is fast driving upon the rocks. Let us save the ship and take care of the berths afterwards. Our enemies are in possession of both Houses of Congress. They will demand and claim the right to dictate the methods and the tests of the electoral count. With that object in view, they have purposely omitted, as the distinguished Senator from New York the other day very emphatically told them, all constitutional and statutory guarantees. With an inordinate lust for executive power and patronage on their part, we have nothing to gain, nothing to expect from a decision of theirs in case of a repetition of "184 to 185," nor from an Electoral Commission of their choosing. The only security is to make certain at the polls in the choice of a candidate, around whom the entire party can solidly join and march to victory. That man ascertained with reasonable certainty, it becomes the bounden duty of all to secure the success of the party, and through that party the salvation of our country, by making that man the nominee of this Convention. No other man has the right to insist upon it, and that man has no right to decline it. In the judgment of some in this Convention, and many with cool heads all over the land, there are two men who possess all these requisite qualities. One is Elihu B. Washburne, of Illinois, and the other is George F. Edmunds, of Vermont. Fully realizing that a divided party at the close of this Convention forebodes defeat in November, and a united party at the close of this Convention insures success in November, and looking over the whole field, I take that man whose history is familiar to you; who at the breaking out of the War sought out an obscure individual in Galena, led him to Springfield, up to the mountain of his glory, and stands by his side, one of his chief admirers and friends to-day. And, therefore, I nominate Elihu B. Washburne, of Illinois.

Mr. BRANDIGEE, of Connecticut. *Mr. President:* The State of Connecticut, one of the oldest of the old Thirteen, sends greeting across the lakes, and over the prairies to Wisconsin, one of the youngest of the sisters, and unites with her in presenting to this grand Republican Council the name of that wise, sagacious, honored, faithful, stalwart Republican statesman—the only name that is sure to carry every doubtful State and poll every Republican vote—Elihu B. Washburne, of Illinois. We come here, sir, from the State of Connecticut, presenting no candidate of our own, not that there are not within her borders many very eminent civil statesmen within the reach of the Presidential possibility of being struck by lightning. But, sir, there are within that State two military living heroes, one not trained at West Point, but who, with the force of native genius, inspired with a blazing patriotism, went to war as a private, graduated from the war as the hero of Fort Fisher—Gen. Alfred H. Terry, of Connecticut. We have also within that State another gallant soldier, statesman and orator—gallant Joe Hawley, of Connecticut, who, in the convention that nominated Grant, sitting in the Chair, and holding the gavel which you now hold, Mr. President, enunciated and crystallized, when the great financial heresy of soft-money repudiation arose, the true heart and thought of Republicanism in one living sentence, when he said that every dollar of the national debt should be as sacred as a soldier's grave.

We present no candidate here of our own. We come here uninstructed, uncommitted, and until we had come here and heard the debate, entirely undecided. We came here to consult with you in this momentous crisis of the history of our party, and, as we believe, in the history of our country. Sir, unless this Convention shall act wisely, and name him who not only can be nominated, but also elected at the polls, we believe that nothing that has been garnered up from the storm of battle is safe beyond all possibility of destruction. We believe, sir, that unless the Republican party can elect its candidate, and inaugurate him in this Presidential election, 500,000 soldiers will have gone to their graves in vain.

Mr. President, sixteen years ago I sat by the side of the statesman of Illinois in the Thirty-seventh and Thirty-eighth Congress. I have never seen him since. I have never written him since. I have never heard from him since, and therefore I am not the engineer of any "bureau" of Washburne. But, sir, I then saw that he was the terror of the lobby. I saw then that he was the friend of the soldier. I saw then that that great and sainted man, whose portrait is at the other end of this hall [Lincoln], and whose spirit, I believe, looks down upon the deliberations of this assembly, trusted to no other statesman as he did to the advice, the wisdom and the counsel of Washburne. But I know full well, sir, too, that at that dark hour in the day of the Republic, when everything was at stake, when men's hearts failed them for fear, when 600,000 soldiers were on the other side of the Potomac, face to face, I know that then it was through the persistent, indomitable pertinacity of Elihu B. Washburne that the great soldier was brought up from the Southwest and put in command of the Potomac army. And I know, too, sir, by a gentleman whom I have met to-night for the first time since that, with unwearied pertinacity against a reluctant Congress, in season and out of season, he demanded of that Congress that it should pass a bill creating Ulysses S. Grant Lieutenant-General of all the armies of the Republic, thus commissioning by Congress what the Almighty had already commissioned—the great hammer of the Almighty to break the backbone of the Rebellion.

That friend of Grant, that friend of economy, that friend and exponent of Republican principles, is the man I mean. Now, Mr. President, there are to-day, in the City of New York alone, 150,000 Germans. There are the sons and daughters of Fatherland in every Northern Republican and doubtful State. There are in the State of Connecticut enough to make the difference between a Democratic and Republican majority in November.

Connecticut is a doubtful State—as doubtful as Indiana. We must carry that State, for two reasons. You want it in the Republican line; and do you not want a Republican Senator, too, in the place of William W. Eaton, who misrepresents New England in the United States Senate.

We elect the Legislature in November that elects a Senator in the place of Eaton. Do you want one new Republican Senator in the United States, or do you not care to have a majority of Republican Senators there? Give us Washburne, and I pledge my life, I pledge everything, that the State of Connecticut in November will go Republican. I know it. And I do believe, too, that he will carry the State of Indiana with such a sweep as no man has ever carried it in modern times. New York is the third German city of the world to-day. There are more Germans there than in any other city in the world, except two. Washburne's name—if there is a German on this continent that does not respond to that, he is unworthy of the traditions of the Fatherland. He collected 30,000 Germans within the black and scarred walls of Paris, with the Commune howling like tigers to lap their blood, and beneath the flag of his country every one of them was safe. There is not a German woman or a prattling child that will not take up his name, and we shall carry four-fifths of the whole German vote of the United States. The gentleman from New York shakes his head. He shakes his head mag-

nificently. No man can shake it like him, nor shake such rhetoric and wisdom out of it. But let me tell the gentleman from New York he cannot sit down at the ear of every voter and give the argument that he has given to-night against the traditions of our fathers. He may, by the magic of his eloquence, take this Convention and the galleries off their feet, in his fervor; but even his great abilities, even his unmatched eloquence cannot go down to the fireside of every voter and persuade them that all the traditions of the fathers with reference to a third term are but humbug and masquerade. Does he not know that his candidate would be on the defensive, that even the magic name of Grant can hardly carry him in this Convention. Does he not know—no one knows so well as he—that the name of Grant would carry this Convention through by storm if there were not an invincible argument against his nomination? Mr. President, one word, and only one. If you want a son of Maine, Washburne was born there. If you want a son of Illinois, he lives there, and the people here want him. Give him to us and he will carry Illinois. With his name—I believe in my soul of souls with his name alone—we are sure to march on to victory.

Mr. MORSE, of Massachusetts. It is now nearly midnight.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Massachusetts. For what purpose does the gentleman arise?

Mr. MORSE. [The hour being 11:45 p. m.]. I rise to make a motion to adjourn.

The PRESIDENT. To what hour does the gentleman move?

Mr. MORSE. I have no desire to prevent other speeches, but I wish to make a motion that the Convention adjourn upon the conclusion of the speeches in nomination of candidates.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair is informed that the gentleman who had proposed further to second the last nomination does not desire to be heard—that no other speeches are to be made.

Mr. MORSE. Then, Mr. President, I make the motion that this Convention do now adjourn until Monday morning at ten o'clock.

So the Convention, at eleven o'clock and forty-six minutes p. m., adjourned to Monday morning next at ten o'clock.

## FIFTH DAY.

MONDAY, June 7, 1880—10 A. M.

The **PRESIDENT**. The Convention will come to order. The Rev. Mr. Everest, of Chicago, will offer prayer.

Rev. Charles Hall Everest, of Chicago, offered the following

### PRAYER:

Almighty God, our Heavenly Father, Thou dwellest calmly above all the excitements and conflicting interests of the earth. Not because Thou art indifferent to the welfare of men, or the destinies of nations, but because Thou knowest the end from the beginning, and all results are according to Thy designs. We address ourselves to Thee with confidence, because Thou hast so often manifested Thy saving interest in this great people. And we beseech Thee that the holy faith that inspired our fathers to their heroic endeavors, and bore them successfully through the arduous task of laying the foundations of this Republic, may be vouchsafed unto us, their children, that we may safely guard and keep these great interests and privileges committed to our trust.

We thus ask that Thou wilt preside unseen, and yet potential, over all the deliberations of this great assemblage to-day, that every result may be for Thy glory, may be for the perpetuation of peace and of prosperity to this great Nation of Thy love. We ask this divine favor in the name of Him who is the very Prince of Peace, Jesus Christ, our Lord. Amen.

### ANNOUNCEMENT.

The Secretary announced that all railroads and packet lines had extended their excursion tickets to a period twenty-four hours after adjournment of the Convention.

### CORRECTING A MISAPPREHENSION.

The **PRESIDENT**. The Chair has been requested by several delegates to direct the reading of two of the resolutions contained in the platform adopted on Saturday, which have been misapprehended by the public. The Chair directs the resolution to be read.

The Secretary, Mr. Clisbee, read as follows:

"5. We reaffirm the belief, avowed in 1876, that the duties levied for the purpose of revenue should so discriminate as to favor American labor; that no further grants of the public domain should be made to any railway or other corporation; that slavery having perished in the States, its twin barbarity—polygamy—must die in the Territories; that everywhere the protec-

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on accorded to a citizen of American birth must be secured to citizens by American adoption; that we esteem it the duty of Congress to develop and improve our water-courses and harbors, but insist that further subsidies to private persons or corporations must cease; that the obligations of the Republic to the men who preserved its integrity in the day of battle are undiminished by the lapse of fifteen years since their final victory. To do them honor is and shall forever be the grateful privilege and sacred duty of the American people.

"6. Since the authority to regulate immigration and intercourse between the United States and foreign nations rests with the Congress of the United States and the treaty-making power, the Republican party, regarding the unrestricted immigration of Chinese as a matter of grave concernment, invoke the exercise of those powers to limit and restrict that immigration by the enactment of such just, humane and reasonable laws and treaties as will produce that result."

### BALLOTING FOR PRESIDENT.

Mr. HALE, of Maine. I move, Mr. President, that the Convention now proceed, under the rules, to ballot for a candidate for President.

Mr. CONKLING, of New York. I wish to inquire whether, under the rule, it is not, without motion, a matter of course that we now proceed to ballot for candidate for President.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair does not so understand. The rules provide for proceeding when the Convention shall ballot, but do not fix the time or order.

Mr. CONKLING. Then, Mr. President, I second the motion that we now proceed to ballot.

The PRESIDENT. Before putting this question the Chair desires to be heard for one moment. The Convention now proposes to proceed to a most important act, in the selection of the Chief Magistrate of the Republic. In scarcely any other country on earth could such an act take place without strife and blood. Nothing will so tend to elevate the American people in the respect of mankind, to attract mankind to our borders, as the spectacle of such a proceeding conducted with peace, with dignity, with decorum, with quiet. The Chair, therefore, trusts that every gentleman present, whether member of the Convention or here as a witness of its proceedings, will feel that his country is affected by the propriety and order of his own conduct. The gentleman from Maine moves that the Convention now proceed, under the rules, to ballot for a candidate for President.

The motion was agreed to.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair directs the Clerk to read, for the information of the Convention, that portion of the rules which relates to the manner of proceeding.

The Secretary read as follows:

"Rule 8. In the record of the vote by States, the vote of each State, Territory and the District of Columbia shall be announced by the chairman and in case the votes of any State, Territory or the District of Columbia be divided, the chairman shall announce the number of votes cast for or against any proposition; but if exception is taken



by any delegate to the correctness of such announcement by the chairman of his delegation, the President of the Convention shall direct the roll of members of such delegation to be called, and the result shall be recorded in accordance with the votes individually given."

Mr. CROUNSE, of Nebraska. *Mr. President*—

The PRESIDENT. No business is in order but a call of the roll of States, under the rule.

Mr. CROUNSE. There is another rule—one in regard to changing a vote.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman is correct. The Secretary will read the rule.

The Secretary read as follows:

"Rule 7. In making the nomination for President and Vice-President, in no case shall the calling of the roll be dispensed with. When it shall appear that any candidate shall have received a majority of the votes cast, the President of the Convention shall announce the question to be, Shall the nomination of the candidate be made unanimous? But if no candidate shall have received a majority of the votes, the Chair shall direct the vote to be again taken, which shall be repeated until some candidate shall have received a majority of the votes cast; and when any State has announced its vote it shall so stand until the ballot is announced, unless in case of numerical error."

The PRESIDENT. The Clerk will call the roll, and the chairmen of the respective States, as they are called, will announce the votes of their delegates.

FIRST BALLOT.

The roll of States was then called, and resulted:

Total number of votes cast, 755. [Necessary to a choice, 378.]

Of which—

Ulysses S. Grant received 304; James G. Blaine, 284; John Sherman, 93; George F. Edmunds, 34; Elihu B. Washburne, 30; William Windom, 10— as follows:

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	NO. OF DEL.	GRANT	BLAINE	SHERMAN	EDMUNDS	WINDOM	WASHBURN
Alabama	20	16	1	3			
Arkansas	12	12					
California	12		12				
Colorado	6	6					
Connecticut	12		3		3		7
Delaware	6		6				
Florida	8	8					
Georgia	22	6	8	3			
Illinois	42	24	10				8
Indiana	30	1	26	2			1
Iowa	22		22				
Kansas	10	4	6				
Kentucky	24	20	1	3			
Louisiana	16	8	2	6			
Maine	14		14				
Maryland	16	7	7	3			
Massachusetts	26	3		2	20		1
Michigan	22	1	21				
Minnesota	10					10	

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STATES AND TERRITORIES.	NO. OF DEL.	GRANT	BLAINE	SHERMAN	EDMUNDS	WINDOM	WASHINGTON
Mississippi	16	6	4	8			
Missouri	30	29					1
Nebraska	6		6				
Nevada	6		6				
New Hampshire	10		10				
New Jersey	18		16				
New York	70	51	17	2			
North Carolina	20	6		14			
Ohio	44		9	34	1		
Oregon	6		6				
Pennsylvania	58	32	23	3			
Rhode Island	8		8				
South Carolina	14	13		1			
Tennessee	24	16	6	1	1		
Texas	16	11	2	2			1
Vermont	10				10		
Virginia	22	18	3	1			
West Virginia	10	1	8				
Wisconsin	20	1		2			9
Arizona	3						
Dakota	1	1					
District of Columbia	1	1					
Idaho	3						
Montana	3						
New Mexico	3						
Utah	1		1				
Washington	1		1				
Wyoming	1	1					
Totals	756	304	284	92	24	10	30

During the ballot:

On the call of the State of New York.

Mr. CONKLING, of New York. *Mr. President:* The better way in the case of New York is to call the roll of individual delegates, for a reason which I will state if need be, within the spirit of the rule; but if there be no objection, the roll of individuals may be called.

The PRESIDENT. No objection is made. Under the rule, the vote of the State must be announced by the chairman, unless some question be raised by a delegate as to the correctness of the announcement, in which case the roll of the State must be called. The Chair will treat the failure of the chairman of the delegation to announce the vote of his State on the call as a question within the meaning of the rule.

Mr. CONKLING. If the Chair will allow me I will state frankly that the chairman of the delegation is instructed how to cast the vote, but it is understood that there are members of the delegation who prefer to vote each for himself; therefore the chairman prefers to withhold the announcement and allow the roll of names to be called.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair, no objection being made, will treat such refusal to announce the vote by the chairman of the delegation under the rule as requiring the roll of the State to be called. The roll will be called.

A DELEGATE from New York. There are two delegates absent from this delegation, and two alternates present. Is it necessary to substitute them now?

The PRESIDENT. When the name of a delegate shall be called, if he does not respond, the name of his alternate will be called.

The roll of the delegation from the State of New York was then called, the delegates, as their names are called, responding respectively as follows:

DELEGATES-AT-LARGE.

Roscoe Conkling .....	Ulysses S. Grant
Alonso B. Cornell (by Jacob Hoysradt, his alternate).....	Ulysses S. Grant
Chester A. Arthur.....	Ulysses S. Grant
James D. Warren.....	Ulysses S. Grant

DISTRICTS.

First District .....	John Birdsall .....	James G. Blaine
First District .....	Simeon S. Hawkins.....	James G. Blaine
Second District.....	James Jourdan .....	Ulysses S. Grant
Second District.....	Amos H. Learned.....	Ulysses S. Grant
Third District .....	Frederick A. Schroeder.....	Ulysses S. Grant
Third District .....	Albert Daggett .....	John Sherman
Fourth District .....	Jacob Worth .....	Ulysses S. Grant
Fourth District .....	Benjamin F. Tracy.....	Ulysses S. Grant
Fifth District .....	Edwards Pierrepont .....	Ulysses S. Grant
Fifth District .....	Pierre C. Van Wyck.....	Ulysses S. Grant
Sixth District .....	Charles E. Cornell.....	Ulysses S. Grant
Sixth District .....	De Witt C. Wheeler.....	Ulysses S. Grant
Seventh District .....	Jacob M. Patterson, Jr.....	Ulysses S. Grant
Seventh District .....	John J. O'Brien.....	Ulysses S. Grant
Eighth District .....	John D. Lawson.....	Ulysses S. Grant
Eighth District .....	Charles Blackie .....	Ulysses S. Grant
Ninth District .....	James R. Davis .....	Ulysses S. Grant
Ninth District .....	Stephen B. French.....	Ulysses S. Grant
Tenth District .....	Levi P. Morton.....	Ulysses S. Grant
Tenth District .....	Bernard Biglin .....	Ulysses S. Grant
Eleventh District .....	Thomas Murphy .....	Ulysses S. Grant
Eleventh District .....	Jacob Hess .....	Ulysses S. Grant
Twelfth District .....	William H. Robertson.....	James G. Blaine
Twelfth District .....	James W. Husted.....	James G. Blaine
Thirteenth District .....	Louis F. Payn.....	Ulysses S. Grant
Thirteenth District .....	John B. Dutcher.....	James G. Blaine
Fourteenth District .....	Moses D. Stivers.....	James G. Blaine
Fourteenth District .....	Blake G. Wales.....	James G. Blaine
Fifteenth District .....	George H. Sharpe.....	Ulysses S. Grant
Fifteenth District .....	Rufus H. King.....	Ulysses S. Grant
Sixteenth District .....	Henry R. Pierson.....	Ulysses S. Grant
Sixteenth District .....	Charles P. Easton.....	Ulysses S. Grant
Seventeenth District .....	John M. Francis.....	Ulysses S. Grant
Seventeenth District .....	Isaac V. Baker, Jr.....	Ulysses S. Grant
Eighteenth District .....	William W. Rockwell.....	Ulysses S. Grant
Eighteenth District .....	Olyver Abell, Jr.....	James G. Blaine
Nineteenth District .....	Wells S. Dickinson.....	John Sherman
Nineteenth District .....	Henry R. James.....	James G. Blaine
Twentieth District .....	Webster Wagner.....	James G. Blaine
Twentieth District .....	George West .....	James G. Blaine
Twenty-first District .....	Ferris Jacobs, Jr.....	James G. Blaine
Twenty-first District .....	David Wilber .....	Ulysses S. Grant
Twenty-second District .....	John P. Douglass.....	James G. Blaine
Twenty-second District .....	Sidney Sylvester (by Clinton L. Merriam, his alternate) .....	James G. Blaine
Twenty-third District.....	Edward H. Shelley.....	Ulysses S. Grant
Twenty-third District.....	William H. Comstock.....	Ulysses S. Grant
Twenty-fourth District.....	George M. Case.....	Ulysses S. Grant
Twenty-fourth District.....	Charles L. Kennedy.....	Ulysses S. Grant
Twenty-fifth District .....	Dennis McCarthy .....	Ulysses S. Grant
Twenty-fifth District .....	James J. Belden.....	Ulysses S. Grant
Twenty-sixth District.....	William B. Woodin (by Leander Pitts, his alternate) .....	James G. Blaine
Twenty-sixth District.....	John B. Murray.....	Ulysses S. Grant
Twenty-seventh District.....	Francis O. Mason.....	Ulysses S. Grant
Twenty-seventh District.....	George N. Hicks.....	Ulysses S. Grant
Twenty-eighth District .....	Thomas C. Platt.....	Ulysses S. Grant
Twenty-eighth District .....	O. W. Chapman.....	Ulysses S. Grant
Twenty-ninth District .....	Chester S. Cole.....	Ulysses S. Grant
Twenty-ninth District.....	Charles J. Langdon.....	Ulysses S. Grant

Thirtieth District .....	Edward A. Frost.....	Ulysses S. Grant
Thirtieth District .....	Henry A. Bruner.....	Ulysses S. Grant
Thirty-first District .....	George G. Hoskins.....	Ulysses S. Grant
Thirty-first District .....	John E. Pound.....	Ulysses S. Grant
Thirty-second District.....	Ray V. Pierce.....	Ulysses S. Grant
Thirty-second District.....	John Nice .....	Ulysses S. Grant
Thirty-third District.....	Norman M. Allen.....	James G. Blaine
Thirty-third District.....	Loren B. Sessions.....	James G. Blaine

The vote of the State of New York was then announced as above recorded.

On the call of the State of West Virginia.

Mr. CAMPBELL, of West Virginia. Before announcing the vote of West Virginia, I desire to make a statement. Until the adverse action—

The PRESIDENT. It is not in order.

Mr. CAMPBELL. I am explaining the vote I am about to cast. I suppose this is a question of privilege, inasmuch as it affects the vote of this delegation.

The PRESIDENT. No question of privilege can be raised or entertained except by unanimous consent.

Mr. CONKLING. Let us have the regular order.

The PRESIDENT. The regular order is called for. The Chairman will announce the vote of his State.

Mr. CAMPBELL. In that case I will cast the vote—eight votes for James G. Blaine; one for Ulysses S. Grant.

Mr. BUTTERWORTH, of Ohio. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. For what purpose does the gentleman rise?

Mr. BUTTERWORTH. With respect to the vote just cast.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman is out of order. The rule permits any delegate from a State to challenge the correctness of the announcement by the Chairman.

Mr. BUTTERWORTH. Then I rise to a question of privilege.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman will state his question of privilege.

Mr. BUTTERWORTH. That the gentleman who rose in his place on the right [Mr. Campbell, of West Virginia] desired to present to this Convention a proxy, as was presented from another State a moment ago, authorizing a vote, as I understand, to be cast in a certain way, and to submit that to the Convention. I think that is a question of the highest privilege that can come before this Convention.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair overrules the question of privilege. The Chair will state that, under the rule, nothing is in order but the announcement of the vote by the chairman of the delegation, or a question, afterward, of the correctness of that announcement by any delegate to the Convention. If, at the close of the roll-call, any member rises to a question of order in regard to the correctness of the final announcement by the Chair, at that time the question of order will be entertained, and may be settled by the Convention.

Mr. CAMPBELL. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. For what purpose does the gentleman rise?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I simply rise to make this explanation—

The PRESIDENT. The explanation is out of order. Does the gentleman rise to question the correctness of the announcement which has been made

Mr. CAMPBELL. A member here understood the gentleman from New York to make an explanation in regard to the vote of that State, and I want to make a similar one in regard to the vote of this State.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman is out of order. The Clerk will proceed with the call of the roll.

The call then proceeded in order to the close, when the result of the ballot was announced as above recorded.

The PRESIDENT. No person having received a majority of the votes cast, another ballot will be taken. The Clerk will call the roll.

Mr. CAMPBELL, of West Virginia. I rise now to inquire whether it is in order to make an explanation.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair will state, for the information of the Convention, the rule, as he understands it. When the Convention is executing its order, nothing but the steps prescribed by rule is in order. The rule provides that the chairman of the delegation shall announce the vote of his State. If any delegate, whether from the State or otherwise, shall challenge the correctness of that announcement, the roll of the States will be called.

If any question arises as to the right of any person to answer to the call, the Chair will rule upon it in the first instance, and will direct the Secretary to proceed with the roll-call, and announce the result according to his ruling. When the Chair announces the result, if any member of the Convention questions the correctness of that announcement, he may rise to the question, and it may be settled by the Convention. The call will proceed.

SECOND BALLOT.

The roll of States was again called, and resulted:

Total number of votes cast, 756. [Necessary to a choice, 379.]

Of which—

Ulysses S. Grant received 305; James G. Blaine, 282; John Sherman, 94; George F. Edmunds, 32; Elihu B. Washburne, 31; William Windom, 10; James A. Garfield, of Ohio, 1—as follows:

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	NO. OF DEL.	GRANT	BLAINE	SHERMAN	EDMUNDS	WINDOM	WASHBURN	GARFIELD
Alabama .....	20	16	1	3	...	...	...	...
Arkansas .....	12	12	...	...	...	...	...	...
California .....	12	...	12	...	...	...	...	...
Colorado .....	6	6	...	...	...	...	...	...
Connecticut .....	12	...	3	1	...	...	...	...
Delaware .....	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Florida .....	8	2	1	...	...	...	...	...
Georgia .....	22	6	8	...	...	...	...	...
Illinois .....	42	24	10	...	...	...	...	...
Indiana .....	30	2	23	...	...	...	...	...
Iowa .....	22	...	5	...	...	...	...	...
Kansas .....	10	4	6	...	...	...	...	...

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STATES AND TERRITORIES.	NO. OF DEL.	GRANT	BLAINE	SHERMAN	EDMUNDS	WINDOM	WASHBURN	CARFIELD
Kentucky	24	20	1	3				
Louisiana	16	8	2	6				
Maine	14		14					
Maryland	16	7	7	2				
Massachusetts	26	4		22	19		1	
Michigan	22	1	21					
Minnesota	10					10		
Mississippi	16	7	4	5				
Missouri	30	29					1	
Nebraska	6		6					
Nevada	6		6					
New Hampshire	10		10					
New Jersey	18		16	2			2	
New York	70	51	17	2				
North Carolina	20	5		15				
Ohio	44		9	34	1			
Oregon	6		6					
Pennsylvania	58	33	22	2				1
Rhode Island	8		8					
South Carolina	14	13		1				
Tennessee	24	18	6	1	1			
Texas	16	11	2	2			1	
Vermont	10				10			
Virginia	22	16	3	3				
West Virginia	10	1	8					
Wisconsin	20	1	7	3			9	
Arizona	2		2					
Dakota	2		1					
District of Columbia	2		1					
Idaho	2		2					
Montana	2		2					
New Mexico	2		2					
Utah	2		1	1				
Washington	2		2					
Wyoming	2	2						
Totals	756	305	282	94	32	10	31	1

During the ballot:

On the call of the State of Florida.

Mr. Hicks, of Florida. Eight votes for Ulysses S. Grant.

Mr. DEAN, of Florida. *Mr. President:* I am in favor of James G. Blaine for President, and I rise for the purpose of correcting the vote of Florida. I wish to have my vote recorded for James G. Blaine.

The PRESIDENT. Does the gentleman rise to question the correctness of the announcement by the chairman?

Mr. DEAN. I do, sir.

The PRESIDENT. The roll of the State will be called. Each member will answer when his name is called.

The roll of the delegation from the State of Florida was then called the delegates as their names were called, responding respectively as follows:

W. W. Hicks.....Ulysses S. G  
V. J. Shipman.....Ulysses S. G  
Sherman Conant.....Ulysses S. G  
Joseph E. Lee—

Mr. LEE. I vote, according to the instructions of my people, for—

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman is out of order. He will vote.

Mr. LEE. I vote for Ulysses S. Grant.

The SECRETARY. [Calling.] "Reuben S. Smith?" [No response heard.]

The PRESIDENT. Call the alternate.

The SECRETARY. "William Potter?" [No response.]

The PRESIDENT. Proceed with the call.

The roll-call was continued, and responded to as follows:

F. C. Humphrey.....	Ulysses S. Grant
E. J. Alexander.....	Ulysses S. Grant
James Dean.....	James G. Blaine

The SECRETARY. The State of Florida casts six votes for Ulysses S. Grant and one for James G. Blaine.

Mr. HICKS. There were seven votes for Ulysses S. Grant.

The SECRETARY. Reuben S. Smith did not answer.

Mr. HICKS. Yes, he did answer.

The PRESIDENT. The name will be called again. No response to the name of Mr. Smith was heard at the platform.

Mr. HICKS. Every member answered in his place.

The SECRETARY. "Reuben S. Smith?"

Mr. Smith.....Ulysses S. Grant

The vote of the State of Florida was then announced—seven votes for Ulysses S. Grant, and one vote for James G. Blaine, as above recorded.

On the call of the State of Pennsylvania.

Mr. BEAVER, of Pennsylvania. Pennsylvania casts thirty-three votes for Ulysses S. Grant; twenty-two for James G. Blaine; two for John Sherman, and one vote for James A. Garfield, of Ohio.

On the announcement of the State of West Virginia.

Mr. CUNNINGHAM, of West Virginia. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. For what purpose does the gentleman address the Chair?

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. I wish to make an explanation in regard to West Virginia.

The PRESIDENT. Does the gentleman question the announcement of the vote made by the Chairman

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. I do, sir.

The PRESIDENT. The roll of the State of West Virginia will be called.

The roll of the delegation from the State of West Virginia was then called, the delegates, as their names were called, responding respectively as follows:

DELEGATES-AT-LARGE.

A. W. Campbell.....	James G. Blaine
W. J. Burley .....	James G. Blaine
S. B. McCormick.....	James G. Blaine
John H. Riley.....	James G. Blaine

DISTRICTS.

First District.....	C. D. Hubbard.....	James G. Blaine
" " .....	A. C. Moore.....	James G. Blaine
Second District.....	J. T. Hoke.....	James G. Blaine
" " .....	J. M. Hagans.....	James G. Blaine
" " .....	J. W. Davis.....	
Third District	(Response by Mr. Cunningham, an alternate from West Virginia.)	John Sherman

Mr. HAGANS, of West Virginia. That is not Mr. Davis. That is another gentleman.

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. Is the gentleman who addresses the Chair the person whose name has been called?

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. I am an alternate.

The PRESIDENT. Is the gentleman who addresses the Chair the person whose name has been called?

Mr. HAGANS. No, sir; he is not.

The PRESIDENT. I ask of the gentleman himself.

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. I am an alternate.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman's response will not be accepted. After the roll of the delegates has been called, the name of the alternate of Mr. Davis will be called. Proceed with the call of the roll.

The SECRETARY. [Calling.] "John H. Rossler."

Mr. ROSSLER. Ulysses S. Grant.

The SECRETARY. The alternate of J. W. Davis is Amos Dye. [Calling.] "Amos Dye."

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. The gentleman is not here.

The PRESIDENT. Then the vote will not be recorded.

Mr. BUTTERWORTH. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. For what purpose does the gentleman rise?

Mr. BUTTERWORTH. I rise touching a matter which I understand the Chair to announce might be called up at the close of the roll-call.

The PRESIDENT. The Clerk will announce the result of the call. When it is announced, any gentleman may rise to a question of order, or of privilege, which is the highest order, and insist that for any reason known to him the announcement is not correct.

The vote of the State of West Virginia was then announced: For James G. Blaine, eight; for Ulysses S. Grant, one; as above recorded.

The result of the second ballot was announced as above recorded.

The PRESIDENT. *Gentlemen of the Convention:* In calling the roll, the correctness of the announcement of the vote of West Virginia being questioned by a delegate, the Chair directed the roll of that State to be called. The name of one of the delegates borne on the roll being called, that delegate did not answer to his name. Thereupon the name of his alternate borne on the roll was called, and the alternate did not answer to his name. The Chair rules that no other person, except that delegate or the alternate, can lawfully answer to either of those names in the Convention.

Several DELEGATES. That is right.

Mr. BUTTERWORTH. I desire, if the Chair will indulge me for a single moment, to call his attention and the attention of the Convention to the precise facts in this case.

The PRESIDENT. Does the gentleman from Ohio take an appeal from the decision of the Chair?



Mr. BUTTERWORTH. I do not, Mr. Chairman; but I desire—

The PRESIDENT. Nothing else is in order. No person having a majority of the votes cast, the Convention will proceed to another ballot. The Clerk will call the roll.

## THIRD BALLOT.

The roll of States was again called, and resulted:

Total number of votes cast, 755. [Necessary to a choice, 378.]

Of which—

Ulysses S. Grant received 305; James G. Blaine, 282; John Sherman, 93; George F. Edmunds, 32; Elihu B. Washburne, 31; William Windom, 10; James A. Garfield, 1; Benjamin Harrison, 1—as follows:

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	NO. OF DEL.	GRANT	BLAINE	SHERMAN	EDMUNDS	WINDOM	WASHBURN	GARFIELD	HARRISON
Alabama	20	17	...	2	...	...	...	...	...
Arkansas	12	12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
California	12	...	12	...	...	...	...	...	...
Colorado	6	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Connecticut	12	...	3	...	1	...	8	...	...
Delaware	6	...	6	...	...	...	...	...	...
Florida	8	7	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
Georgia	22	6	8	8	...	...	...	...	...
Illinois	42	24	10	...	...	...	8	...	...
Indiana	39	2	25	2	...	...	1	...	...
Iowa	22	...	22	...	...	...	1	...	...
Kansas	10	4	6	...	...	...	...	...	...
Kentucky	24	20	1	3	...	...	...	...	...
Louisiana	16	8	2	6	...	...	...	...	...
Maine	14	...	14	...	...	...	...	...	...
Maryland	16	7	7	2	...	...	...	...	...
Massachusetts	26	4	...	2	19	...	1	...	...
Michigan	22	1	21	...	...	...	...	...	...
Minnesota	10	...	...	...	...	10	...	...	...
Mississippi	16	6	4	6	...	...	...	...	...
Missouri	30	29	...	...	...	...	1	...	...
Nebraska	6	...	6	...	...	...	...	...	...
Nevada	6	...	6	...	...	...	...	...	...
New Hampshire	10	...	10	...	...	...	...	...	...
New Jersey	18	...	16	...	...	...	2	...	...
New York	70	51	17	2	...	...	...	...	...
North Carolina	20	5	...	15	...	...	...	...	...
Ohio	44	...	9	34	1	...	...	...	...
Oregon	6	...	6	...	...	...	...	...	...
Pennsylvania	58	33	23	...	...	...	...	1	1
Rhode Island	8	...	8	...	...	...	...	...	...
South Carolina	14	13	...	1	...	...	...	...	...
Tennessee	24	16	6	1	1	...	...	...	...
Texas	16	12	1	2	...	...	1	...	...
Vermont	10	...	...	...	10	...	...	...	...
Virginia	22	16	3	3	...	...	...	...	...
West Virginia	10	1	8	...	...	...	...	...	...
Wisconsin	20	1	7	3	...	...	9	...	...
Arizona	2	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...
Dakota	2	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
District of Columbia	2	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
Idaho	2	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...
Montana	2	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...
New Mexico	2	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...
Utah	2	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
Washington	2	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...
Wyoming	2	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
Totals	756	305	282	93	32	10	31	1	1

The PRESIDENT. No person having received a majority of the votes cast, another ballot will be taken. The Clerk will call the roll.

## SIXTH BALLOT.

The roll of States was again called, and resulted:

Total number of votes cast, 755. [Necessary to a choice, 378.]

Of which—

Ulysses S. Grant received 305; James G. Blaine, 280; John Sherman, 95; George F. Edmunds, 32; Elihu B. Washburne, 31; William Windom, 10; James A. Garfield, 2—as follows:

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	NO. OF DEL.	GRANT	BLAINE	SHERMAN	EDMUNDS	WINDOM	WASHBURN	GARFIELD
Alabama	20	16	3	1				1
Arkansas	12	12						
California	12		12					
Colorado	6	6						
Connecticut	12		3		1		2	
Delaware	6		6					
Florida	8	7	1					
Georgia	22	6	8	3				
Illinois	42	24	10				2	
Indiana	39	2	25	2			2	
Iowa	22		23					
Kansas	10	4	6					
Kentucky	24	20		3				
Louisiana	16	8	1	6				
Maine	14		14					
Maryland	16	8	5				1	
Massachusetts	28	4		2	19		1	
Michigan	22	1	21					
Minnesota	16					10		
Mississippi	16	6	4	6				
Missouri	30	29					1	
Nebraska	6		6					
Nevada	6		6					
New Hampshire	10		10					
New Jersey	18		16				2	
New York	70	51	17	2				
North Carolina	20	5		15				
Ohio	44		9	34	1			
Oregon	6		6					
Pennsylvania	58	33	23	1				1
Rhode Island	8		8					
South Carolina	14	13		1				
Tennessee	24	16	6	1	1			
Texas	16	12	1	2			1	
Vermont	10				10			
Virginia	22	16	3	3				
West Virginia	10	1	8					
Wisconsin	20	1	7	3			9	
Arizona	2		2					
Dakota	2	1	1					
District of Columbia	2	1	1					
Idaho	2		2					
Montana	2		2					
New Mexico	2		2					
Utah	2	1	1					
Washington	2		2					
Wyoming	2	1	1					
Totals	756	305	280	95	32	10	31	2

The PRESIDENT. No person having received a majority of the votes cast, another ballot will be taken. The Clerk will call the roll.

SEVENTH BALLOT.

The roll of States was again called, and resulted:

Total number of votes cast, 755. [Necessary to a choice, 378.]

Of which—

Ulysses S. Grant received 305; James G. Blaine, 281; John Sherman, 94; George F. Edmunds, 32; Elihu B. Washburne, 31; William Windom, 10; James A. Garfield, 2—as follows:

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	NO. OF DEL.	GRANT	BLAINE	SHERMAN	EDMUNDS	WINDOM	WASHBURN	GARFIELD
Alabama	20	16		3				1
Arkansas	12	12						
California	12		12					
Colorado	6	6						
Connecticut	12		3		1		3	
Delaware	6		6					
Florida	8	7	1					
Georgia	22	6	3	8				
Illinois	42	24	10				3	
Indiana	30	2	25	3			1	
Iowa	22		22					
Kansas	10	4	6					
Kentucky	24	20	1	3				
Louisiana	16	8	13	6				
Maine	14		14					
Maryland	16	8	6	3				
Massachusetts	26	4		2	19		1	
Michigan	22	1	21					
Minnesota	10					10		
Mississippi	16	6	4	6				
Missouri	30	29					1	
Nebraska	6		6					
Nevada	6		6					
New Hampshire	10		10					
New Jersey	18		16				2	
New York	70	51	17	2				
North Carolina	20	6		14				
Ohio	44		9	34	1			
Oregon	6		6					
Pennsylvania	58	33	23	1				1
Rhode Island	8		8					
South Carolina	14	12	1	1				
Tennessee	24	16	6	1	1			
Texas	16	12	1	2			1	
Vermont	10				10			
Virginia	22	16	3	3				
West Virginia	10	1	8					
Wisconsin	20	1	7	3			9	
Arizona	2		2					
Dakota	2	1	1					
District of Columbia	2	1	1					
Idaho	2		2					
Montana	2		2					
New Mexico	2		2					
Utah	2	1	1					
Washington	2		2					
Wyoming	2	1	1					
Totals	756	305	281	94	32	10	31	2

The PRESIDENT. No person having received a majority of the votes cast, another ballot will be taken. The Clerk will call the roll.

## OFFICIAL PROCEEDINGS OF THE

Mr. HARRISON, of Indiana. [The hour being 1, p. m.] I move that the Convention take a recess until three o'clock.

The motion was not agreed to.

## EIGHTE BALLOT.

The roll of States was again called, and resulted:

Total number of votes cast, 755. [Necessary to a choice, 378.]

Of which—

Ulysses S. Grant received 306; James G. Blaine, 284; John Sherman, 91; George F. Edmunds, 31; Elihu B. Washburne, 32; William Windom, 10; James A. Garfield, 1—as follows:

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	NO. OF DEL.	GRANT	BLAINE	SHERMAN	EDMUNDS	WINDOM	WASHBURN	GARFIELD
Alabama	20	17		3				
Arkansas	12	12						
California	12		12					
Colorado	6	6						
Connecticut	12		3				8	
Delaware	6		6					
Florida	8	7	1					
Georgia	22	6	8	8				
Illinois	42	24	10				8	
Indiana	30	2	27				1	
Iowa	22		22					
Kansas	10	4	6					
Kentucky	24	20	1					
Louisiana	16	8	2	6				
Maine	14		14					
Maryland	16	8	6	2				
Massachusetts	26	4		2	19		1	
Michigan	22	1	21					
Minnesota	10					10		
Mississippi	16	6	4	6				
Missouri	30	29					1	
Nebraska	6		6					
Nevada	6		6					
New Hampshire	10		10					
New Jersey	18		16				2	
New York	70	51	17	2				
North Carolina	20	5		16				
Ohio	44		9	34	1			
Oregon	6		6					
Pennsylvania	58	34	22	1				1
Rhode Island	8		8					
South Carolina	14	12	1	1				
Tennessee	24	16	6	1	1			
Texas	16	12	1	2			1	
Vermont	10				10			
Virginia	22	16	4	2				
West Virginia	10	1	8					
Wisconsin	20	1	7	3			9	
Arizona	2		2					
Dakota	1	1						
District of Columbia	1	1						
Idaho	1		1					
Montana	1		1					
New Mexico	1		1					
Utah	1		1					
Washington	1		1					
Wyoming	1	1						
Totals	756	306	284	91	31	10	32	1

The PRESIDENT. No person having received a majority of the votes cast, another ballot will be taken. The Clerk will call the roll.

## NINTH BALLOT.

The roll of States was again called, and resulted:

Total number of votes cast, 755. [Necessary to a choice, 378.]

Of which—

Ulysses S. Grant received 308; James G. Blaine, 282; John Sherman, 90; George F. Edmunds, 31; Elihu B. Washburne, 32; William Windom, 10; James A. Garfield, 2—as follows:

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	NO. OF DEL.	GRANT	BLAINE	SHERMAN	EDMUNDS	WINDOM	WASHBURN	GARFIELD
Alabama	20	17		2				
Arkansas	12	12						
California	12		12					
Colorado	6	6						
Connecticut	12		3				5	
Delaware	6		6					
Florida	8	7	1					
Georgia	22	6	8	8				
Illinois	42	24	10				2	
Indiana	30	2	27				1	
Iowa	32		32					
Kansas	10	4	6					
Kentucky	24	20	1	3				
Louisiana	16	8	2	6				
Maine	14		14					
Maryland	16	8	6	2				1
Massachusetts	26	4		2	19		1	
Michigan	22	1	21					
Minnesota	10				10			
Mississippi	16	7	4	5				
Missouri	30	29					1	
Nebraska	6		6					
Nevada	6		6					
New Hampshire	10		10					
New Jersey	18		16				2	
New York	70	51	17	2				
North Carolina	20	6		14				
Ohio	44		9	34	1			
Oregon	6		6					
Pennsylvania	58	34	22	1				1
Rhode Island	8		8					
South Carolina	14	12	1	1				
Tennessee	24	16	6	1	1			
Texas	16	12	1	2			1	
Vermont	10				10			
Virginia	22	16	3	3				
West Virginia	10	1	8					
Wisconsin	20	1	7	3			9	
Arizona	2		2					
Dakota	2	1	1					
District of Columbia	3	1	1					
Idaho	2		2					
Montana	2		2					
New Mexico	2		2					
Utah	2	1	1					
Washington	2		2					
Wyoming	2	1	1					
Totals	756	308	282	90	31	10	32	2

# OFFICIAL PROCEEDINGS OF THE

The PRESIDENT. No person having received a majority of the votes cast, another ballot will be taken. The Clerk will call the roll.

## TENTH BALLOT.

The roll of States was again called, and resulted:

Total number of votes cast, 755. [Necessary to a choice, 378.]

Of which—

Ulysses S. Grant received 305; James G. Blaine, 282; John Sherman, 92; Elihu B. Washburne, 32; George F. Edmunds, 31; William Windom, 10; James A. Garfield, 2; Rutherford B. Hayes, 1—as follows:

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	NO. OF DEL.	GRANT	BLAINE	SHERMAN	EDMUNDS	WINDOM	WASHBURN	GARFIELD	HAYES
Alabama	20	17	1	2					
Arkansas	12	12							
California	12		12						
Colorado	6	6							
Connecticut	12		3				9		
Delaware	6		6						
Florida	8	7	1						
Georgia	22	6	8	8					
Illinois	42	24	10				8		
Indiana	30	2	27				1		
Iowa	22		22						
Kansas	10	4	6						
Kentucky	24	20	1	3					
Louisiana	16	8	2	6					
Maine	14		14						
Maryland	16	8	5				1		
Massachusetts	26	4		19			1		
Michigan	22	1	21						
Minnesota	10				10				
Mississippi	16	6	4	6					
Missouri	30	29					1		
Nebraska	8		6						
Nevada	6		6						
New Hampshire	10		10						
New Jersey	18		16				2		
New York	70	51	17	2					
North Carolina	20	4		16					
Ohio	44		9	34	1				
Oregon	6		6						
Pennsylvania	58	34	22	1				1	
Rhode Island	8		8						
South Carolina	14	12	1	1					
Tennessee	24	16	6	1	1				
Texas	16	12	1	2			1		
Vermont	10			10					
Virginia	22	16	3	2					1
West Virginia	10	1	8						
Wisconsin	20	1	7	3			9		
Arizona	2		2						
Dakota	2	1	1						
District of Columbia	2	1	1						
Idaho	2		2						
Montana	2		2						
New Mexico	2		2						
Utah	2	1	1						
Washington	2		2						
Wyoming	2	1	1						
Totals	756	305	282	92	31	10	32	2	1

The PRESIDENT. No person having received a majority of the votes cast, another ballot will be taken. The clerk will call the roll.

ELEVENTH BALLOT.

The roll of States was again called, and resulted:

Total number of votes cast, 755. [Necessary to a choice, 378.]

Of which—

Ulysses S. Grant received 305; James G. Blaine, 281; John Sherman, 93; George F. Edmunds, 31; Elihu B. Washburne, 32; William Windom, 10; James A. Garfield, 2; Rutherford B. Hayes, 1—as follows:

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	NO. OF DEL.	GRANT	BLAINE	SHERMAN	EDMUNDS	WINDOM	WASHBURN	GARFIELD	HAYES
Alabama	20	17	3						
Arkansas	12	12							
California	12	12							
Colorado	6	6							
Connecticut	12	3					9		
Delaware	6	6							
Florida	8	7	1						
Georgia	22	6	8	8					
Illinois	42	24	10				8		
Indiana	30	2	27				1		
Iowa	22	22					1		
Kansas	10	4	6						
Kentucky	24	20	1	3					
Louisiana	16	8	2	6					
Maine	14	14							
Maryland	16	8	5	2				1	
Massachusetts	26	4	2	19			1		
Michigan	22	1	21						
Minnesota	10				10				
Mississippi	16	6	4	6					
Missouri	30	29					1		
Nebraska	6	6							
Nevada	6	6							
New Hampshire	10	10							
New Jersey	18	16					2		
New York	70	51	17						
North Carolina	20	6	16						
Ohio	44	9	34	1					
Oregon	6	6							
Pennsylvania	58	34	22	1				1	
Rhode Island	8	8							
South Carolina	14	12	1	1					
Tennessee	24	16	6	1	1				
Texas	16	12	1	2			1		
Vermont	10				10				
Virginia	22	15	2	4					1
West Virginia	10	1	8						
Wisconsin	20	1	7	3			9		
Arizona	2	2							
Dakota	2	1	1						
District of Columbia	2	1	1						
Idaho	2	2							
Montana	2	2							
New Mexico	2	2							
Utah	2	1	1						
Washington	2	2							
Wyoming	2	1	1						
Totals	756	305	281	93	31	10	32	2	1

OFFICIAL PROCEEDINGS OF THE

At the conclusion of the roll-call, and before the announcement of the result:

Mr. WOLTZ, of Virginia. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. For what purpose does the gentleman rise?

Mr. WOLTZ. I rise to make a change of the vote.

The PRESIDENT. That is not in order under the rule.

Mr. WOLTZ. There is an error in the vote of one of the delegates, and I desire to correct it.

The PRESIDENT. Does the gentleman state that the report of the vote is not as the delegate actually voted?

Mr WOLTZ. I do, sir.

The PRESIDENT. The State of Virginia will be again called.

The State of Virginia was again called.

Mr. WOLTZ. Sixteen for Ulysses S. Grant; two for James G. Blaine; four for John Sherman; and one for Rutherford B. Hayes.

The SECRETARY. That is one too many.

Mr. CONKLING. How many votes altogether does that make from Virginia?

The PRESIDENT. Virginia will be called again. There is evidently an error in the response of the chairman of the delegation.

The State of Virginia was again called.

Mr. WOLTZ. Fifteen for Ulysses S. Grant; two for James G. Blaine; one for Rutherford B. Hayes. [After a pause.] Mr. President, the call of the roll has been demanded by the delegation.

The PRESIDENT. The announcement of the vote by the chairman being questioned, the roll of delegates from that State will be called. It is understood that, under the rules, no delegate, upon this call, is entitled to vote otherwise than he has previously voted, so as to operate as a change of the vote.

The roll of the delegation from the State of Virginia was then called, the delegates, as their names were called, responding respectively as follows:

Peter J. Carter.....	John Sherman
J. W. Polindexter.....	Ulysses S. Grant
D. Sheffey Lewis.....	Ulysses S. Grant
Joseph Jorgenson.....	Ulysses S. Grant
John W. Woltz.....	Ulysses S. Grant
L. R. Stewart.....	Ulysses S. Grant
Geo. E. Bowden.....	John Sherman
Robert Norton.....	John Sherman
O. H. Russell.....	Rutherford B. Hayes
Josiah Crump.....	Ulysses S. Grant
W. L. Fernald (by his alternate, M. R. DeMortle).....	John Sherman
James D. Brady.....	Ulysses S. Grant
Wm. H. Pleasants.....	Ulysses S. Grant
H. Clay Harris.....	Ulysses S. Grant
J. F. Wilson.....	James G. Blaine
W. R. Watkins.....	Ulysses S. Grant
F. F. Ware.....	Ulysses S. Grant
John Donovan.....	Ulysses S. Grant
L. L. Lewis.....	Ulysses S. Grant
Wm. Brown.....	James G. Blaine
W. O. Austin.....	Ulysses S. Grant
C. C. Tompkins.....	Ulysses S. Grant

The vote of the State of Virginia was then announced: fifteen for Ulysses S. Grant; two for James G. Blaine; four for John Sherman; one for Rutherford B. Hayes, as above recorded.

The result of the eleventh ballot was announced as above recorded.



The PRESIDENT. No candidate having received a majority of the votes cast, another ballot will be again taken. The Clerk will call the roll.

Mr. DRAKE, of Minnesota. [The hour being 2:10 p. m.] I move that the Convention now take a recess until five o'clock.

The motion was not agreed to.

## TWELFTH BALLOT.

The roll of States was again called, and resulted:

Total number of votes cast, 755. [Necessary to a choice, 378.]

Of which—

Ulysses S. Grant received 304; James G. Blaine, 283; John Sherman, 92; George F. Edmunds, 31; Elihu B. Washburne, 33; William Windom, 10; James A. Garfield, 1; Rutherford B. Hayes, 1—as follows:

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	NO. OF DEL.	GRANT	BLAINE	SHERMAN	EDMUNDS	WINDOM	WASHBURN	GARFIELD	HAYES
Alabama	20	17	...	3	...	...	...	...	...
Arkansas	12	12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
California	13	...	12	...	...	...	...	...	...
Colorado	6	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Connecticut	12	...	3	...	...	...	9	...	...
Delaware	6	...	6	...	...	...	...	...	...
Florida	8	7	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
Georgia	22	6	8	8	...	...	...	...	...
Illinois	42	24	10	...	...	...	8	...	...
Indiana	30	2	27	...	...	...	1	...	...
Iowa	22	...	22	...	...	...	...	...	...
Kansas	10	4	6	...	...	...	...	...	...
Kentucky	24	20	1	2	...	...	...	...	...
Louisiana	16	8	2	6	...	...	...	...	...
Maine	14	...	14	...	...	...	...	...	...
Maryland	16	7	5	...	...	...	1	...	...
Massachusetts	26	4	...	...	19	...	1	...	...
Michigan	22	1	21	...	...	...	...	...	...
Minnesota	10	...	...	...	10	...	...	...	...
Mississippi	16	6	5	5	...	...	...	...	...
Missouri	30	29	...	...	...	...	1	...	...
Nebraska	6	...	6	...	...	...	...	...	...
Nevada	6	...	6	...	...	...	...	...	...
New Hampshire	10	...	10	...	...	...	...	...	...
New Jersey	18	...	16	...	...	...	2	...	...
New York	70	51	17	2	...	...	...	...	...
North Carolina	20	5	...	15	...	...	...	...	...
Ohio	44	...	9	34	1	...	...	...	...
Oregon	6	...	6	...	...	...	...	...	...
Pennsylvania	58	34	22	1	...	...	...	1	...
Rhode Island	8	...	8	...	...	...	...	...	...
South Carolina	14	12	1	1	...	...	...	...	...
Tennessee	24	16	6	1	1	...	...	...	...
Texas	16	12	1	2	...	...	1	...	...
Vermont	10	...	...	10	...	...	...	...	...
Virginia	32	15	3	2	...	...	...	...	1
West Virginia	10	1	8	...	...	...	...	...	...
Wisconsin	20	1	7	3	...	...	9	...	...
Arizona	2	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...
Dakota	2	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
District of Columbia	2	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
Idaho	2	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...
Montana	2	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...
New Mexico	2	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...
Utah	2	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
Washington	2	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...
Wyoming	2	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
Totals	756	304	283	92	31	10	33	1	1

## OFFICIAL PROCEEDINGS OF THE

The PRESIDENT. No person having received a majority of the votes cast, another ballot will be taken. The Clerk will call the roll.

## THIRTEENTH BALLOT.

The roll of States was again called, and resulted:

Total number of votes cast, 755. [Necessary to a choice, 378.]

Of which—

Ulysses S. Grant received 305; James G. Blaine, 285; John Sherman, 89; George F. Edmunds, 31; Elihu B. Washburne, 33; William Windom, 10; James A. Garfield, 1; George W. McCrary, of Iowa, 1—as follows:

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	NO. OF DEL.	GRANT	BLAINE	SHERMAN	EDMUNDS	WINDOM	WASHBURN	GARFIELD	MCCRARY
Alabama	20	17	...	3	...	...	...	...	...
Arkansas	12	12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
California	12	...	12	...	...	...	...	...	...
Colorado	6	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Connecticut	12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Delaware	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Florida	8	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Georgia	22	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Illinois	42	24	10	...	...	...	...	...	...
Indiana	30	2	27	...	...	...	...	...	...
Iowa	22	...	22	...	...	...	...	...	...
Kansas	10	4	6	...	...	...	...	...	...
Kentucky	24	20	1	3	...	...	...	...	...
Louisiana	16	8	2	6	...	...	...	...	...
Maine	14	...	14	...	...	...	...	...	...
Maryland	16	7	5	2	...	...	...	...	1
Massachusetts	26	4	...	2	19	...	...	...	...
Michigan	22	1	21	...	...	...	...	...	...
Minnesota	10	10	...	...	10	...	...	...	...
Mississippi	16	6	4	6	...	...	...	...	...
Missouri	30	29	...	...	...	...	1	...	...
Nebraska	6	...	6	...	...	...	...	...	...
Nevada	6	...	6	...	...	...	...	...	...
New Hampshire	10	...	10	...	...	...	...	...	...
New Jersey	18	...	16	...	...	...	2	...	...
New York	70	51	17	2	...	...	...	...	...
North Carolina	20	6	...	14	...	...	...	...	...
Ohio	44	...	9	34	1	...	...	...	...
Oregon	6	...	6	...	...	...	...	...	...
Pennsylvania	58	34	22	1	...	...	...	1	...
Rhode Island	8	...	8	...	...	...	...	...	...
South Carolina	14	12	1	1	...	...	...	...	...
Tennessee	24	16	6	1	1	...	...	...	...
Texas	16	12	2	1	...	...	1	...	...
Vermont	10	...	...	...	10	...	...	...	...
Virginia	22	15	5	2	...	...	...	...	...
West Virginia	10	1	8	...	...	...	...	...	...
Wisconsin	20	1	7	3	...	...	9	...	...
Arizona	2	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...
Dakota	2	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...
District of Columbia	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
Idaho	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...
Montana	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
New Mexico	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
Utah	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
Washington	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
Wyoming	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
Totals	756	305	285	89	31	10	33	1	1

The PRESIDENT. No person having received a majority of the votes cast, another ballot will be taken. The Clerk will call the roll.

## FOURTEENTH BALLOT.

The roll of States was again called, and resulted:

Total number of votes cast, 755. [Necessary to a choice, 378.]

Of which—

Ulysses S. Grant received 305; James G. Blaine, 285; John Sherman, 89; George F. Edmunds, 31; Elihu B. Washburne, 35; William Windom, 10—as follows:

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	NO. OF DEL.	GRANT	BLAINE	SHERMAN	EDMUNDS	WINDOM	WASHBURN
Alabama	20	17		3			
Arkansas	12	12					
California	12		12				
Colorado	6	6					
Connecticut	12		12				9
Delaware	6		6				
Florida	6	7	1				
Georgia	22	6	8	8			
Illinois	42	24	10				8
Indiana	30	2	27				1
Iowa	22		22				
Kansas	10	4	6				
Kentucky	24	20	2	2			
Louisiana	16	8	2	6			
Maine	14		14				2
Maryland	16	7	5	2			2
Massachusetts	26	4		2	19		1
Michigan	22	1	21				
Minnesota	10				10		
Mississippi	16	6	4	6			
Missouri	30	29					1
Nebraska	6		6				
Nevada	6		6				
New Hampshire	10		10				
New Jersey	18		16				2
New York	70	51	17	2			
North Carolina	20	5		15			
Ohio	44		9	34	1		
Oregon	6		6				
Pennsylvania	58	34	2	1			1
Rhode Island	8		8				
South Carolina	14	12	1	1			
Tennessee	24	16	6	1	1		
Texas	16	13	1	1			1
Vermont	10				10		
Virginia	22	15	5	2			
West Virginia	10	1	8				
Wisconsin	20	1	7	3			9
Arizona	2		2				
Dakota	2	1	1				
District of Columbia	2	1	1				
Idaho	2		2				
Montana	2		2				
New Mexico	2		2				
Utah	2	1	1				
Washington	2		2				
Wyoming	2	1	1				
Totals	756	305	285	89	31	10	35

## OFFICIAL PROCEEDINGS OF THE

The President. The Chair will state to the Convention that if at any time the condition of the ballot should seem to approach a stage where there is likely to be a majority, or nearly a majority, he will have the vote verified at the end of the roll-call. No person having received a majority of the votes cast another ballot will be taken. The Clerk will call the roll.

## FIFTEENTH BALLOT.

The roll of States was again called, and resulted:

Total number of votes cast, 755. [Necessary to a choice, 378.]

Of which—

Ulysses S. Grant received 309; James G. Blaine 281; John Sherman, 88; George F. Edmunds, 31; Elihu B. Washburne, 36; William Windom, 10—as follows:

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	NO. OF DEL.	GRANT	BLAINE	SHERMAN	EDMUNDS	WASHBURN	WINDOM
Alabama	20	17	1	2			
Arkansas	12	12					
California	12	12	1				
Colorado	6	6					
Connecticut	12	12					
Delaware	6	6					
Florida	8	7	1				
Georgia	22	7	1	8			
Illinois	42	24	10				
Indiana	30	22	26				
Iowa	22	22	22				
Kansas	10	4	6				
Kentucky	24	20	2	2			
Louisiana	16	8	2	6			
Maine	14	14					
Maryland	16	7	5	2			
Massachusetts	26	4	2	19			
Michigan	22	1	21				
Minnesota	10				10		
Mississippi	16	6	4	6			
Missouri	30	29					
Nebraska	6	6					
Nevada	6	6					
New Hampshire	10	10					
New Jersey	18	16					
New York	70	51	17	2			
North Carolina	20	6	14				
Ohio	44	9	34	1			
Oregon	6	6					
Pennsylvania	58	34	22	1			
Rhode Island	8	8					
South Carolina	14	12	1	1			
Tennessee	24	16	6	1	1		
Texas	16	13	1	1			
Vermont	10				10		
Virginia	22	18	2	2			
West Virginia	10	1	8				
Wisconsin	20	1	7	3			
Arizona	2	2					
Dakota	2	1	1				
District of Columbia	2	1	1				
Idaho	2	2					
Montana	2	2					
New Mexico	2	1	1				
Utah	2	2					
Washington	2	1	1				
Wyoming	2	1	1				
Totals	756	309	281	88	31	10	36

The PRESIDENT. No person having received a majority of the votes cast, another ballot will be taken. The Clerk will call the roll.

## SIXTEENTH BALLOT.

The roll of States was again called, and resulted:

Total number of votes cast, 754. [Necessary to a choice, 378.]

Of which—

Ulysses S. Grant received 306; James G. Blaine, 283; John Sherman, 88; George F. Edmunds, 31; Elihu B. Washburne, 36; William Windom, 10—as follows:

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	NO. OF DEL.	GRANT	BLAINE	SHERMAN	EDMUNDS	WINDOM	WASHBURN
Alabama	20	16	1	3			
Arkansas	12	12					
California	12		12				
Colorado	6	6					
Connecticut	12		3				9
Delaware	6		6				
Florida	8	7					
Georgia	22	6	8	8			
Illinois	42	24	10				8
Indiana	30	2	26				2
Iowa	22		22				
Kansas	10	4	6				
Kentucky	24	20	2	2			
Louisiana	16	8	2	6			
Maine	14		14				
Maryland	16	7	5	2			2
Massachusetts	26	4		2	19		1
Michigan	22	1	21				
Minnesota	10					10	
Mississippi	16	6	4	6			
Missouri	30	29					1
Nebraska	6		6				
Nevada	6		6				
New Hampshire	10		10				
New Jersey	18		16				2
New York	70	51	17	2			
North Carolina	20	6		14			
Ohio	44		9	34	1		
Oregon	6		6				
Pennsylvania	58	34	22	1			1
Rhode Island	8		8				
South Carolina	14	12	1	1			
Tennessee	24	16	6	1	1		
Texas	16	12	2	1			1
Vermont	10				10		
Virginia	22	17	3	2			
West Virginia	10	1	8				
Wisconsin	20	1	7	3			9
Arizona	2		2				
Dakota	2	1	1				
District of Columbia	2	1	1				
Idaho	2		2				
Montana	2		2				
New Mexico	2		2				
Utah	2	1	1				
Washington	2		2				
Wyoming	2	1	1				
Totals	756	306	283	88	31	10	36

At the conclusion of the roll-call, and before the announcement of the result:

Mr. HICKS, of Florida. I desire the State of Florida to be called again.

The vote of Florida was again announced—seven for Ulysses S. Grant.

Mr. HICKS. I desire to change that, so that it will stand one vote for James G. Blaine and seven votes for Ulysses S. Grant.

The PRESIDENT. Was the vote so cast when first called, or do you wish that it be now changed?

Mr. HICKS. It was not so announced on the first call. The Blaine man was out.

The PRESIDENT. The vote cannot now be changed.

The result of the sixteenth ballot was announced as above recorded.

The PRESIDENT. No person having received a majority of the votes cast, another ballot will be taken. The Clerk will call the roll.

Mr. LEWIS, of Kentucky. [The hour being 3, p. m.] *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. For what purpose does the gentleman rise

Mr. LEWIS. I move that the Convention now take a recess until half-past five o'clock.

The motion was not agreed to.

#### SEVENTEENTH BALLOT.

The roll of States was again called, and resulted:

Total number of votes cast, 755. [Necessary to a choice, 378.]

Of which—

Ulysses S. Grant received 303; James G. Blaine, 284; John Sherman, 90; George F. Edmunds, 31; Elihu B. Washburne, 36; William Windom, 10; Edmund J. Davis, of Texas, 1—as follows:

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	NO. OF DEL.	GRANT	BLAINE	SHERMAN	EDMUNDS	WINDOM	WASHBURN	E. J. DAVIS
Alabama	20	15	2	2				
Arkansas	12	12						
California	12		12					
Colorado	6	6						
Connecticut	12		3					
Delaware	6		6					
Florida	23	7	1					
Georgia	22	6	3	8				
Illinois	42	24	10					
Indiana	30	2	24					
Iowa	22		22					
Kansas	10	4	6					
Kentucky	24	20	2	2				
Louisiana	16	8	2	6				
Maine	14		14					
Maryland	16	7	5	2				

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	NO. OF DEL.	GRANT	BLAINE	SHERMAN	EDMONDS	WINDOM	WASHBURNE	R. J. DAVIS
Massachusetts	26	4		3	19		1	
Michigan	22	1	21					
Minnesota	10					10		
Mississippi	16	6	4	6				
Missouri	30	29					1	
Nebraska	8		6					
Nevada	6		6					
New Hampshire	10		10					
New Jersey	18		16				2	
New York	70	50	18	2				
North Carolina	20	5		15				
Ohio	44		9	34	1			
Oregon	6		6					
Pennsylvania	58	34	22	1			1	
Rhode Island	8		8					
South Carolina	14	12	1	1				
Tennessee	24	16	6	1	1			
Texas	16	12	1	1			1	1
Vermont	10				10			
Virginia	22	17	2	3				
West Virginia	10	1	8					
Wisconsin	20	1	7	3			9	
Arizona	2		2					
Dakota	2	1	1					
District of Columbia	2	1	1					
Idaho	2		2					
Montana	2		2					
New Mexico	2		2					
Utah	2	1	1					
Washington	2		2					
Wyoming	2	1	1					
Totals	756	308	284	90	31	10	36	1

During the ballot:

On the call of the State of Alabama.

Mr. GEO. TURNER, of Alabama. *Mr. President:* I ask that Alabama be passed for a moment.

The PRESIDENT. The State of Alabama will lose its vote on this ballot unless the chairman now responds. The rule is inexorable.

The result of the seventeenth ballot was announced as above recorded.

The PRESIDENT. No person having received a majority of the votes cast, another ballot will be taken. The Clerk will call the roll.

#### EIGHTEENTH BALLOT.

The roll of States was again called, and resulted:

Total number of votes cast, 755. [Necessary to a choice 378.]

Of which—

Ulysses S. Grant received 305; James G. Blaine, 283; John Sherman, 91; George F. Edmunds, 31; Elihu B. Washburne, 35; William Windom, 10—as follows:

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## STATES AND TERRITORIES.

	NO. OF DEL.	GRANT	BLAINE	SHERMAN	HOMER	WILSON	WASHBURN
Alabama	20	15	12	12	9		
Arkansas	12	12					9
California	12	6					
Colorado	12	6					
Connecticut	12	6					
Delaware	12	6					
Florida	12	6					
Georgia	12	6					
Illinois	22	8	7	10	8		8
Indiana	42	24	24	24	24		2
Iowa	30	24	24	24	24		
Kansas	22	10	4	6	6		
Kentucky	10	20	8	14	14		1
Louisiana	16	8	8	14	14		1
Maine	16	4	4	5	5	19	
Maryland	16	1	1	21	21		10
Massachusetts	26	1	1	4	4		1
Michigan	22	16	8	29	29		
Minnesota	10	6	6	6	6		2
Mississippi	6	6	6	6	6		
Missouri	10	10	10	10	10		
Nebraska	18	18	18	18	18		
Nevada	70	50	50	50	50		
New Hampshire	20	5	5	9	9		1
New Jersey	44	6	6	6	6		
New York	58	34	34	34	34		
North Carolina	8	8	8	8	8		1
Ohio	14	12	12	12	12		
Oregon	24	16	16	16	16		
Pennsylvania	16	13	13	13	13		
Rhode Island	16	16	16	16	16		
South Carolina	10	17	17	17	17		9
Tennessee	22	1	1	1	1		
Texas	10	1	1	1	1		
Vermont	20	1	1	1	1		
Virginia	20	1	1	1	1		
West Virginia	20	1	1	1	1		
Wisconsin	20	1	1	1	1		
Arizona	20	1	1	1	1		
Dakota	20	1	1	1	1		
District of Columbia	20	1	1	1	1		
Idaho	20	1	1	1	1		
Montana	20	1	1	1	1		
New Mexico	20	1	1	1	1		
Utah	20	1	1	1	1		
Washington	20	1	1	1	1		
Wyoming	20	1	1	1	1		
Totals	756	305	283	91	31	10	35

During the ballot:  
On the announcement of the vote of the State of New York.

Mr. SHARPE, of New York. I question the correctness of the statement of the vote of New York.

The PRESIDENT. The roll of the State of New York will be called.  
The roll of the delegation from the State of New York was then called, as their names were called, responding respectively as follows:



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## DELEGATES-AT-LARGE.

Roscoe Conkling .....	Ulysses S. Grant
Alonzo B. Cornell (by his alternate, Jacob Hoysradt).....	Ulysses S. Grant
Chester A. Arthur.....	Ulysses S. Grant
James D. Warren.....	Ulysses S. Grant

## DISTRICTS.

First District .....	John Birdsall .....	James G. Blaine
First District .....	Siméon S. Hawkins .....	James G. Blaine
Second District .....	James Jourdan .....	Ulysses S. Grant
Second District .....	Amos F. Learned .....	Ulysses S. Grant
Third District .....	Frederick A. Schroeder .....	Ulysses S. Grant
Third District .....	Albert Daggett .....	John Sherman
Fourth District .....	Jacob Worth .....	Ulysses S. Grant
Fourth District .....	Benjamin F. Tracy .....	Ulysses S. Grant
Fifth District .....	Edwards Pierrepont .....	Ulysses S. Grant
Fifth District .....	Pierre C. Van Wyck .....	Ulysses S. Grant
Sixth District .....	Charles E. Cornell .....	Ulysses S. Grant
Sixth District .....	De Witt C. Wheeler .....	Ulysses S. Grant
Seventh District .....	Jacob M. Patterson, Jr. ....	Ulysses S. Grant
Seventh District .....	John J. O'Brien .....	Ulysses S. Grant
Eighth District .....	John D. Lawson .....	Ulysses S. Grant
Eighth District .....	Charles Blackle .....	Ulysses S. Grant
Ninth District .....	James R. Davis .....	Ulysses S. Grant
Ninth District .....	Stephen B. French .....	Ulysses S. Grant
Tenth District .....	Levi P. Morton .....	Ulysses S. Grant
Tenth District .....	Bernard Biglin .....	Ulysses S. Grant
Eleventh District .....	Thomas Murphy .....	Ulysses S. Grant
Eleventh District .....	Jacob Hess .....	Ulysses S. Grant
Twelfth District .....	William H. Robertson .....	James G. Blaine
Twelfth District .....	James W. Husted .....	James G. Blaine
Thirteenth District .....	Louis F. Payn .....	Ulysses S. Grant
Thirteenth District .....	John B. Dutcher .....	James G. Blaine
Fourteenth District .....	Moses D. Stivers .....	James G. Blaine
Fourteenth District .....	Blake G. Wales .....	James G. Blaine
Fifteenth District .....	George H. Sharpe .....	Ulysses S. Grant
Fifteenth District .....	Rufus H. King .....	Ulysses S. Grant
Sixteenth District .....	Henry R. Pierson .....	Ulysses S. Grant
Sixteenth District .....	Charles P. Easton .....	Ulysses S. Grant
Seventeenth District .....	John M. Francis .....	Ulysses S. Grant
Seventeenth District .....	Isaac V. Baker, Jr. ....	Ulysses S. Grant
Eighteenth District .....	William W. Rockwell .....	Ulysses S. Grant
Eighteenth District .....	Oliver Abell, Jr. ....	James G. Blaine
Nineteenth District .....	Wells S. Dickinson .....	John Sherman
Nineteenth District .....	Henry R. James .....	James G. Blaine
Twentieth District .....	Webster Wagner .....	James G. Blaine
Twentieth District .....	George West .....	James G. Blaine
Twenty-first District .....	Ferris Jacobs, Jr. ....	James G. Blaine
Twenty-first District .....	David Wilber .....	Ulysses S. Grant
Twenty-second District .....	John P. Douglass .....	James G. Blaine
Twenty-second District .....	Sidney Sylvester .....	James G. Blaine
Twenty-second District .....	(By his alternate, Clinton L. Merriam.)	
Twenty-third District .....	Edward H. Shelley .....	Ulysses S. Grant
Twenty-third District .....	William H. Comstock .....	Ulysses S. Grant
Twenty-fourth District .....	George M. Case .....	Ulysses S. Grant
Twenty-fourth District .....	Charles L. Kennedy .....	Ulysses S. Grant
Twenty-fifth District .....	Dennis McCarthy .....	James G. Blaine
Twenty-fifth District .....	James J. Belden .....	Ulysses S. Grant
Twenty-sixth District .....	William B. Woodin .....	James G. Blaine
Twenty-sixth District .....	(By his alternate, Leander Flitts.)	
Twenty-sixth District .....	John B. Murray .....	Ulysses S. Grant
Twenty-seventh District .....	Francis O. Mason .....	Ulysses S. Grant
Twenty-seventh District .....	George N. Hicks .....	Ulysses S. Grant
Twenty-eighth District .....	Thomas C. Platt .....	Ulysses S. Grant
Twenty-eighth District .....	Orlow W. Chapman .....	Ulysses S. Grant
Twenty-ninth District .....	Chester S. Cole .....	Ulysses S. Grant
Twenty-ninth District .....	Charles J. Langdon .....	Ulysses S. Grant
Thirtieth District .....	Edward A. Frost .....	Ulysses S. Grant
Thirtieth District .....	Henry A. Bruner .....	Ulysses S. Grant
Thirty-first District .....	George G. Hoskins .....	Ulysses S. Grant
Thirty-first District .....	John E. Pound .....	Ulysses S. Grant
Thirty-second District .....	Ray V. Pierce .....	Ulysses S. Grant
Thirty-second District .....	John Nice .....	Ulysses S. Grant
Thirty-third District .....	Norman M. Allen .....	James G. Blaine
Thirty-third District .....	Loren B. Sessions .....	James G. Blaine



STATES AND TERRITORIES.		NO. OF DEL.	GRANT	BLAINE	SHERMAN	EDMONDS	WINDOM	WASHBURNE	GARFIELD	HARTMANFT
Florida	8	8								
Georgia	23	6	8	8						
Illinois	42	24	10	3						
Indiana	30	2	24	3				5		
Iowa	23		22					1		
Kansas	10	4	6							
Kentucky	24	20	3	3						
Louisiana	16	8	33	6						
Maine	14		14							
Maryland	16	7	5	4						
Massachusetts	25	4		2	19			1		
Michigan	23	1	21							
Minnesota	10					10				
Mississippi	16	6	4	6						
Missouri	30	29						1		
Nebraska	6		6							
Nevada	6		6							
New Hampshire	10		10							
New Jersey	18		16					2		
New York	70	50	18	2						
North Carolina	20	5		15						
Ohio	44		9	34	1					
Oregon	6		6							
Pennsylvania	58	34	21	1					1	1
Rhode Island	8		8							
South Carolina	14	12	1	1						
Tennessee	24	16	6	1	1					
Texas	16	13	1	1				1		
Vermont	10				10					
Virginia	22	16	2	4						
West Virginia	10	1	3							
Wisconsin	20	1	7	3				9		
Arizona			2	2						
Dakota		1	1							
District of Columbia		1	1							
Idaho			2							
Montana			2							
New Mexico										
Utah		1	1							
Washington			2							
Wyoming		1	1							
Totals		756	305	279	96	31	10	32	1	1

The PRESIDENT. No person having received a majority of the votes cast, another ballot will be taken. The Clerk will call the roll.

#### TWENTIETH BALLOT.

The roll of States was again called, and resulted:

Total number of votes cast, 755. [Necessary to a choice, 378.]

Of which—

Ulysses S. Grant received 308; James G. Blaine, 276; John Sherman, 93; George F. Edmunds, 31; Elihu B. Washburne, 35; William Windom, 10; James A. Garfield, 1; John F. Hartranft, 1—as follows:

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	NO. OF DEL.	GRANT	BLAINE	SHERMAN	EDMONDS	WINDOM	WASHBURNE	GARFIELD	HARTMANPT
Alabama	20	16	1	3					
Arkansas	12	12							
California	12		12						
Colorado	6	6							
Connecticut	12		9						
Delaware	6		6				9		
Florida	8		8						
Georgia	22	7	7	8					
Illinois	45	24	10				9		
Indiana	30	2	21	3			4		
Iowa	22		22						
Kansas	10	4	5	3					
Kentucky	24	20	3	3					
Louisiana	16	8	2	6					
Maine	14		14						
Maryland	16	7	5	4					
Massachusetts	26	4		2	19		1		
Michigan	22	1	21						
Minnesota	10					10			
Mississippi	16	6	4	6					
Missouri	30	29					1		
Nebraska	6		6						
Nevada	6		6						
New Hampshire	10		10						
New Jersey	18		16				2		
New York	70	60	18	2					
North Carolina	20	6		14					
Ohio	44		9	34	1				
Oregon	6		6						
Pennsylvania	68	34	21	1				1	1
Rhode Island	8		8						
South Carolina	14	12	1	1					
Tennessee	24	17	5	1	1				
Texas	16	13	1	1			1		
Vermont	10				10				
Virginia	22	16	4	2					
West Virginia	10	1	8						
Wisconsin	20	1	7	3			9		
Arizona	2		2						
Dakota	1		1						
District of Columbia	1		1						
Idaho	2		2						
Montana	2		2						
New Mexico	2		2						
Utah	1		1						
Washington	1		1						
Wyoming	2		1						
Totals	756	308	276	93	31	10	35	1	1

The PRESIDENT. No person having received a majority of the votes cast, another ballot will be taken. The Clerk will call the roll.

#### TWENTY-FIRST BALLOT.

The roll of States was again called, and resulted:

Total number of votes cast, 755. [Necessary to a choice, 378.]

Of which—

Ulysses S. Grant received 305; James G. Blaine, 276; John Sherman, 96; George F. Edmunds, 31; Elihu B. Washburne, 35; William Windom, 10; James A. Garfield, 1; John F. Hartranft, 1—as follows:

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	NO. OF DEL.	GRANT	BLAINE	SHERMAN	EDMONDS	WINDOM	WASHBURNE	GARFIELD	HARTMANFT
Alabama	20	16	1	3					
Arkansas	12	12							
California	12		12						
Colorado	6	6							
Connecticut	12		3				9		
Delaware	6		6						
Florida	8	8							
Georgia	32	7	7	8					
Illinois	42	24	10				8		
Indiana	30	2	21	3			4		
Iowa	22		22						
Kansas	10	4	6						
Kentucky	24	20	2	2					
Louisiana	16	8	8	6					
Maine	14		14						
Maryland	16	7	5	4					
Massachusetts	26	4		2	19		1		
Michigan	22	1	21						
Minnesota	10					10			
Mississippi	16	6	4	6					
Missouri	30	29					1		
Nebraska	6		6						
Nevada	6		6						
New Hampshire	10		10						
New Jersey	18		16				2		
New York	70	50	18	2					
North Carolina	20	5		15					
Ohio	44		9	34	1				
Oregon	6		6						
Pennsylvania	58	34	21	1				1	1
Rhode Island	8		8						
South Carolina	14	12	1	1					
Tennessee	24	17	5	1	1				
Texas	16	12	2	1			1		
Vermont	10				10				
Virginia	22	16	3	3					
West Virginia	10	1	8						
Wisconsin	20	1	7	3			9		
Arizona	2		2						
Dakota	2		1	1					
District of Columbia	3		1	1					
Idaho	2		2						
Montana	2		2						
New Mexico	2		2						
Utah	2	1	1						
Washington	2		2						
Wyoming	2	1	1						
Totals	756	305	276	96	31	10	85	1	1

The PRESIDENT. No person having received a majority of the votes cast, another ballot will be taken. The Clerk will call the roll.

#### TWENTY-SECOND BALLOT.

The roll of States was again called, and resulted:

Total number of votes cast, 755. [Necessary to a choice, 378.]

Of which—

Ulysses S. Grant received 305; James G. Blaine, 275; John Sherman, 97; George F. Edmunds, 31; Elihu B. Washburne, 35; William Windom, 10; James A. Garfield, 1; John F. Hartranft, 1—as follows:

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	NO. OF DEL.	GRANT	BLAINE	SHERMAN	EDMUNDS	WINDOM	WASHBURN	GARFIELD	HARTSHORN
Alabama	20	16	1	3					
Arkansas	12	12							
California	12		12						
Colorado	6	6							
Connecticut	12						9		
Delaware	6		6						
Florida	8								
Georgia	22	7	7	1					
Illinois	42	24	10	8			8		
Indiana	30	2	21	2			4		
Iowa	22		22						
Kansas	10	4	6						
Kentucky	24	26	2	2					
Louisiana	16	8	2	3					
Maine	14		14						
Maryland	16	7	6	4					
Massachusetts	26	4		2	19		1		
Michigan	22	1	21			10			
Minnesota	10								
Mississippi	16	6	4	6					
Missouri	30	29					1		
Nebraska	6		6						
Nevada	6		6						
New Hampshire	10		10						
New Jersey	18		16				2		
New York	70	50	18	2					
North Carolina	20	6		14					
Ohio	44		9	34	1				
Oregon	6		6						
Pennsylvania	58	34	21	1				1	1
Rhode Island	8		8						
South Carolina	14	12	1	1					
Tennessee	24	17	5	1	1				
Texas	16	12	1	2			1		
Vermont	10				10				
Virginia	22	16	3	3					
West Virginia	10	1	8						
Wisconsin	20	1	7	3			9		
Arizona	2		2						
Dakota	2	1	1						
District of Columbia	2			1					
Idaho	2		2						
Montana	2		2						
New Mexico	2	1	2						
Utah	2		1						
Washington	2		2						
Wyoming	2	1	1						
Totals	756	305	275	97	31	10	35	1	1

The PRESIDENT. No person having received a majority of the votes cast, another ballot will be taken. The Clerk will call the roll.

#### TWENTY-THIRD BALLOT.

The roll of States was again called, and resulted:

Total number of votes cast, 755. • [Necessary to a choice, 378.]

Of which—

Ulysses S. Grant received 304; James G. Blaine, 275; John Sherman, 97; George F. Edmunds, 31; Elihu B. Washburne, 36; William Windom, 10; James A. Garfield, 2—as follows:

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	NO OF DEL.	GRANT	BLAINE	SHERMAN	EDMUNDS	WINDOM	WASHBURNE	GARFIELD
Alabama	20	16	1	3				
Arkansas	12	12						
California	12		12					
Colorado	6	6						
Connecticut	12		3				9	
Delaware	6		6					
Florida	8	7		1				
Georgia	22	7	7	8				
Illinois	42	24	10				8	
Indiana	30	2	22	2			4	
Iowa	22		22					
Kansas	10	4	6	6				
Kentucky	24	20	2	2				
Louisiana	16	8	2	6				
Maine	14		14					
Maryland	16	7	5	4			1	
Massachusetts	26	4		2	19		1	
Michigan	22	1	21					
Minnesota	10					10		
Mississippi	16	6	4	6				
Missouri	30	29					1	
Nebraska	6		6					
Nevada	6		6					
New Hampshire	10		10					
New Jersey	18		16				2	
New York	70	50	18	2				
North Carolina	20	5		15				
Ohio	44		9	34	1			
Oregon	6		6					
Pennsylvania	58	34	21	1				2
Rhode Island	8		8					
South Carolina	14	12	1	1				
Tennessee	24	17	5	1	1			
Texas	16	12	1	2			1	
Vermont	10				10			
Virginia	22	16	3	3				
West Virginia	10	1	7				1	
Wisconsin	20	1	7	3			9	
Arizona	2		2					
Dakota	2	1	1					
District of Columbia	2		1	1				
Idaho	2		2					
Montana	2		2					
New Mexico	2		2					
Utah	2	1	1					
Washington	2		2					
Wyoming	2	1	1					
Totals	756	304	275	97	31	10	36	2

The PRESIDENT. No person having received a majority of the votes cast, another ballot will be taken. The Clerk will call the roll.

TWENTY-FOURTH BALLOT.

The roll of States was again called, and resulted:

Total number of votes cast, 755. [Necessary to a choice, 378.]

Of which—

Ulysses S. Grant received 305; James G. Blaine, 279; John Sherman, 93; George F. Edmunds, 31; Elihu B. Washburne, 35; William Windom, 10; James A. Garfield, 2—as follows:

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	NO. OF DEL.	GRANT	BLAINE	SHERMAN	EDMONDS	WINDOM	WASHINGTON	CARFIELD
Alabama	20	16	1	3				
Arkansas	12	12						
California	12		12					
Colorado	6	6						
Connecticut	12		3				9	
Delaware	6		6					
Florida	8	7		1				
Georgia	22	7	7	8				
Illinois	42	24	10				8	
Indiana	30	2	22	3			4	
Iowa	22		22					
Kansas	10	4	6					
Kentucky	24	20	3	3				
Louisiana	16	8	4	4				
Maine	14		14					
Maryland	16	7	5	4				
Massachusetts	26	4		2	19		1	
Michigan	22	1	21					
Minnesota	10					10		
Mississippi	16	7	4	5				
Missouri	30	29					1	
Nebraska	6		6					
Nevada	6		6					
New Hampshire	10		10					
New Jersey	18		16				2	
New York	70	50	18	2				
North Carolina	20	6		14				
Ohio	44		9	34	1			
Oregon	6		6					
Pennsylvania	68	34	21	1				2
Rhode Island	8		8					
South Carolina	14	12	1					
Tennessee	24	16	6	1	1			
Texas	16	12	1	2			1	
Vermont	10				10			
Virginia	22	16	3	3				
West Virginia	10	1	8					
Wisconsin	20	1	7	3			9	
Arizona	2		2					
Dakota	2	1	1					
District of Columbia	2		1	1				
Idaho	2		2					
Montana	2		2					
New Mexico	2		2					
Utah	2	1	1					
Washington	2		2					
Wyoming	2	1	1					
Totals	756	305	279	73	31	10	35	2

During the ballot:

On the announcement of the vote of the State of Louisiana.

Mr. YOUNG, of Louisiana. *Mr. President:* I ask that the vote of Louisiana be polled.

The PRESIDENT. Does the gentleman question the report of the chairman of the delegation?

Mr. YOUNG. I ask that the vote of the delegation be polled.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman has no such right unless some delegate questions the report of the chairman. The roll will be called when the report of the chairman is questioned.



At the conclusion of the roll-call, and before the announcement of the vote:

Mr. HICKS, of Florida. *Mr. President*—

The PRESIDENT. For what purpose does the gentleman rise?

Mr. HICKS. I rise to ask a question of the Chair, for information.

The PRESIDENT. What is the nature of the question?

Mr. HICKS. Pertaining to the vote before it is announced.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman will put his question.

Mr. HICKS. The question is this: If an alternate is here from some State or Territory by proxy, or if some person is here in his stead who is irresponsible, and can show no credentials for casting the vote of that alternate, ought that vote to be counted?

The PRESIDENT. The Chair cannot undertake to deal with such a question raised at this time. The Clerk will announce the vote.

The result of the twenty-fourth ballot was then announced as above recorded.

The PRESIDENT. No person having received a majority of the votes cast, another ballot will be taken. The Clerk will call the roll.

TWENTY-FIFTH BALLOT.

The roll of States was then called, and resulted:

Total number of votes cast, 755. [Necessary to a choice, 378.]

Of which—

Ulysses S. Grant received 302; James G. Blaine, 281; John Sherman, 94; George F. Edmunds, 31; Elihu B. Washburne, 35; William Windom, 10; James A. Garfield, 2—as follows:

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	NO. OF DEL.	GRANT	BLAINE	SHERMAN	EDMUNDS	WINDOM	WASHBURN	GARFIELD
Alabama	20	16	1	3	...	...	...	...
Arkansas	12	12	...	...	...	...	...	...
California	12	...	12	...	...	...	...	...
Colorado	6	6	...	...	...	...	...	...
Connecticut	12	...	3	...	...	...	9	...
Delaware	6	...	6	...	...	...	...	...
Florida	8	7	...	1	...	...	...	...
Georgia	22	7	7	...	...	...	...	...
Illinois	42	24	10	...	...	...	...	...
Indiana	30	2	22	2	...	...	8	...
Iowa	22	...	22	...	...	...	4	...
Kansas	10	4	6	...	...	...	...	...
Kentucky	24	20	2	12	...	...	...	...
Louisiana	16	8	4	...	...	...	...	...
Maine	14	...	14	...	...	...	...	...
Maryland	16	7	5	...	...	...	...	...
Massachusetts	26	4	...	...	19	...	1	...
Michigan	1	...	21	...	...	...	...	...
Minnesota	...	...	...	...	...	10	...	...
Mississippi	16	5	4	6	...	...	...	1
Missouri	30	29	...	...	...	...	1	...
Nebraska	6	...	6	...	...	...	...	...
Nevada	6	...	6	...	...	...	...	...

## OFFICIAL PROCEEDINGS OF THE

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	NO. OF DEL.	GRANT	BLAINE	SHERMAN	EDMONDS	WINDOM	WASHBURN	GARFIELD
New Hampshire	10		10					
New Jersey	18		16					
New York	70	50	18					
North Carolina	20	5		15				
Ohio	44		9	34	1			
Oregon	6							
Pennsylvania	58	34	21	1				
Rhode Island	8		8					
South Carolina	14	12	1	1				
Tennessee	24	16	6	1	1			
Texas	16	12	2	1			1	
Vermont	10				10			
Virginia	22	16	3	3				
West Virginia	10	1	8					
Wisconsin	20	1	8	3			8	
Arizona	2							
Dakota	2	1	1					
District of Columbia	2		1	1				
Idaho	2							
Montana	2							
New Mexico	2							
Utah	2	1	1					
Washington	2							
Wyoming	2	1	1					
Totals	755	302	281	94	31	10	35	2

## During the ballot:

On the announcement of the vote of the Territory of New Mexico.

Mr. TRACY, of New York. I challenge the vote of New Mexico, and ask to have the roll called.

The PRESIDENT. Does the gentleman question the report of the chairman of that delegation? That is the only ground on which the roll can be called.

Mr. TRACY. I do.

The PRESIDENT. Let the roll of the Territory of New Mexico be called.

The roll of delegates from the Territory of New Mexico was then called, the delegates, as their names were called, responding as follows:

Wm. Breedon.....James G. Blaine  
Wm. L. Rynerson.....James G. Blaine

The PRESIDENT. No person having received a majority of the votes cast, another ballot will be taken. The Clerk will call the roll.

## TWENTY-SIXTH BALLOT.

The roll of States was again called, and resulted:

Total number of votes cast, 755. [Necessary to a choice, 378.]

Of which—

Ulysses S. Grant received 303; James G. Blaine, 280; John Sherman, 93; George F. Edmunds, 31; Elihu B. Washburne, 36; William Windom, 10; James A. Garfield, 2—as follows:

STATES AND TERRITORIES	NO. OF DEL.	GRANT	BLAINE	SHERMAN	EDMONDS	WINDOM	WASHBURNE	GARFIELD
Alabama	20	16	1	3				
Arkansas	12	12						
California	12		12					
Colorado	6	6						
Connecticut	12		3				9	
Delaware	6		6					
Florida	8	7		1				
Georgia	22	7	7	8				
Illinois	42	24	10				8	
Indiana	30	2	22	2			4	
Iowa	22		22					
Kansas	10	4	6					
Kentucky	24	20	2					
Louisiana	16	8	4	4				
Maine	14		14					
Maryland	16	7	5	4			1	
Massachusetts	26	4		2	19		1	
Michigan	22	1	21					
Minnesota	10					10		
Mississippi	16	5	4	6			1	
Missouri	30	29					1	
Nebraska	6		6					
Nevada	6		6					
New Hampshire	10		10					
New Jersey	18		16				2	
New York	70	50	18	2				
North Carolina	20	6		14				
Ohio	44		9	34	1			
Oregon	6		6					
Pennsylvania	58	34	21	1				2
Rhode Island	8		8					
South Carolina	14	12	1	1				
Tennessee	24	16	6	1	1			
Texas	16	12	2	1			1	
Vermont	10				10			
Virginia	22	16	3	3				
West Virginia	10	1	8					
Wisconsin	20	1	7	3			9	
Arizona	2		2					
Dakota	2	1	1					
District of Columbia	2		1	1				
Idaho	2		2					
Montana	2		2					
New Mexico	2		2					
Utah	2	1	1					
Washington	2		2					
Wyoming	2	1	1					
Totals	756	303	280	93	31	10	36	2

The PRESIDENT. No person having received a majority of the votes cast, another ballot will be taken. The Clerk will call the roll.

#### TWENTY-SEVENTH BALLOT.

The roll of States was again called, and resulted:

Total number of votes cast, 755. [Necessary to a choice, 378.]

Of which—

Ulysses S. Grant received 306; James G. Blaine, 277; John Sherman, 93; George F. Edmunds, 31; Elihu B. Washburne, 36; William Windom, 10; James A. Garfield, 2—as follows:

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	NO. OF DEL.	GRANT	BLAINE	SHERMAN	EDMUNDS	WINDOM	WASHINGTON	GARFIELD
Alabama	20	16	1	3				
Arkansas	12	12						
California	12		12					
Colorado	6	6						
Connecticut	12		3				9	
Delaware	8		6					
Florida	8	7		1				
Georgia	22	7	7	8				
Illinois	42	24	10				8	
Indiana	30	2	22	12			4	
Iowa	22		22					
Kansas	10	4	6					
Kentucky	24	20	2	2				
Louisiana	16	8	4	4				
Maine	14		14					
Maryland	16	8	5	3				
Massachusetts	26	4		2	19		1	
Michigan	22	1	21					
Minnesota	10					10		
Mississippi	16	7	4	5				
Missouri	30	29					1	
Nebraska	6		8					
Nevada	6		6					
New Hampshire	10		10					
New Jersey	18		16				1	
New York	70	50	18	2				
North Carolina	20	5		15				
Ohio	44		9	34	1			
Oregon	8		6					
Pennsylvania	58	34	21	1				2
Rhode Island	8		8					
South Carolina	14	12	1	1				
Tennessee	24	16	5	1	1		1	
Texas	16	13	1	1			1	
Vermont	10				10			
Virginia	22	16	3	3				
West Virginia	10	1	8					
Wisconsin	20	1	7	3			9	
Arizona	2		2					
Dakota	2	1	1					
District of Columbia	3			2				
Idaho	2		2					
Montana	3		2					
New Mexico	3		2					
Utah	3	1	1					
Washington	3		2					
Wyoming	3	1	1					
Totals	756	306	277	93	31	10	36	2

The PRESIDENT. No person has received a majority of the votes cast.

Mr. MORSE. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. For what purpose does the gentleman rise?

Mr. MORSE. [The hour being 9:05, p. m.] I rise for the purpose of moving an adjournment of the Convention until ten o'clock tomorrow morning.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Massachusetts moves that the Convention adjourn until ten o'clock to-morrow morning. [After putting the question.] The "ayes"—

Mr. CONKLING, of New York. I dispute the count and demand a division.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair has not expressed any opinion.

Mr. CONKLING. I did not say the Chair had. I give my opinion.

The PRESIDENT. The "ayes" seem to the Chair to have it.

Several DELEGATES. Division.

The PRESIDENT. The rules authorize on the demand of two States a call of the roll if the decision of the Chair is disputed. The Chair, however, will put the question again.

Mr. CONKLING. I am authorized by a majority of the delegates from New York to say that that State seconds the demand for a roll-call, if the motion is insisted upon.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair will put the question again and take a *viva voce* vote. [After putting the question.] The "ayes" seem to the Chair to have it.

Several DELEGATES. Division.

Mr. CONKLING. New York demands a roll-call.

The PRESIDENT. A roll-call is demanded by the State of New York. Is the motion seconded by other States?

Mr. FILLEY, of Missouri. Missouri seconds the call for the roll.

A DELEGATE from Connecticut. Connecticut also seconds the call.

The PRESIDENT. The motion is seconded by other States; so the roll will be called.

Mr. MORSE. I withdraw the motion for adjournment.

The PRESIDENT. The motion to adjourn is withdrawn. Another ballot will now be taken. The Clerk will call the roll.

TWENTY-EIGHTH BALLOT.

The roll of States was again called, and resulted:

Total number of votes cast, 755. [Necessary to a choice, 378.]

Of which—

Ulysses S. Grant received 307; James G. Blaine, 279; John Sherman, 91; George F. Edmunds, 31; Elihu B. Washburne, 35; William Windom, 10; James A. Garfield, 2—as follows:

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	NO. OF DEL.	GRANT	BLAINE	SHERMAN	EDMUNDS	WINDOM	WASHBURN	GARFIELD
Alabama	20	16	1	3				
Arkansas	12	12						
California	12		12					
Colorado	6	6						
Connecticut	12		3				9	
Delaware	6	6						
Florida	8	7		1				
Georgia	22	7	8					
Illinois	42	24	10				8	
Indiana	30	2	22	2			4	
Iowa	22		22					
Kansas	10	4	6					
Kentucky	24	20	2	2				
Louisiana	16	8	4	4				

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	NO. OF DEL.	GRANT	BLAINE	SHERMAN	EDMUNDS	WINDOM	WASHBURN	CARFIELD
Maine	14	8	14	3				
Maryland	16	4	5	12				
Massachusetts	26	1	21		19		1	
Michigan	22	7	4	5		10		
Minnesota	10	29	6					
Mississippi	16	6	6					
Missouri	30	6	6				1	
Nebraska	6	10	10					
Nevada	6	18	16				3	
New Hampshire	10	70	18	2				
New Jersey	18	20	6	14				
New York	70	44	9	34	1			
North Carolina	20	6	6					
Ohio	44	34	21	1				
Oregon	6	8	8					
Pennsylvania	58	12	1	1				
Rhode Island	8	24	16	6	1	1		
South Carolina	14	16	1	1				
Tennessee	24	13	1	1			1	
Texas	16	10			10			
Vermont	10	22	16	3	3			
Virginia	22	10	1	8				
West Virginia	10	1	7	3			9	
Wisconsin	20	2	2					
Arizona	2	1	1	1				
Dakota	2	1	1					
District of Columbia	2	1	1	1				
Idaho	2	1	1					
Montana	2	1	1					
New Mexico	2	1	1					
Utah	2	1	1					
Washington	2	1	1					
Wyoming	2	1	1					
Totals	756	307	279	91	31	10	35	2

The PRESIDENT. No person has received a majority of the votes cast.

Mr. LOVERING, of Massachusetts. [The hour being 9:40, p. m.] I move that this Convention do now adjourn until to-morrow morning at ten o'clock.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Massachusetts moves that the Convention adjourn till ten o'clock to-morrow morning. [After putting the question.]. The ayes still seem to the Chair to have it. Is a division demanded?

Mr. WHITE, of Kentucky. I demand a division.

The PRESIDENT. Is the gentleman authorized by the delegation of 1 State to make that request?

Mr. WHITE. I am, sir.

The PRESIDENT. Is it seconded?

A DELEGATE from Nevada. Yes, by Nevada.

Mr. CONKLING. And by New York.

The PRESIDENT. It is demanded by Kentucky, and seconded by York and Nevada, that the roll be called. The roll will be called adj ingly. Gentlemen desiring to vote that the Convention now stand adj until ten o'clock to-morrow morning, will, when their States are through their chairman, answer "aye;" those opposed will, when their are called, answer "no." The Clerk will call the roll of States.

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The roll of States was then called, and resulted, yeas 446, nays 303, as follows:

States.	No. Del.	Ay.	No.	States.	No. Del.	Ay.	No.
Alabama .....	20	4	15	New York .....	70	20	50
Arkansas .....	12	..	12	North Carolina .....	20	20	..
California .....	12	12	..	Ohio .....	44	44	..
Colorado .....	6	..	6	Oregon .....	6	6	..
Connecticut .....	12	..	12	Pennsylvania .....	58	20	38
Delaware .....	6	6	..	Rhode Island .....	8	8	..
Florida .....	8	..	8	South Carolina .....	14	10	3
Georgia .....	22	20	2	Tennessee .....	24	8	16
Illinois .....	42	2	40	Texas .....	16	8	7
Indiana .....	30	24	4	Vermont .....	10	10	..
Iowa .....	22	22	..	Virginia .....	22	10	11
Kansas .....	10	6	4	West Virginia .....	10	6	3
Kentucky .....	24	2	22	Wisconsin .....	20	19	1
Louisiana .....	16	14	2	Arizona .....	2	2	..
Maine .....	14	14	..	Dakota .....	2	2	..
Maryland .....	16	9	7	District of Columbia .....	2	2	..
Massachusetts .....	26	21	5	Idaho .....	2	2	..
Michigan .....	22	21	1	Montana .....	2	2	..
Minnesota .....	10	10	..	New Mexico .....	2	2	..
Mississippi .....	16	12	4	Utah .....	2	2	..
Missouri .....	30	..	30	Washington .....	2	2	..
Nebraska .....	6	6	..	Wyoming .....	2	2	..
Nevada .....	6	6	..				
New Hampshire .....	10	10	..				
New Jersey .....	18	18	..				
				Totals .....	756	446	303

So the Convention, at nine o'clock and fifty minutes, p. m., adjourned until to-morrow morning at ten o'clock.

## SIXTH DAY.

TUESDAY, June 8, 1880—10 A. M.

Pursuant to adjournment the Convention met.

The PRESIDENT. The Rev. Dr. Thomas will offer prayer.

The Rev. Dr. H. W. Thomas offered the following

## PRAYER.

Our Father who art in Heaven: Help us with reverence and with confidence, in this morning hour, to look up to Thee for Thy blessing. We acknowledge Thy rule over the nations of the earth and the hearts of men, and we give thanks for Thy great love and mercy to us and to all mankind. May Thy blessing, O Father, be with Thy servants in this Convention, in the duties that lie before them in this hour. We thank Thee that such a scene is possible, of such a gathering of citizens and representatives in peace and order, that millions in their happy homes may thus be represented. Oh, may every interest of liberty, of good government, of humanity, be sacred in their hands. Grant to them, this day, much of the wisdom that cometh from above, much of that higher sense of responsibility that comes from the consciousness of an invisible presence, that comes from the longer looking, that goes beyond any prejudice or passion of the hour, and looks only to the results in the common good and welfare of all.

We thank Thee, that in the coming to this city, and in this great gathering, there have been peace and order; that there have been no accidents; that there has been generally good will; that the health and lives of the delegates, and the visitors, have been precious in Thy sight. And when their work shall be accomplished, may Thy Providence be over them as they journey homeward. May their families, their dear ones, be safe in Thy keeping, and may they be restored soon to their firesides again. And now let Thy blessing be upon us, and upon our country, and upon the great world of mankind. We ask in the name of Christ. Amen.

The PRESIDENT. Another ballot will be taken. The Clerk will call the roll.

## TWENTY-NINTH BALLOT.

The roll of States was again called, and resulted:

Total number of votes cast, 755. [Necessary to a choice, 378.]

Of which—

Ulysses S. Grant received 305; James G. Blaine, 278; John Sherman, 116; George F. Edmunds, 12; Elihu B. Washburne, 35; William Windom, 7; James A. Garfield 2—as follows:



STATES AND TERRITORIES.	NO. OF DEL.	GRANT	BLAINE	SHERMAN	EDMUNDS	WINDOM	WASHINGTON	CARFIELD
Alabama	20	16	1	3				
Arkansas	12	12						
California	12		12					
Colorado	6	6						
Connecticut	12		3				9	
Delaware	6		6					
Florida	8	7		1				
Georgia	22	7	7	8				
Illinois	42	24	10				8	
Indiana	30	2	21	3			4	
Iowa	22		22					
Kansas	10	4	6					
Kentucky	24	20	1	3				
Louisiana	16	8	4	4				
Maine	14		14					
Maryland	16	7	3	6				
Massachusetts	26	4		21			1	
Michigan	22	1	21					
Minnesota	10		3			7		
Mississippi	16	9	4	3				
Missouri	30	29					1	
Nebraska	6		6					
Nevada	6		6					
New Hampshire	10		10					
New Jersey	18		16				2	
New York	70	50	18					
North Carolina	20	5		16				
Ohio	44		9	34	1			
Oregon	6		6					
Pennsylvania	58	34	22					2
Rhode Island	8		8					
South Carolina	14	12	1	1				
Tennessee	24	16	5	2	1			
Texas	16	12	1	2			1	
Vermont	10				10			
Virginia	22	16	3	3				
West Virginia	10	1	8	1				
Wisconsin	20	1	7	3			9	
Arizona	2		2					
Dakota	2	1	1					
District of Columbia	2		1	1				
Idaho	2		2					
Montana	2		2					
New Mexico	2		2					
Utah	2	1	1					
Washington	2		2					
Wyoming	2	1	1					
Totals	756	305	278	116	12	7	35	2

During the ballot:

On the call of the State of Alabama.

Mr. GEO. TURNER, of Alabama. Sixteen votes for Ulysses S. Grant, one for James G. Blaine, and three for John Sherman.

Mr. WARNER, of Alabama. *Mr. President*—

The PRESIDENT. For what purpose does the gentleman rise?

Mr. WARNER. I rise to challenge the correctness of the vote as announced from Alabama.

The PRESIDENT. A delegate from Alabama questions the vote as announced by the Chairman. The roll of the delegates of the State will be called.

# OFFICIAL PROCEEDINGS

Mr. GEO. TURNER. Mr. President: I wish to make a statement ruling of the Chair.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair will hear the gentleman's point of order. Mr. GEO. TURNER. Yesterday, when I cast the votes of the delegates Alabama, it was without reference to the actual presence in the hall of a delegate, but upon his express authority. I did it for the friends of all the candidates. This morning one of the delegates was unable to attend this convention because he was feeling unwell, and authorized and instructed me to cast and record his vote.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman is not stating a point of order which now arises, and must suspend.

Mr. GEO. TURNER. I am explaining. I desire to ask the Chair whether I may be permitted to do it.

The PRESIDENT. The roll of the State will be called. The question will be determined when it arises, and not before.

The roll of the delegation from the State of Alabama was then called: the delegates, as their names were called, responding respectively as follows:

## DELEGATES-AT-LARGE.

George Turner .....	Ulysses S. Grant
Ben. S. Turney .....	Ulysses S. Grant
J. A. Thomasson .....	Ulysses S. Grant
Geo. M. Braxdale .....	Ulysses S. Grant

## DISTRICTS.

First District .....	James Gillette	Ulysses S. Grant
	Allen Alexander	

Mr. GEO. TURNER, of Alabama [Chairman of delegation]. Ulysses S. Grant.

Mr. WARNER. The answer was not made by Mr. Alexander in person?

The PRESIDENT. Was the answer made by Mr. Alexander in person?

Mr. TURNER. It was made by me, by Mr. Alexander's direction, from the first.

The PRESIDENT. The answer not being made by Mr. Alexander, the roll of the State will proceed; Mr. Alexander's alternate will then be called.

The call was proceeded with, resulting as follows:

Second District .....	Paul Strobach	Ulysses S. Grant
Second District .....	George W. Washington	Ulysses S. Grant
Third District .....	Isaac Heyman	Ulysses S. Grant
Third District .....	Wm. J. Stevens	Ulysses S. Grant
Fourth District .....	James T. Rapier	Ulysses S. Grant
Fourth District .....	L. E. Bryan	Ulysses S. Grant
Fifth District .....	H. C. Bird	Ulysses S. Grant
Fifth District .....	W. S. Trimble	Ulysses S. Grant
Sixth District .....	N. W. Smith	Ulysses S. Grant
Sixth District .....	Willard Warner	Ulysses S. Grant
Seventh District .....	J. M. Hinds	Ulysses S. Grant
Seventh District .....	A. W. McCullough	Ulysses S. Grant
Eighth District .....	J. Lake	Ulysses S. Grant
Eighth District .....	T. (Alternate for A. W. McCullough.)	Ulysses S. Grant

A DELEGATE from Alabama. Mr. Brandon is the gentleman here.

The SECRETARY [calling]. W. L. Matthews, alternate for Allen Alexander. [No response.]

The PRESIDENT. Will the gentleman from Alabama please give his attention? When a delegate does not answer to his name, the Chair will then direct to be called the name of the alternate borne on the roll opposite to the name of that delegate. If he does not respond, the Chair will then have called in order the names of the alternates for that class of delegates; for instance, if it be a delegate-at-large not answering, the other alternates-at-large; if it be a district delegate not answering, the other alternate for that district, giving the preference to the alternate borne on the roll opposite to the name of the delegate not answering.

Mr. GEO. TURNER. *Mr. President:* I desire to read a resolution adopted by the State convention of Alabama.

The PRESIDENT. That is out of order.

Mr. GEO. TURNER. It is with reference to alternates, for the information of the Chair.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair is only authorized by the rules of the Convention to deal with the roll, and not to deal with the titles of delegates to their seats. The Chair will cause the roll to be called and to be reported upon that principle. At the close of the entire roll-call on the ballot, the gentleman from Alabama, or any other delegate, may make a question of order as to the correctness of the ruling of the Chair, and submit that question to the Convention at that time. The Secretary will call the other alternate from the same district.

The SECRETARY [calling]. "Moses Bracey." [No response.]

The PRESIDENT. No response being made by either alternate, the call will proceed.

Mr. GARFIELD, of Ohio. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. For what purpose does the gentleman rise?

Mr. GARFIELD. I rise to a question of order.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman will state his question of order.

Mr. GARFIELD. If I understood the Chair aright, he ruled that any delegate could question the correctness of the count of any State.

The PRESIDENT. Certainly.

Mr. GARFIELD. I think the language of the rule excludes that construction. I think it only applies to any delegate from the State in question.

The PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read the rule on that subject.

Mr. GARFIELD. I do not know how it is written, but I know the intention of the Committee was to confine it to the State in which the question arises as to the correctness of the count.

The PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read the rule.

The Secretary. Mr. Clisbee, read as follows:

"Rule 8. In the record of the vote by States, the vote of each State, Territory and the District of Columbia shall be announced by the Chairman; and in case the votes of any State, Territory or the District of Columbia shall be divided, the Chairman shall announce the number of votes cast

for any candidate, or ~~for or against~~ any proposition; but, if exception is taken by any delegate to the correctness of such announcement by the chairman of his delegation, the President of the Convention shall direct the roll of the members of such delegation to be called, and the result shall be recorded in accordance with the votes individually given."

The PRESIDENT. The question stated by the gentleman from Ohio does not now arise as a practical question, the question now raised being raised by a delegate from the State of Alabama.

Mr. GARFIELD. I beg pardon of the Chair. I thought it was raised by a delegate from another State.

The PRESIDENT. The Secretary will call the other alternate from the proper district.

The SECRETARY [calling]. D. S. Brandon, the other alternate for the Eighth district of Alabama.

Mr. BRANDON, of Alabama. "Ulysses S. Grant."

Mr. WARNER, of Alabama. I wish to understand the ruling of the Chair. Can any delegate *not* from the district from which the absent delegate comes vote for that district?

The PRESIDENT. The Chair will state his ruling again, and desires the attention of the Convention. The Chair holds that, when a delegate fails to respond, the name of the alternate borne upon the roll opposite that delegate shall then be called. If that alternate does not respond, the names of the other alternates selected for the same representation, by the same authority, will be called in their order; as, for instance, if a delegate-at-large fails to respond, and the alternate whose name is on the roll opposite that delegate-at-large also fails to respond, the Chair will direct the other three alternates-at-large to be called in their order, and there stop. If, on the other hand, the failure to respond be that of a district delegate, the Chair will direct the name of the other alternate from that district (the *first* one failing to respond) to be called, and there stop.

Mr. CONKLING. The other alternate from the same district?

The PRESIDENT. From the same district, and from that only.

Mr. WARNER. This man is not from that district. That is the point I make.

The PRESIDENT. Two delegates from Alabama have failed to respond. In one case no alternate has responded; in the other case an alternate responded for the last delegate failing to respond. The Secretary will now report the vote of Alabama. If any question be made it will be open to any member of the Convention to make it when the final result is announced on this ballot.

The Clerk then announced the vote of Alabama as above recorded.

On the announcement of the vote of the State of Virginia.

Mr. WOLTZ, of Virginia. I question the correctness of the vote as announced by the Chairman.

The PRESIDENT. The Clerk will call the roll of Virginia.

The roll of the delegation from the State of Virginia was then called; the delegates, as their names were called, responding respectively as follows:

DELEGATES-AT-LARGE.

Peter J. Carter .....	[No response.]
J. W. Poindexter .....	Ulysses S. Grant
D. Sheffey Lewis .....	Ulysses S. Grant
Joseph Jorgenson .....	Ulysses S. Grant

DISTRICTS.

First District .....	John W. Woltz .....	Ulysses S. Grant
First District .....	L. R. Stewart .....	Ulysses S. Grant
Second District .....	George E. Bowden .....	John Sherman
Second District .....	Robert Norton .....	John Sherman
Third District .....	O. H. Russell .....	John Sherman
Third District .....	Josiah Crump .....	Ulysses S. Grant
Fourth District .....	W. L. Fernald .....	John Sherman
	(By his alternate, Mr. R. De Mortie.)	
Fourth District .....	James D. Brady .....	Ulysses S. Grant
Fifth District .....	W. H. Pleasants .....	Ulysses S. Grant
Fifth District .....	H. Clay Harris .....	Ulysses S. Grant
Sixth District .....	J. F. Wilson .....	James G. Blaine
Sixth District .....	W. R. Watkins .....	Ulysses S. Grant
Seventh District .....	F. F. Ware .....	Ulysses S. Grant
Seventh District .....	John Donovan .....	Ulysses S. Grant
Eighth District .....	Lunsford L. Lewis .....	Ulysses S. Grant
Elighth District .....	William Brown .....	James G. Blaine
Ninth District .....	W. O. Austin .....	Ulysses S. Grant
Ninth District .....	C. C. Tompkins .....	Ulysses S. Grant

The Secretary again called—

"PETER J. CARTER." [No response.]

Then—

"JOHN T. DEZENDORF, alternate for Peter J. Carter." [No response.]

Mr. WOLTZ, of Virginia. *Mr. President:* One of the delegates-at-large from Virginia is absent. There is one of the alternates present, but not the alternate for P. J. Carter, who is absent. Has the delegation a right to have the name of the alternate who is present called, under the ruling of the Chair, "to cast the vote of a delegate-at-large?"

The PRESIDENT. The alternate whose name is borne on the roll opposite the name of the delegate failing to respond, the other alternates-at-large may answer the call in their order. The Clerk will call the others in their order.

The SECRETARY [calling]. "Samuel M. Yost."

Mr. YOST, of Virginia. "Ulysses S. Grant."

Mr. WOLTZ. I rise to a question of privilege.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman will state his question of privilege.

Mr. WOLTZ. In giving the vote before, one of the delegates requested me to cast his vote for James G. Blaine, but when his name was called he changed his vote to John Sherman. He has now just authorized me to say that he desires to cast his vote as he did when I announced it—for Mr. Blaine, which will make the vote of Virginia stand as before—sixteen for Grant, three for Sherman and three for Blaine.

The PRESIDENT. The vote cannot be changed after it has been cast [After a pause.] The Chair is in error. The gentleman may change his vote at any time before the vote is announced, and he is entitled to change his vote now if he sees fit. Will the chairman of the Virginia delegation please inform the Chair of the name of the delegate who desires to have his name called?

## OFFICIAL PROCEEDINGS OF THE

Mr. WOLTZ. His name is Robert Norton.

The SECRETARY [calling]. Robert Norton, of the Second Congressional district of Virginia.

Mr. NORTON. "James G. Blaine."

The Clerk then announced the vote of Virginia: For Ulysses S. Grant, 16; for James G. Blaine, 3; for John Sherman, 3; as above recorded.

On the announcement of the vote of the State of West Virginia.

Mr. CUNNINGHAM, of West Virginia. I challenge the announcement of the vote of West Virginia.

The PRESIDENT. The vote being challenged, the roll of the State will be called.

The roll of the delegation from the State of West Virginia was then called, the delegates, as their names were called, responding respectively as follows:

A. W. Campbell.....	James G. Blaine
W. J. Burley.....	James G. Blaine
S. P. McCormick.....	James G. Blaine
John H. Riley.....	James G. Blaine
C. D. Hubbard.....	James G. Blaine
A. C. Moore.....	James G. Blaine
J. F. Hoke.....	James G. Blaine
J. M. Hagans.....	James G. Blaine
J. W. Davis.....	(No response.)
Amos Dye (as alternate of J. W. Davis).....	(No response.)
John S. Cunningham (another alternate).....	John Sherman
J. H. Rossier.....	Ulysses S. Grant

The vote of West Virginia was then announced as above recorded.

The result of the twenty-ninth ballot was announced as above recorded.

The PRESIDENT. No person having received a majority of the votes cast, another ballot will be taken. The Clerk will call the roll.

## THIRTIETH BALLOT.

The roll of States was again called, and resulted:

Total number of votes cast, 756. [Necessary to a choice, 379.]

Of which—

Ulysses S. Grant received 306; James G. Blaine, 279; John Sherman, 120; George F. Edmunds, 11; Elihu B. Washburne, 33; William Windom, 4; James A. Garfield, 2; Philip H. Sheridan, 1—as follows:

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	NO. OF DEL.	GRANT	BLAINE	SHERMAN	EDMUNDS	WINDOM	WASHBURN	GARFIELD	SHERIDAN
Alabama.....	20	16	1	3					
Arkansas.....	12	12							
California.....	13		12						
Colorado.....	6	6							
Connecticut.....	12		3				9		
Delaware.....	6	6							
Florida.....	8	8							
Georgia.....	22	7	1	8					
Illinois.....	42	24	12				4		
Indiana.....	36	22	20	4					

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	NO. OF DEL.	GRANT	BLAINE	SHERMAN	HUMPHREYS	WINDOM	WASHBURN	GARFIELD	SHERIDAN
Iowa	22	22	22						
Kansas	10	4	6						
Kentucky	24	20	1	3					
Louisiana	16	8	4	4					
Maine	14	14	2						
Maryland	16	7	2	7					
Massachusetts	26	4	21				1		
Michigan	22	1	21						
Minnesota	10	6	4			4			
Mississippi	16	9	4	3					
Missouri	30	29					1		
Nebraska	6	6							
Nevada	6	6							
New Hampshire	10	10							
New Jersey	18	14	3						
New York	70	60	18	2					
North Carolina	20	6	14						
Ohio	44	9	34	1					
Oregon	6	6							
Pennsylvania	58	34	22					2	
Rhode Island	8	8							
South Carolina	14	11	1	2					
Tennessee	24	16	5	3					
Texas	16	12	1	2			1		
Vermont	10				10				
Virginia	22	16	3	3					
West Virginia	16	1	8	1					
Wisconsin	20	1	7	3			9		
Arizona	2		2						
Dakota	2	1							
District of Columbia	2	1	1	1					
Idaho	2		2						
Montana	2		2						
New Mexico	2		2						
Utah	2	1							
Washington	2		1						
Wyoming	2		1						1
Totals	756	396	279	120	11	4	33	2	1

During the ballot:

On the call of the State of Alabama.

Mr. GEO. TURNER, of Alabama. *Mr. President:* I desire to ask the direction of the Chair before I can cast the vote of Alabama. When a delegate, desiring to be temporarily absent, authorizes the chairman of the delegation to cast his vote for a certain candidate, has the chairman of the delegation the right to so cast it?

The PRESIDENT. The Chair must decline to decide any question of order in advance. The gentleman is called upon to respond for his State, and he must do it according to his own sense of duty. If his response be questioned by any delegate, the Chair will then deal with the question.

Mr. TURNER. Under the statement of the Chair, I cast the vote of Alabama—sixteen votes for Ulysses S. Grant, three for John Sherman, and one for James G. Blaine.

On the announcement of the vote of the State of Georgia.

Mr. DEVEAUX, of Georgia. I question the correctness of the vote of Florida, and call for a poll of that State.

Mr. HICKS, of Florida. The gentleman is not a member of the Florida delegation.

Mr. WHITE, of Kentucky. I rise to a point of order.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman will state his point of order.

Mr. WHITE. My point of order is, whether the gentleman who asks for a call of the roll belongs to the Florida delegation?

Mr. HICKS. The gentleman who challenges the vote of the Florida delegation is not a member of that delegation.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair is of opinion that under the rule any member of the Convention has a right to question the correctness of the vote of any State. That is the letter of the rule, and it is obviously equally interesting to every member of the Convention that the vote should be correctly counted.

Mr. WHITE. I call for the reading of that rule.

The PRESIDENT. The rule will be again read, for information.

The Secretary, Mr. Clisbee, read as follows:

"Rule 8. In the record of the vote by States, the vote of each State, Territory and the District of Columbia shall be announced by the Chairman; and in case the votes of any State, Territory or the District of Columbia shall be divided, the Chairman shall announce the number of votes cast for any candidate, or for or against any proposition; but, if exception is taken by any delegate to the correctness of such announcement by the chairman of *his delegation*, the President of the Convention shall direct the roll of members of such delegation to be called, and the result recorded in accordance with the votes individually given."

Mr. WHITE. I simply desire to say that, under the emphasis as given by the Clerk, the Chair will see that my point of order is correct.

The PRESIDENT. The rules which the Convention have adopted are largely a copy of the rules which were framed for the government of the Convention four years ago. In this particular the rule differs. The Chair was led into an error. The gentleman from Kentucky is correct. The challenge being taken from the State of Florida, the roll will proceed.

On the call of the State of Minnesota.

Mr. SINCLAIR, of Minnesota. Will the Chair direct the roll of the State to be called?

The PRESIDENT. The chairman of the delegation from the State of Minnesota declining to report, the Chair, under the ruling yesterday, will consider that equivalent to the questioning of the report by a delegate, and will order the roll of the State to be called.

The SECRETARY. "The State of Minnesota. Delegates-at-large——"

Mr. SINCLAIR. I waive the call of the roll and cast the vote.

On the announcement of the vote of the Territory of Wyoming.

Lieut.-Gen. SHERIDAN. [With the permission of the Chair.] I am very much obliged to the delegate from Wyoming for mentioning my name in this connection; but there is no way in which I could accept a nomination from this Convention, if it were possible, unless I should be permitted to turn it over to my best friend.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair presumed the unanimous consent of the Convention to permit the illustrious soldier who has just spoken to interrupt



its order for that purpose. It will be a privilege accorded to no other person whatever.

The PRESIDENT. No person having received a majority of the votes cast, another ballot will be taken. The Clerk will call the roll.

## THIRTY-FIRST BALLOT.

The roll of States was again called, and resulted:

Total number of votes cast, 755. [Necessary to a choice, 378.]

Of which—

Ulysses S. Grant received 308; James G. Blaine, 276; John Sherman, 118; George F. Edmunds, 11; Elihu B. Washburne, 37; William Windom, 3; James A. Garfield, 1; Roscoe Conkling, of New York, 1—as follows:

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	NO. OF DEL.	GRANT	BLAINE	SHERMAN	EDMUNDS	WINDOM	WASHBURN	GARFIELD	CONKLING
Alabama	20	15	1	2					
Arkansas	12	12							
California	12		12						
Colorado	6	6							
Connecticut	12		3				9		
Delaware	6		6						
Florida	8	8							
Georgia	22	7	7	8					
Illinois	42	24	12				6		
Indiana	30	2	18	3			7		
Iowa	22		22						
Kansas	10	4	6						
Kentucky	24	20	1	3					
Louisiana	16	8	4	4					
Maine	14		14						
Maryland	16	7	2	7					
Massachusetts	26	4		21			1		
Michigan	22	1	21						
Minnesota	10		6			3	1		
Mississippi	16	9	4	3					
Missouri	30	29					1		
Nebraska	6		6						
Nevada	6		6						
New Hampshire	10		10						
New Jersey	18		14	2			2		
New York	70	50	18	2					
North Carolina	20	6		14					
Ohio	44		9	34	1				
Oregon	6		6						
Pennsylvania	58	35	22					1	
Rhode Island	8		8						
South Carolina	14	11	1	2					
Tennessee	24	16	5	3					
Texas	16	13	1	1			1		
Vermont	10				10				
Virginia	22	16	3	3					
West Virginia	10	1	8	1					
Wisconsin	20	1	7	3			9		
Arizona	2		2						
Dakota	2		1						
District of Columbia	2		1	1					
Idaho	2		2						
Montana	2		2						
New Mexico	2		1						1
Utah	2		1						
Washington	3		2						
Wyoming	3		1						
Totals	756	308	276	118	11	3	37	1	1

During the ballot:

On the call of the State of Alabama.

Mr. GEO. TURNER, of Alabama. Alabama casts sixteen votes for Ulysses S. Grant, three for John Sherman, and one for James G. Blaine.

Mr. WARNER, of Alabama. I rise to again challenge the vote of Alabama, as announced, for the same cause as before.

The PRESIDENT. The vote being challenged, the roll of that State will be called.

Mr. GEO. TURNER. *Mr. President:*..I ask the Chair whether or not the chairman of the delegation has the power to cast the vote of an absent delegate—only temporarily absent—who authorizes him to cast that vote. I have now cast the vote of that delegate; but if the Chair rules that I have no right to do so, that will obviate the necessity for the call of the roll of this delegation.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair is of opinion that the vote of no delegate can be cast by any person except himself; and that the vote of no alternate can be given except by the alternate.

Mr. TURNER. I change the vote of Alabama, then, to fifteen for Ulysses S. Grant, three for John Sherman, and one for James G. Blaine.

The vote was so recorded.

The result of the thirty-first ballot was announced as above recorded.

The PRESIDENT. No person having received a majority of the votes cast, another ballot will be taken. The Clerk will call the roll.

#### THIRTY-SECOND BALLOT.

The roll of States was again called, and resulted:

Total number of votes cast, 755. [Necessary to a choice, 378.]

Of which—

Ulysses S. Grant received 309; James G. Blaine, 270; John Sherman, 117; George F. Edmunds 11; Elihu B. Washburne, 44; William Windom, 3; James A. Garfield, 1—as follows:

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	NO. OF DEL.	GRANT	BLAINE	SHERMAN	EDMUNDS	WINDOM	WASHBURN	GARFIELD
Alabama .....	20	15	1	2				
Arkansas .....	12	12						
California .....	12		12					
Colorado .....	6	6						
Connecticut .....	12		3				9	
Delaware .....	6		6					
Florida .....	8	8						
Georgia .....	22	7	7	8				
Illinois .....	42	24	12				6	
Indiana .....	30	2	13	3			12	
Iowa .....	22		22					
Kansas .....	10	4	6					
Kentucky .....	24	20	1	3				
Louisiana .....	16	8	4	4				
Maine .....	14		14					

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	NO. OF DEL.	GRANT	BLAINE	SHERMAN	EDMONDS	WINDOM	WASHBURNE	GARFIELD
Maryland	16	7	8	1				
Massachusetts	26	4	1	1			1	
Michigan	22	1	1					
Minnesota	10	6	6			3	1	
Mississippi	16	9	4	3				
Missouri	30	29					1	
Nebraska	6		6					
Nevada	6		6					
New Hampshire	10		10					
New Jersey	18		14	2				
New York	70	50	18					
North Carolina	20	6		14				
Ohio	44		9	24	1			
Oregon	6		6					
Pennsylvania	58	35	22					1
Rhode Island	8		8					
South Carolina	14	11	3					
Tennessee	24	16	5	3				
Texas	16	13	1	1			1	
Vermont	10				10			
Virginia	22	16	3	3				
West Virginia	10	1	8	1				
Wisconsin	20	1	5	3			11	
Arizona	2		2					
Dakota	2	1	1					
District of Columbia	2	1	1					
Idaho	2							
Montana	2							
New Mexico	2							
Utah	2	1	1					
Washington	2							
Wyoming	2	1	1					
Totals	756	309	270	117	11	3	44	1

The PRESIDENT. No person having received a majority of the votes cast, another ballot will be taken. The Clerk will call the roll.

## THIRTY-THIRD BALLOT.

The roll of States was again called, and resulted:

Total number of votes cast, 755. [Necessary to a choice, 378.]

Of which—

Ulysses S. Grant received 309; James G. Blaine, 276; John Sherman, 110; George F. Edmunds, 11; Elihu B. Washburne, 44; William Windom, 4; James A. Garfield, 1—as follows:

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	NO. OF DEL.	GRANT	BLAINE	SHERMAN	EDMONDS	WINDOM	WASHBURNE	GARFIELD
Alabama	20	15	4					
Arkansas	12	12						
California	12		12					
Colorado	6	6						
Connecticut	12		3				9	
Delaware	8		6					
Florida	8	8						

STATES AND TERRITORIES.		No. of DEL.	GRANT	BLAINE	SHERMAN	REYNOLDS	WINDOM	WASHINGTON	CARFIELD
Georgia	22	8	9	5					
Illinois	42	24	10					8	
Indiana	30	2	14	2				12	
Iowa	22		22						
Kansas	10	4	6						
Kentucky	24	20	1	3					
Louisiana	16	8	4	4					
Maine	14		14						
Maryland	18	7	2	7					
Massachusetts	26	4		21				1	
Michigan	22	1	21						
Minnesota	10		6			4			
Mississippi	16	8	4	1				1	
Missouri	30	29						1	
Nebraska	6		6						
Nevada	6		6						
New Hampshire	10		10						
New Jersey	18		14	2				2	
New York	70	50	18	2					
North Carolina	20	6		14					
Ohio	44		9	34	1				
Oregon	6		6						
Pennsylvania	58	35	22						1
Rhode Island	8		8						
South Carolina	14	11	1	2					
Tennessee	24	16	5	3					
Texas	16	13	1	1				1	
Vermont	10			10					
Virginia	22	16	3	3					
West Virginia	10	1	8	1					
Wisconsin	20	1	7	3				9	
Arizona	2		2						
Dakota	2		1						
District of Columbia	2		1						
Idaho	2								
Montana	2		2						
New Mexico	2		2						
Utah	2		1	1					
Washington	2		2						
Wyoming	2		1	1					
Totals	756	309	276	110	11	4	44	1	

During the ballot:

On the announcement of the vote of the State of Georgia.

Mr. GEO. TURNER, of Alabama. *Mr. President:* The absent member of the Alabama delegation is now here, and I desire to record the vote of Alabama—sixteen for Ulysses S. Grant and four for James G. Blaine.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair deems it too late on this vote.

At the conclusion of the roll-call, and before the announcement of the result.

Mr. GEO. TURNER, of Alabama. *Mr. President:* I rise to ask whether it is now competent for the absent delegate from Alabama, who has returned into the hall, to have his vote recorded?

The PRESIDENT. The Chair holds that it is not.

Mr. STEVENS, of Alabama. I question the correctness of the announcement by the chairman of the vote of Alabama.

The PRESIDENT. It is too late now to make that question. The Chair will direct the last portion of the seventh rule to be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

"When any State has announced its vote it shall so stand until the ballot is announced, unless in case of numerical error."

The PRESIDENT. No person having received a majority of the votes cast, another ballot will be taken. The Clerk will call the roll.

THIRTY-FOURTH BALLOT.

The roll of States was again called, and resulted:

Total number of votes cast, 756. [Necessary to a choice, 379.]

Of which—

Ulysses S. Grant received 312; James G. Blaine, 275; John Sherman, 107; George F. Edmunds, 11; Elihu B. Washburne, 30; William Windom, 4; James A. Garfield, 17—as follows:

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	NO. OF DEL.	GRANT	BLAINE	SHERMAN	EDMUNDS	WINDOM	WASHBURN	GARFIELD
Alabama	20	16	4					
Arkansas	12	12						
California	12		12					
Colorado	6	6						
Connecticut	12		3				9	
Delaware	6		6					
Florida	8	8						
Georgia	22	8	9	5				
Illinois	42	24	10				8	
Indiana	30	2	20	2			6	
Iowa	22		22					
Kansas	10	4	6					
Kentucky	24	20	1	3				
Louisiana	16	8	4	4				
Maine	14		14					
Maryland	16	7	2	7				
Massachusetts	26	4		21			1	
Michigan	22	1	21					
Minnesota	10		6			4		
Mississippi	16	8	4	3			1	
Missouri	30	29					1	
Nebraska	6		6					
Nevada	6		6					
New Hampshire	10		10					
New Jersey	18		14	2			2	
New York	70	50	18	2				
North Carolina	20	6		14				
Ohio	44		9	34	1			
Oregon	6		6					
Pennsylvania	58	35	22					1
Rhode Island	8		8					
South Carolina	14	11	1	2				
Tennessee	24	17	4	3				
Texas	16	13	1	1			1	
Vermont	10				10			
Virginia	22	16	3	3				
West Virginia	10	1	8	1				
Wisconsin	20	2	1				1	16
Arizona	2		2					
Dakota	2		1					
District of Columbia	3	1	1					
Idaho	2		2					
Montana	2		2					
New Mexico	2		2					
Utah	2	1	1					
Washington	3		2					
Wyoming	3	1	1					
Totals	756	312	275	107	11	4	30	17

## OFFICIAL PROCEEDINGS OF THE

On the announcement of the result of the ballot.

Mr. GARFIELD, of Ohio. *Mr. President*—

The PRESIDENT. For what purpose does the gentleman rise?

Mr. GARFIELD. I rise to a question of order.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Ohio rises to a question of order.

Mr. GARFIELD. I challenge the correctness of the announcement. The announcement contains votes for me. No man has a right, without the consent of the person voted for, to announce that person's name, and vote for him, in this Convention. Such consent I have not given.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Ohio is not stating a question of order. He will resume his seat. No person having received a majority of the votes cast, another ballot will be taken. The Clerk will call the roll.

## THIRTY-FIFTH BALLOT.

The roll of States was again called, and resulted:

Total number of votes cast, 756. [Necessary to a choice, 379.]

Of which—

Ulysses S. Grant received 313; James G. Blaine, 257; John Sherman, 99; George F. Edmunds, 11; Elihu B. Washburne, 23; William Windom, 3; James A. Garfield, 50—as follows:

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	NO. OF DEL.	GRANT	BLAINE	SHERMAN	EDMUNDS	WINDOM	WASHBURN	GARFIELD
Alabama	20	16	4					
Arkansas	12	12						
California	12		12					
Colorado	6	6						
Connecticut	12		3				9	
Delaware	6		6					
Florida	8	8						
Georgia	22	8	9	5				
Illinois	42	24	10				8	
Indiana	30	1	2					27
Iowa	22		22					
Kansas	10	4	6					
Kentucky	24	20	1	3				
Louisiana	16	8	4	4				
Maine	14		14					
Maryland	16	7	3	2				4
Massachusetts	26	4		21			1	
Michigan	22	1	21					
Minnesota	10	1	6			3		
Mississippi	16	8	4	3				1
Missouri	30	29					1	
Nebraska	6		6					
Nevada	6		6					
New Hampshire	10		10					
New Jersey	18		14	2			2	
New York	70	60	18					
North Carolina	20	6		13				1
Ohio	44		9	34	1			
Oregon	6		6					
Pennsylvania	58	36	20				1	1
Rhode Island	8		8					
South Carolina	14	11	1	2				
Tennessee	24	17	4	3				
Texas	16	13	1	1			1	

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	NO. OF DEL.	GRANT	BLAINE	SHERMAN	EDMONDS	WINDOM	WASHBURNE	GARFIELD
Vermont .....	10	...	...	...	10	...	...	...
Virginia .....	22	16	3	...	...	...	...	...
West Virginia .....	10	1	...	1	...	...	...	...
Wisconsin .....	20	2	...	1	...	...	...	16
Arizona .....	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Dakota .....	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...
District of Columbia .....	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...
Idaho .....	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Montana .....	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
New Mexico .....	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Utah .....	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
Washington .....	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...
Wyoming .....	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
Totals .....	756	313	257	99	11	3	23	50

The PRESIDENT. No person having received a majority of the votes cast, another ballot will be taken. The Clerk will call the roll.

THIRTY-SIXTH BALLOT.

The roll of States was again called, and resulted:

Total number of votes cast, 755. [Necessary to a choice, 378.]

Of which—

James A. Garfield received 399; Ulysses S. Grant, 306; James G. Blaine, 42; Elihu B. Washburne, 5; John Sherman, 3—as follows:

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	NO. OF DEL.	GRANT	BLAINE	SHERMAN	WASHBURNE	GARFIELD
Alabama .....	20	16	4	...	...	...
Arkansas .....	12	12	...	...	...	...
California .....	12	...	12	...	...	...
Colorado .....	6	6	...	...	...	...
Connecticut .....	12	...	1	...	...	11
Delaware .....	6	...	6	...	...	...
Florida .....	8	8	...	...	...	...
Georgia .....	22	8	10	3	...	1
Illinois .....	42	24	6	...	5	7
Indiana .....	30	1	...	...	...	29
Iowa .....	22	...	...	...	...	22
Kansas .....	10	4	...	...	...	6
Kentucky .....	24	20	1	...	...	3
Louisiana .....	16	8	...	...	...	8
Maine .....	14	...	...	...	...	14
Maryland .....	16	6	...	...	...	10
Massachusetts .....	26	4	...	...	...	22
Michigan .....	22	1	...	...	...	21
Minnesota .....	10	2	...	...	...	8
Mississippi .....	16	7	...	...	...	9
Missouri .....	30	29	...	...	...	1
Nebraska .....	6	...	...	...	...	6
Nevada .....	6	2	1	...	...	3
New Hampshire .....	10	...	...	...	...	10
New Jersey .....	18	...	...	...	...	18
New York .....	70	50	...	...	...	20
North Carolina .....	20	5	...	...	...	15

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	NO. OF DEL.	GRANT	BLAINE	SHERMAN	WASHBURN	GARFIELD
Ohio .....	44	6				48
Oregon .....	6					6
Pennsylvania .....	58	37				21
Rhode Island .....	8					8
South Carolina .....	14	8				22
Tennessee .....	24	15	1			40
Texas .....	16	13				29
Vermont .....	10					10
Virginia .....	22	19				41
West Virginia .....	10	1				11
Wisconsin .....	20					20
Arizona .....	12					12
Dakota .....	12					12
District of Columbia .....	12					12
Idaho .....	12					12
Montana .....	12					12
New Mexico .....	12					12
Utah .....	12					12
Washington .....	12					12
Wyoming .....	12					12
Totals .....	756	306	43	3	5	299

During the ballot :

On the announcement of the vote of the State of Maryland.

Mr. CRESSWELL, of Maryland. I demand a call of the roll of the Maryland delegation.

The PRESIDENT. Does the gentleman question the correctness of the vote, as announced by the chairman?

Mr. CRESSWELL. I do question the accuracy of the report made by the chairman of the Maryland delegation.

Mr. GARY, of Maryland. I wish to make an explanation—

The PRESIDENT. It is out of order. The Clerk will call the roll.

The roll of the delegation from the State of Maryland was then called, the delegates, as their names were called, responding respectively as follows:

James A. Gary.....	James A. Garfield
Lloyd Lowndes, Jr.....	James A. Garfield
J. Morrison Harris .....	James A. Garfield
Jacob Tome .....	Ulysses S. Grant
Charles T. Wescott.....	James A. Garfield
Samuel Mallallen .....	James A. Garfield
John A. J. Creswell.....	Ulysses S. Grant
Jacob J. Weaver, Jr.....	James A. Garfield
D. Pinkney West .....	Ulysses S. Grant
W. W. Johnson.....	Ulysses S. Grant
William J. Hooper.....	Ulysses S. Grant
H. J. Brown.....	Ulysses S. Grant
J. Parren Crane.....	James A. Garfield
John W. Belt.....	James A. Garfield
Upton Buhrman.....	James A. Garfield
Benjamin H. Miller.....	James A. Garfield

Mr. GARY. I now waive my right for an explanation.

The vote of the State of Maryland was then announced as above recorded.

On the announcement of the vote of the State of Minnesota.

Mr. DRAKE, of Minnesota. I question the announcement of the chairman of the delegation from Minnesota and demand the roll to be called.



The roll of the delegation from the State of Minnesota was then called; the delegates, as their names were called, responding respectively as follows:

DELEGATES-AT-LARGE.

D. Sinclair .....	Ulysses S. Grant
A. O. Whipple.....	James A. Garfield
D. M. Sabin.....	James A. Garfield
Dorilus Morrison .....	James A. Garfield
First District .....	A. C. Wedge.....
First District .....	J. V. Daniels.....
Second District .....	Marcus Johnson.....
Second District .....	George Bryant.....
Third District .....	E. F. Drake.....
Third District .....	C. F. Kindred.....
	Ulysses S. Grant

The vote of the State of Minnesota was then announced as above recorded.

On the call of the State of Mississippi.

The CHAIRMAN OF THE MISSISSIPPI DELEGATION. Eight votes for Ulysses S. Grant and eight for James A. Garfield.

Mr. CARTER, of Mississippi. I desire to have the roll called of the Mississippi delegation.

The PRESIDENT. Does the gentleman question the correctness of the announcement of the chairman?

Mr. CARTER. I do, sir, and demand a call of the roll.

The roll of the delegation from the State of Mississippi was then called; the delegates, as their names were called, responding respectively as follows:

Blanche K. Bruce.....	Ulysses S. Grant
James Hill .....	James A. Garfield
George M. Buchanan.....	James A. Garfield
H. C. Carter .....	Ulysses S. Grant
W. H. Kennon.....	Ulysses S. Grant
George C. McKee.....	Ulysses S. Grant
Henry C. Miles.....	James A. Garfield
Joshua R. Smith.....	Ulysses S. Grant
George W. Gayles.....	Ulysses S. Grant
F. M. Libby.....	James A. Garfield
Samuel P. Hurst.....	James A. Garfield
W. W. Bell.....	Ulysses S. Grant
Green C. Chandler.....	James A. Garfield
Charles W. Clarke.....	James A. Garfield
R. H. Montgomery.....	James A. Garfield
Richard F. Beck.....	(No response.)
H. C. Powers (alternate for Richard F. Beck).....	(No response.)

The PRESIDENT. Gentlemen from Mississippi will give their attention. There is no separation of their delegation into Congressional districts, and, under the rule announced by the Chair this morning, the alternates will be called in their order. The first alternate answering will be recognized, the alternate whose name is borne opposite to the name of the delegate failing to respond.

The SECRETARY [calling]. "John R. Lynch, of Mississippi."

Mr. LYNCH. James A. Garfield.

The vote of the State of Mississippi was then announced: For James A. Garfield, 9; for Ulysses S. Grant, 7, as above recorded.

On the announcement of the vote of the State of Nevada.

A DELEGATE from Nevada. I challenge the correctness of the vote, and ask that the State be polled.

The PRESIDENT. The roll will be called.

The roll of the delegation from the State of Nevada was then called, the delegates, as their names were called, responding respectively as follows:

E. Strother .....	James A. Garfield
W. W. Bishop .....	James A. Garfield
C. C. Stevenson .....	Ulysses S. Grant
T. D. Edwards .....	James G. Blaine
J. J. Meigs .....	Ulysses S. Grant
M. D. Foley .....	James A. Garfield

The vote of the State of Nevada was then announced as above recorded.

On the announcement of the vote of the State of South Carolina.

Mr. TAFT, of South Carolina. *Mr. President*, I question the correctness of the announcement of the vote of South Carolina.

The PRESIDENT. The roll of South Carolina will be called.

The roll of the delegation from the State of South Carolina was then called, the delegates, as their names were called, responding respectively as follows:

#### DELEGATES-AT-LARGE.

E. W. M. Mackey .....	James A. Garfield
E. M. Brayton .....	Ulysses S. Grant
R. B. Elliott .....	James A. Garfield
Samuel Lee .....	James A. Garfield

#### DISTRICTS.

First District .....	D. M. McCall .....	James A. Garfield
First District .....	W. A. Hayne .....	Ulysses S. Grant
Second District .....	W. N. Taft .....	Ulysses S. Grant
Second District .....	C. C. Bowen .....	Ulysses S. Grant
Third District .....	W. M. Fine .....	Ulysses S. Grant
Third District .....	C. M. Wilder .....	James A. Garfield
Fourth District .....	Samuel T. Pioneer .....	Ulysses S. Grant
Fourth District .....	Wilson Cook .....	James A. Garfield
Fifth District .....	W. J. Whipper .....	Ulysses S. Grant
Fifth District .....	W. F. Meyers .....	Ulysses S. Grant

The vote of the State of South Carolina was then announced as above recorded.

On the call of the State of Tennessee.

Mr. HOUCK, of Tennessee. For Ulysses S. Grant, fifteen; for James A. Garfield, eight; for James G. Blaine, one.

Mr. WISENER, of Tennessee. I question the correctness of the vote as announced.

Mr. HOUCK. I made a mistake. The vote of Tennessee will stand, Ulysses S. Grant, sixteen; James A. Garfield, seven, and James G. Blaine, one.

Mr. WISENER. I still question the correctness of the vote.

The PRESIDENT. The Secretary will call the roll of the State of Tennessee.

The roll of the delegation from the State of Tennessee was then called; the delegates, as their names were called, responding respectively as follows:

#### DELEGATES-AT-LARGE.

L. C. Houck .....	Ulysses S. Grant
Horace H. Harrison .....	Ulysses S. Grant
Jacob N. Thornburgh .....	Ulysses S. Grant
David Nunn .....	James G. Blaine

DISTRICTS.

First District .....	R. R. Butler (by J. W. Browne, his alter-nate) .....	James A. Garfield
First District .....	Jesse L. Rogers .....	James A. Garfield
Second District .....	E. J. Sandford .....	James A. Garfield
Second District .....	J. M. Cordell .....	Ulysses S. Grant
Third District .....	W. S. Tipton .....	Ulysses S. Grant
Third District .....	W. P. Cate .....	Ulysses S. Grant
Fourth District .....	H. L. W. Cheatham .....	James A. Garfield
Fourth District .....	J. S. Smith .....	Ulysses S. Grant
Fifth District .....	W. H. Wisener .....	Ulysses S. Grant

Mr. WISENER. I wish to make an explanation. Will the Convention indulge me half a minute [Cries of "No, no," and "vote."] I am the oldest man in the convention.

The PRESIDENT. The galleries and the Convention will observe that the gentleman who now seeks to vote is a gentleman of advanced age.

Mr. WISENER. I came here to vote for General Grant. If the Convention would allow me to make an explanation, I would vote for James A. Garfield; but as they have not allowed me to do it, I will vote for Ulysses S. Grant.

Fifth District .....	W. Y. Elliott .....	James A. Garfield
Sixth District .....	S. O. W. Brandon .....	Ulysses S. Grant
Sixth District .....	W. H. Young .....	Ulysses S. Grant
Seventh District .....	A. M. Hughes, Sr. ....	Ulysses S. Grant
Seventh District .....	B. A. J. Nixon .....	Ulysses S. Grant
Eighth District .....	G. G. Muse .....	James A. Garfield
Eighth District .....	E. G. Ridgeley .....	Ulysses S. Grant
Ninth District .....	R. W. Hall .....	James A. Garfield
Ninth District .....	Hunt Summerville .....	James A. Garfield
Tenth District .....	Fred R. Hunt .....	Ulysses S. Grant
Tenth District .....	Larkin Williams .....	Ulysses S. Grant

The vote of the State of Tennessee was then announced; For Ulysses S. Grant, 15; for James A. Garfield, 8; for James G. Blaine, 1, as above recorded.

On the announcement of the vote of the State of Virginia.

A DELEGATE from Virginia. I challenge the correctness of the announcement of the vote of West Virginia, and demand a call of the roll.

The PRESIDENT. The roll of Virginia will be called.

Mr. WOLTZ, of Virginia. *Mr. President—*

The PRESIDENT. For what purpose does the gentleman address the Chair?

Mr. WOLTZ. I rise for the purpose of vindicating myself as chairman of this delegation. The correctness of the vote of my State has been called in question as announced by myself on several occasions on this floor.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman is out of order. The rule of the Convention is imperative.

The DELEGATE from Virginia. I withdraw the request for the call. I am satisfied, Mr. President.

On the call of the State of Wisconsin.

Mr. CASSODAY, of Wisconsin. Eighteen votes for James A. Garfield and two votes for Ulysses S. Grant. [After a pause.] Is it in order to correct the vote of Wisconsin?

The PRESIDENT. You can correct a numerical error, but cannot change a vote.

Mr. CASSODAY. It is a numerical error. The vote should stand twenty for James A. Garfield.

The vote was so recorded.

At the conclusion of the roll-call, and before the announcement of the result.

The **PRESIDENT**. The roll of States will now be called, and the vote of each State announced by the Secretary as it is called. The delegates from each State will give their careful attention, that the historical record of the vote of their States may be correct.

The roll of States, Territories and the District of Columbia was then called, the vote verified, and the result of the thirty-sixth ballot announced as above recorded.

The **PRESIDENT**. James A. Garfield, of Ohio, is nominated for President of the United States. Shall the nomination be made unanimous?

**Mr. CONKLING**, of New York. *Mr. President*: James A. Garfield, of Ohio, having received a majority of all the votes cast, I rose to move that he be unanimously presented as the nominee of the Convention. The Chair, under the rule, anticipates my motion; but, being on my feet, I avail myself of the opportunity to congratulate the Republican party of the United States upon the good nature and the well-tempered rivalry which has distinguished this animated contest.

Several **DELEGATES**. Louder.

**Mr. CONKLING**. I would speak louder, but, having for hours sat shivering under the cold wind of these open windows, I find myself unable to do so. I was in the act to say that I trust the zeal, the fervor, and now the unanimity seen in this great assemblage will be transplanted to the field of the final conflict, and that all of us who have borne a part against each other will be found with equal zeal bearing the banner—with equal zeal carrying the lance of the Republican party into the ranks of the enemy.

**Mr. LOGAN**, of Illinois. *Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention*: We are to be congratulated that we have arrived at a conclusion in reference to presenting the name of a candidate to become the standard-bearer of the Republican party for President of the United States. In union and harmony there is strength. Whatever may have transpired in this Convention that may have momentarily marred the feelings of any one here, I hope that, in our conclusion, it will pass from our minds. I, sir, with the friends of, I think, one of the grandest men that graces the face of the earth, stood here to fight a friendly battle in favor of his nomination; but, sir, this Convention has chosen another leader. The men who stood by Grant's banners will be seen in the front of this contest on the field. We will go forward in this contest, sir, not with tied hands, not with sealed lips, not with bridled tongues, but to speak the truth in favor of the grandest party that has ever been organized in this country; to maintain its principles, to maintain its power, to preserve its ascendancy; and, sir, with the leader you have selected, my judgment is that victory will perch upon our banners. I, sir, as one of the representatives from the State of Illinois, second the nomination of James A. Garfield, of Ohio, and I hope it may be made unanimous.

**Mr. BEAVER**, of Pennsylvania. *Mr. President*: The State of Pennsylvania having had the honor of first naming in this Convention the gentleman who has been nominated as the standard-bearer of the Republican party in the approaching national contest, I rise to second the motion which has been made to make that nomination unanimous, and to assure this Conven-

tion and the people of this country that Pennsylvania is heartily in accord with this nomination; that she gives her full concurrence to it, and that this country may expect from her the best majority that has been given for a Presidential candidate in many years.

Mr. HALE, of Maine. *Mr. President:* Standing here and returning heart-felt thanks to the many men in this Convention who have aided us in the fight that we have made for the Senator from Maine; and speaking, as I know that I do, for them here, I say this most heartily: We have not got the man we came up here hoping to nominate, but we have got a man in whom we have the greatest and most profound confidence. The nominee of this Convention is no new or untried man, and in that respect is no "dark horse." He came here representing his State in the front of that delegation, and was seen here; every man knew him before that, because of his record; and because of that, and because of our faith in him, and because we were in the emergency glad to help make him candidate of the Republican party for President of the United States—because of these things I stand here and pledge the Blaine forces of this Convention to earnest effort from now until the ides of November, that shall make James A. Garfield President of the United States.

Mr. PLEASANTS, of Virginia. *Mr. President:* As New York, Illinois and Maine, along with Pennsylvania, have spoken, I stand here, sir, probably occupying a peculiar position to that of the majority of the people of this Convention. I came here, sir, from Virginia, instructed by a State convention to vote for that peculiar and most distinguished man—the most renowned of the world—Ulysses S. Grant—and I have proved it since I have been standing on this floor—on all occasions casting my vote to the last for that man. But, sirs, as the Convention has thought best to nominate James A. Garfield, of Ohio, for President of the United States, we will heartily support him. It may not be that we can promise to you Virginia, but we can promise you this, as humble men, and as men who have on all occasions shown devotion to the Republican principles of the country—men who, as Virginian Republicans, on one occasion gave the electoral vote of Virginia to Ulysses S. Grant, that while a division exists in the Democratic party of that State, we shall endeavor, in November next, to carry Virginia for your nominee.

Though it was said we had all to receive and nothing to give, we now receive James A. Garfield, and will endeavor to give him Virginia. I for one, and I speak for the Virginia delegation and for every Republican in the State, second the nomination of James A. Garfield, and second the motion to make that nomination unanimous.

Mr. CAMPBELL, of West Virginia. *Mr. President:* Already I have received from one of the central localities of West Virginia a dispatch which brings a greeting to this Convention, pledging their best efforts for James A. Garfield, the next President of the United States.

Mr. HICKS, of Florida. *Mr. President:* I will not detain the Convention for more than one word. It is well known that if those gentlemen who have imagined that the South has nothing to give, have themselves anything to give this time they owe it largely to the unity, fidelity and integrity of the Republican State of Florida. We have not nominated our Moses, but have placed him upon the Mount of Visions, from which, in the serene and cloudless rest of his well earned glory, he can look down over the conflict. We have placed the mantle of commandship upon the shoulders, and the sword of civil power into the hands of one of the bravest, noblest, most aggressive and wisest Joshuas in all the hosts of our Republican army.

Mr. President, in the name of Florida, as in the past—and ever since the garments dyed in blood have been rolled away—we have given the elec-

toral vote of Florida for the Republican nominee, so in this contest, sir, I pledge the State of Florida to deliver her four electoral votes for James A. Garfield, of Ohio.

Mr. NORTON, of Texas. *Mr. President:* Texas cordially responds to the nomination that has just been made of James A. Garfield. Sir, we have been here for days in a most exciting contest, reminding me of the great convention of the Whig party, when the glorious leader, Henry Clay, was defeated in that body by Zachary Taylor.

Those of us who loved and honored Henry Clay, yet put our shoulders to the wheel and worked manfully in behalf of General Taylor. The friends of the great chieftain, General Grant, will be found in the coming contest in all portions of this Union doing battle in behalf of Garfield, of Ohio.

He is not unknown to us. His history is familiar to us. We are proud of the nomination, and, sir, we hope that under his administration we will witness again in this country a union of hearts and of hands, a union of the most fraternal kind. In the wilds of the South we will stand to a man for the nominee.

Mr. FOSTER, of Ohio. I hold in my hand a dispatch that I will have read to the Convention. It shows that the Democratic House of Representatives, composed of the gentlemen with whom our distinguished nominee has battled and contended for years, holds him in the very highest regard. The dispatch reads as follows:

"The House of Representatives has appointed a committee of five of its oldest members to congratulate James A. Garfield on his nomination—William D. Kelley appointed chairman—and adjourned with three cheers for Garfield."

I have another dispatch, that I desire to read, from a distinguished gentleman who has been a candidate before this Convention. It is as follows:

"Whenever the vote of Ohio will be likely to assure the nomination of Garfield, I appeal to every delegate to vote for him. Let Ohio be solid. Make the same appeal in my name to every delegate."

"JOHN SHERMAN."

Mr. HOUCK, of Tennessee. I want to say, for the Republicans of my section of the country, that there could not have been any selection made that would have pleased them better than that which has been made in the person of James A. Garfield, of Ohio. I want to say further, sir, that, under the conditions under which we were sent to this Convention, sixteen of us stood here for that great military hero, patriot and statesman, Ulysses S. Grant. I would willingly have gone over and supported this nomination before, but I belong to this little Spartan band that stood by Gen. Grant through all these thirty-odd ballots. I desire to add further, that I predict for Gen. Garfield the same victory in November that I have witnessed him achieve over the rebel brigadiers upon the floor of Congress upon numerous occasions. I predict a similar victory for the nominee of this Convention, to that to which, during the whole of the extra session, our leader in the person of the present candidate, led with the Republican party, backed and sustained by the Executive Department, in the masterly votes that crushed out the Democracy of the South.

Mr. HARRISON, of Indiana. *Mr. President:* I am not in very good voice to address the Convention. Indiana has been a little noisy within the last hour, and, though the chairman of this delegation, I forgot myself so much as to abuse my voice. I should not have detained the Convention to add one word to what has been said in a spirit of such commendable harmony over this nomination, if it had not been for the over-partiality of my Grant friends from Kentucky, with whom we have had a good deal of pleasant intercourse.

They insist, sir, that as I am the only defeated candidate for the Presidency on the floor of this Convention [laughter], having received one vote from some misguided friend from Pennsylvania, who, however, unfortunately for me, did not have "staying qualities," and dropped out on the next ballot. [Renewed laughter.]

I want to say to the Ohio delegation that they may carry to their distinguished citizen, who has received the nomination at the hands of this Convention, my ungrudging support. I bear him no malice. [laughter.] But, Mr. President, I will defer my speech until the campaign is hot, and then, on every stump in Indiana, and wherever else my voice can help this great Republican cause on to victory, I hope to be found.

The PRESIDENT. The question before the Convention is. "Shall the nomination be made unanimous?"

It was unanimously agreed to.

Mr. GARY, of Maryland. I move that we now proceed to finish up the business of this Convention. A great many of us desire to return home on the afternoon trains, and we have only a few hours in which to make our preparations.

The PRESIDENT. A motion to proceed to a ballot for the Vice-Presidency will be in order if made by the gentleman.

Mr. GARY. I make that motion—that we proceed to ballot for Vice-President.

Mr. CASSODAY, of Wisconsin. I second that motion.

Mr. HARRISON, of Indiana. [The hour being 2:30, p. m.] *Mr. President:* I move that this Convention now take a recess until five o'clock. It is a great deal better that an opportunity should be given for some consultation. That is why I make this motion. I appeal to the Convention to take a recess until five o'clock. We can then dispose of this matter in a few minutes.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Maryland moves that the Convention do now proceed to make a nomination for Vice-President. Pending that question, the gentleman from Indiana moves that we now take a recess until five o'clock. Is the Convention ready for the question?

Mr. LOGAN. Before the vote is announced, I desire to call the attention of the Chair to one thing. My recollection is that the rule to require the nomination to be made unanimous requires a call of the States. That motion has not been put to the Convention.

SEVERAL DELEGATES. Yes, it has.

The PRESIDENT. That motion has been put to the Convention, and unanimously carried.

Mr. LOGAN. I beg pardon of the Chair. I did not observe it.

Mr. WHITE, of Kentucky. I ask for a call of the States on the motion for a recess.

The PRESIDENT. Is the gentleman authorized by his State to demand a call of States?

Mr. WHITE. I am, sir.

The PRESIDENT. Does any other State second the demand? [After a pause.] No other State seconds the demand.

## OFFICIAL PROCEEDINGS OF THE

The motion of Mr. Harrison was agreed to.

So the Convention at two o'clock and twenty-five minutes, p. m., took a recess until five o'clock this afternoon.

## AFTER RECESS.

The PRESIDENT. [The hour being 5, p. m.] The Convention will come to order.

Mr. GARY, of Maryland. *Mr. President:* I renew my motion that the Convention do now proceed to nominations for Vice-President.

The PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Maryland moves that we now proceed to nominations for a candidate for Vice-President. If that motion be adopted, under the rules the States will be called in their order for nominations.

Mr. Dossy, of Arkansas. I would like to inquire whether the rules provide for placing persons in nomination?

The PRESIDENT. Yes.

Mr. Dossy. Then, under the rules, a certain time is allowed in making nominations?

The PRESIDENT. Yes. The Chair understands the motion of the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. Gary] to be to receive nominations from the various States. If that motion is adopted, nominations will be received under the rule.

The motion was agreed to.

The PRESIDENT. The States will be called in their order for nominations, and when any nomination is suggested by any delegate from any State, he will be entitled to five minutes, under the rule, to present the name. The Clerk will call the roll.

The Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

## NOMINATION OF ELIHU B. WASHBURN.

On the call of the State of California.

Mr. PIXLEY, of California. *Mr. President, and Gentlemen of the Convention:* I rise for the purpose of placing a man in nomination for the office of Vice-President of the United States, without consultation with the delegation from the State in which he resides, and without consultation with the delegates of the State in which he was born; but only in consultation with and by the desire of my own State—California. In the enthusiasm of the choice that has given us undoubtedly one of the ablest and strongest men of the Nation to head our ticket as candidate for President, I think we ought not to lose sight of the importance of securing an equally able and equally strong man for the second place upon that ticket. The nomination that has been made is undoubtedly one that will commend itself to the best intelligence of the whole Republican party of the United States; and although our delegates did not obtain the eminent gentleman for whom we voted, we go back to our Western shore in confidence, that those three States will back up their political traditions of the last twenty years, and give the electoral vote of California, Nevada and Oregon again to the Republican party. I have had the pleasure of the acquaintance of the gentleman whom I am about to name for a great many years. For sixteen years he was in the Congress



of the United States. He made a magnificent record there. He made a record in the direction of questions that are now becoming very prominent before the American people. I had the further pleasure, Mr. President, to meet this gentleman under very trying circumstances, in the city of Paris, when I was abroad. You all know now to whom I refer—it is Elihu B. Washburne, of Illinois.

Mr. President, I saw that gentleman, too, at a period when it tested the true dignity and bravery of the American character. I saw him chosen, because he was the Ambassador of the United States, to be the Ambassador of the belligerent German powers. I saw him throw the protecting shield of the American banner over that class of our fellow-citizens that are so largely represented in the United States. I desire to have all that my friend, Mr. Brandegee, of Connecticut, said when he placed Mr. Washburne in nomination for President, to be re-said of him now as candidate for Vice-President; for surely if he was so largely respected and loved by the German people for his dignity of character while in Paris—as a candidate here for this high office, with the same dignity of character he will command the same respect from the same people, and bring to the party every German vote. I am conscious and certain that in every one of the great cities, whether the Republican party is strong there or weak, the German population will be grateful to this Convention if we shall give them the strongest ticket that can be made for all the people of all the country—James A. Garfield for President and Elihu B. Washburne for Vice-President.

With a single word I shall close. The question of locality is sometimes considered, and I have heard it suggested here. But if the delegates from Ohio nominate their man, and the delegates from Illinois consent to Mr. Washburne, I think the locality will not be considered as being of any importance, or cutting any figure as opposed to the general fact that Mr. Washburne will bring to our ticket that large foreign element that is working with the Republican party, and has done so ever since it has been a party in the United States.

Mr. MCCARTHY, of New York. I take pleasure in seconding the nomination made by the gentleman from California. I rise to do so in behalf of a number of the delegates of New York. When I rise to second the nomination, I desire to say that the Republican party has not within the borders of the Union a man whose name is more honored, and who will command more votes from the rank and file of the party than Elihu B. Washburne, of Illinois; nor is there a record of any man that we can refer to with more confidence as a legislator, as a man who, in Congress, has been one of the first, and noblest, and staunchest of the defenders and upholders of Republican principles.

When we go out of the United States and follow him upon his mission to Europe, we find that he has there a mark and an impress on a class of people who form a large portion of the American people, and who are true as steel to us; and to whom is due in part the recognition of this man. We have heard it said that there are certain portions or classes of the Republican party that have been somewhat disaffected with some of the candidates that have been presented to this Convention; but in this man we have one who, in the hour of danger, at the risk of imprisonment and of life, stood up and protected the lives of men who were innocent of any crime and harmless in their character; a man who threw over charitable institutions the American flag and protected them in their rights; a man who has impressed upon the German element of this Nation a popularity that no other man has.

It is with pleasure that I have risen on the part of a number of members of the New York delegation to second his nomination.

## NOMINATION OF MARSHALL JEWELL

On the call of the State of Connecticut.

Mr. ROBINSON, of Connecticut. *Mr. President:* We have selected as our candidate for the chief place on our ticket a distinguished soldier-statesman from the West. I desire to submit for the second place on the ticket, as his associate, a sound business man from the East. He needs no introduction to this Convention for his personal character, his Republicanism or his statesmanship. A patriot, known and honored of the Nation; loved by all who are near to him at home; connected with many industrial enterprises in other States, as well as in his own, Connecticut presents to the Convention, with the hope that you will approve our suggestion, and with the assurance that with that nomination, one doubtful State, at least, will be certain for us, and with the hope that the whole ticket will be strengthened through the country—Marshall Jewell, of Connecticut.

The PRESIDING OFFICER [Mr. Frye, of Maine, in the Chair]. Is there a second? If not, the Clerk will proceed with the call of the roll.

## NOMINATION OF THOMAS SETTLE

On the call of the State of Florida.

Mr. HICKS, of Florida. I am well aware, Mr. President, that it will be in the light of a forlorn hope for the disputed States of the South, and for the solid Republican State of Florida, at this stage of our proceedings, to present a candidate for the high honor of Vice-President of the United States. But, gentlemen of the Convention, in obedience to the instructions of my State, which instructions are in perfect accord and harmony with the desire and disposition of my own heart, I rise to present the name of a distinguished man, not unknown to the members of this Convention, for that high position. We came to this convention with the hope that our nomination here made would give a guarantee to the whole country that this monstrous solid South should be broken in this campaign. We have been told that we have nothing to give and everything to receive; but, gentlemen, if we have all to receive, all we have under God's heaven we have to give. It is a question of life and death with every Southern Republican to-day, and I stand before you to pronounce this name in a moment, whose nomination will cause a thrill of confidence and hope and satisfaction and purpose in the heart of every man who lives south of Mason and Dixon's line, and to ask you to place him in nomination. I am still confident that we shall not only carry Florida, as we are bound to do, whomever you may place on this ticket as the candidate for Vice-President with the illustrious name of my honored friends of Ohio for President; but with the name of him I shall present by the side of General Garfield we shall carry North Carolina, we shall contribute largely to the carrying of the State of Alabama, and shall make inroads into Georgia and Louisiana. Everywhere the hope of Southern Republicans will rise in the ascendant, and to its zenith, and every man will feel the cohesive power and unity of our Republicanism. In this nomination I am confident that we shall break the solid South. Gentlemen of the Convention, for now these eighteen years we have been the victims of a fearful monster, embodying in himself all the malice and all the chicanery, all the bloodthirstiness that the human mind can conceive—some fell spirit that has lost his way to his native hell, clad in the habiliments of murder and of discord, stalking over the earth, prowling from State to State, with locks and hands and garments dripping with human gore, setting at defiance the laws of God and man, withering the intellect, blasting the affections, putting the body to the rack, the heart to the torture, and inflicting on men, women and

children, without regard to age or sex, the torments of the damned. For what reason? Because they had the courage of their convictions; because they dared to write and speak and vote as Republicans in the elections throughout their States. Thirteen thousand as brave men as ever trod the earth have gone down to their bloody graves because they dared to stand up for the principles which we have this day enunciated, and which answer for the highest progress and development of which our nature is capable.

Now, the gentleman that I am instructed to present to this Convention was a brave confederate soldier, against his will, against his conscience, and against his judgment. When the war broke out and the issue of treason began to assert themselves, this gentleman opposed those issues. He gave his brain and his labor to their opposition, but when his State went he went with his State. He was among the first to enroll himself among the Republicans of the South at the close of the war. He presided at that great convention, only equaled, if exceeded by the magnificence, by the personnel, by the patriotic character of *this* Convention—I mean the convention that sat in Philadelphia in 1872, and nominated for President that fearless man, the first citizen of the Republic, and the foremost man of the age, Ulysses S. Grant.

You have all read "The Fool's Errand." I am one of the fools. You remember the character of a certain judge in that book of my friend, Judge Tourgee, known in that book as Thomas Denton. This self-same man is the man I propose to put in nomination for your suffrages to-day—not Thomas Denton, but Thomas Settle, of Florida, for Vice-President of these United States.

I will not take up the time of this Convention. I express this hope. I am instructed by my State and other States to present his name. My heart convinces me, gentlemen of the Convention, that you will not throw the South overboard in this fight. In the name of the thirteen thousand dead Republicans—in the name of expatriated citizens of our Southern States—in the name of all the living Republicans that at your command will go to their homes and do and suffer and vote and die for James A. Garfield and the remainder of this ticket—in the name of these—in the name of the South, whose eyes are turned to you to-day, and through you to the good Providence that presides over this country, add to your ticket the name of a man who will inspire every Republican in the South, and smite with awe every bulldozer—Thomas Settle, of Florida.

Mr. HARRIS, of North Carolina. I rise, Mr. President, not for the purpose of making a speech, but to second, in a few brief words, the nomination of Thomas Settle. As a North Carolinian and as a Southern Republican. I say, for every man South of Mason & Dixon's line, that the name of Thomas Settle is enshrined in their hearts, because of the services rendered by him to the Republican party, not only in his native State, but throughout the length and breadth of this broad land. Well do I remember that, in 1868, when the Republican party was organized in the State of North Carolina—in those dark days that tried men's souls, when ostracism, vilification and violence were administered, especially unto every white man who dared to raise his voice in defense of the Union and of the Republican party, and of the equality of all men before the law—in casting about for a leader, Thomas Settle was selected. He then thrust himself to the front, and from that day down to the present he has ever stood in the fore ranks, fighting the battles of the party in its darkest days and under all circumstances.

I tell you, Mr. President and gentlemen of the Convention, if you wish to break the backbone of what is called the "Solid South," Thomas Settle is the sledge-hammer with which to do it. He is well known to the members of this Convention who were delegates to the Convention that assembled in Philadelphia in 1872. Those of you who were there will have happy recol-

lections of the dignified manner in which he presided over that Convention. During the dark days of ku-kluxism in North Carolina, at the time when the ku-klux held high carnival all over the South, particularly in North Carolina; when they were whipping and shooting and hanging both white and black Republicans, and when the darkness of the night was illumined with the burning of our school-houses and our churches, Thomas Settle was standing in front and marching on and encouraging the forty thousand white Republicans and the eighty thousand negroes who were not daunted by the thrust of the bowie-knife nor the fire of the pistol, and who carried that State for Grant. With Thomas Settle we will carry it this year for Garfield and Settle. I therefore second the nomination of Thomas Settle.

On the call of the State of Michigan.

Mr. CONGER, of Michigan. The Republican State convention of Michigan, with singular unanimity, passed a resolution requesting the delegation from that State in this Convention to present as a candidate for Vice-President the name of its distinguished Senator, Thomas W. Ferry, which the delegation would have been very happy to do; but, sir, I have in my possession a letter from the Senator declining the nomination, and I desire to place the resolution of our State convention and the letter of the Senator in the hands of the Secretary, to be published with the proceedings of this Convention.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is it the pleasure of the Convention that the gentleman have leave to file the letter and resolution, and make them a part of the record

No objection was heard.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. They will be made a part of the record.

The resolution of the Michigan Republican State Convention is as follows:

"Resolved, That in view of the pure character, strong patriotism and eminent services rendered our State and Nation by Senator Thomas W. Ferry during his long legislative career, both in State and National councils, we hereby respectfully recommend and urge his name to the National Convention as a fit candidate for the nomination for Vice-President by the Republican party."

The letter of Mr. Ferry is as follows:

"UNITED STATES SENATE CHAMBER,  
WASHINGTON, May 29, 1880.

"Hon. Omar D. Conger:

"MY DEAR SIR: You propose leaving this evening to attend as one of the delegates chosen from our State to the National Republican Convention, to be held at Chicago on the 2d proximo.

"While expressing my lasting gratitude to Michigan for its choice unani- mously expressed in State convention, that my name should be presented to the Chicago Convention for Vice-President on the Republican ticket of 1880, and grateful as well to the press of the country for approving expressions of such choice, permit me to say, and to enjoin you to say, should my name for such place be suggested to the Convention, that I have not been and am not a candidate therefor, nor would I accept the nomination.

"My choice is to serve as best I may my native State in the Senate of the United States, and be free to give, to the extent of my ability and opportunity, my hearty, zealous support to the nominees of the Chicago Con- vention.

"Sincerely yours,

T. W. FERRY."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. I am requested to read a telegram which has just been received. It is from the State of Oregon, which has been supposed heretofore to be doubtful:

"PORTLAND, OREGON, June 8, 1880.

"H. W. Scott, at Republican Convention:

"We have carried the State by not less than 1,000 majority. Great enthusiasm over Garfield's nomination.

"GEO. E. COLE."

NOMINATION OF HORACE MAYNARD.

On the call of the State of Tennessee.

Mr. HOUCK, of Tennessee. *Mr. President:* In obedience to the action of the Tennessee Republican State convention, in obedience to the united voice of every Republican of the State of Tennessee, in obedience to the common sentiment—if not the unanimous sentiment—of the Republicans of the South, as well as in obedience to the demands of the stalwart Republicans of the North, I rise to perform the pleasing duty of placing in nomination for the Vice-Presidency of the United States Hon. Horace Maynard, of—I had nearly said the State of Tennessee, but not that—the Hon. Horace Maynard, of the whole Union. As a *belles-lettres* scholar, as an accomplished gentleman, as all that it takes to adorn a citizen of this great Republic, he has but few equals, and absolutely no superior. Having served sixteen years in the Congress of the United States—having now filled the important trust of Minister to the Turkish Empire for more than six years—his whole public character is absolutely without blemish or stain of any kind whatever; a man, Mr. President, who, when the dark days of the rebellion swept over the land, stood firm when others failed; a man whose faith never faltered when even the faithful themselves began to doubt; a man who stood courageously by the Union and the Union cause when the enemies assailed the standard of the Union and raised their hands against it; a man who is capable not only of adorning the Vice-Presidency of the United States, but capable of adorning any position to which the American people might see proper to call him. I desire in the name of the loyal Republican Union sentiment of the South to place him in nomination, and I ask this Convention to select him as the standard-bearer of the Republican party in connection with the distinguished gentleman who has been placed at the head of the ticket.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a second? If not, the Clerk will proceed with the roll.

NOMINATION OF CHESTER A. ARTHUR.

Mr. WOODFORD, of New York. *Mr. President:* Although my State has been passed on the call, may I have the consent of the Convention to present a name from the State of New York?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The gentleman from New York asks unanimous consent—after his State has been passed—to present a name. Is there objection? The Chair hears none. The gentleman will proceed.

Mr. WOODFORD. *Mr. President, and Gentlemen of the Convention:* The great majority of the delegates from New York came here with loyal heart and earnest purpose to present for the Presidency the name of Gen. Grant. This Convention has decided to nominate the distinguished statesman of Ohio. New York will be behind no State in the Union in earnest, loyal.

effective support of the ticket that you nominate to-day. In behalf of a large number of the New York delegation, I desire to present the name of one of our most distinguished citizens, upon whose private character there is no stain of reproach, and who, I am sure, will add great strength to the ticket in the State of New York; and that is the name of my valued friend, a true man, a true gentleman, Chester A. Arthur, of New York.

Mr. DENNISON, of Ohio. *Mr. President:* On behalf of the majority of the delegates from Ohio, I rise to second the nomination of Gen. Arthur as a candidate for Vice-President. I may say, sir, that after a personal acquaintance with that distinguished gentleman for many years, it gives me the very highest satisfaction to express the most hearty concurrence on behalf of the delegates of Ohio in all that has been said by the distinguished gentleman from New York who has presented his name. I desire, Mr. President, to see the Republican party of this nation a compact, united, vigorous and triumphant party, and I know no better way to accomplish that grand result than by putting on the ticket, with Gen. Garfield as the head, Gen. Arthur, or a man of his character as a Republican, for Vice-President. With the ticket of Garfield and Arthur, Ohio will give to the Republican party not less than 30,000 majority, and fourteen members of Congress. Now, sir, while on my feet, though it is not strictly germane to the occasion, I trust I may have the pardon of this Convention when, on behalf of the delegates from Ohio, and of the Republican party of Ohio, I return their thanks to this Convention for the nomination of Gen. Garfield to the Presidency of the United States. I want to say, Mr. President, that after an acquaintance with that distinguished gentleman for more than twenty years, I rejoice in him as having all the essentials of character, moral and political, eminently fitting him for the high position of Chief Magistrate of the Nation; and the telegrams I have received from my State, and telegrams received by other delegates from Ohio, only confirm what I anticipated—that there is but one opinion in Ohio in regard to that nomination, and *that* is that no better nomination could be made by this Republican Convention assembled in Chicago.

I repeat, sir, begging the pardon of yourself and of the Convention for what I have said beyond the immediate object of my rising, that I second, on behalf of a majority of the delegates of Ohio, the nomination of Gen. Arthur for Vice-President of the Republic.

Mr. KILPATRICK, of New Jersey. *Mr. President, and Gentlemen of the Convention:* I intend to occupy the attention of the Convention for a moment only. At half past two o'clock to-day, after one of the most severe conflicts ever witnessed in a Republican convention, Ohio's great soldier and statesman was placed in nomination for President of the United States. New York, Illinois and Pennsylvania asked for a soldier, the most distinguished that ever trod the American continent. This Convention, although it refused them their request, gave to them a soldier, though not as distinguished as Gen. Grant, yet nevertheless a soldier whose war-horse snuffed not the conflict from afar, but filled his nostrils with the red smoke of battle—a soldier who was chief-of-staff to Gen. Rosecrans, and aid-de-camp to George H. Thomas, the Rock of Chicamauga. Maine asked for a statesman and an orator. We give them a statesman and an orator in every respect equal to the Senator from Maine. Many States, including the State of Ohio, asked for a financier—asked for the great commoner, who, in season and out of season, worked for the welfare of the American people, to whom they owe a debt of gratitude they can never repay. We give to them a statesman and citizen, in honor, in integrity, from sole to scalp, equal to John Sherman, of Ohio.

Now the State of New York presents to you the name of one of her most distinguished citizens, the chairman, gentleman of the Convention, of the

State Committee of New York, upon which State we must rely in this contest. They ask of you that you place him in nomination, guaranteeing to give to this ticket the State of New York in November. You cannot, you dare not, turn your backs upon him. You must not do it. With James A. Garfield at the head of the ticket, and Chester A. Arthur as its second name, you will have two candidates that you can place upon the mountain peaks and the hill tops, and no dart can break a bolt or loosen a rivet of the invulnerable armor of truth and honor with which they have enveloped themselves. We can go down upon the battle plain and meet the enemy upon his own ground and there vanquish him. Aye, more, you will have a President and Vice-President who in their right hands will carry peace. They will be just and fear not, while the ends they aim at will be their country's, their God's, their truth's. In the name of a portion of the delegation of New Jersey, along with my valuable friend from Ohio, I second, with all my heart, the nomination of Chester A. Arthur, of New York, as Vice-President.

Mr. STORRS, of Illinois. On behalf of the majority of the Republican delegates from the State of Illinois, it is my duty, as it is my extreme pleasure, to second the nomination just made for the Vice-Presidency, of Hon. Chester A. Arthur, of the State of New York. I believe that every dictate of political wisdom and political prudence looks in that direction. I believe that the "old guard," which stood through thirty-six ballots 306, whose line never wavered, in whose ranks there was never a shrinking man, in whose solid front there was never a desertion—I believe that this old guard, that has carried in the past and will carry in the future the flag of the party to triumph, wishes and prays for the nomination of Chester A. Arthur. I know that these stalwart Republicans representing hundreds of thousands of Republicans throughout the Union, are as firmly resolved that Garfield shall be elected President as if the modest man, the great statesman, the silent soldier had received the nomination of this Convention. We have suffered no defeat; nothing could have defeated nor dismayed us but a wavering of the line, and the line never wavered. With our banners still flying, members of the same army, inspired by the same elevated purpose, animated by the same patriotic spirit, Illinois, Ohio, Pennsylvania, New York, joining hands together, will carry the flag through to a triumph as splendid as the party ever achieved. I know I speak in behalf of those who have always been Republicans; I know I speak in behalf of those who are now Republicans; I know I speak in behalf of those who always will be Republicans; I know I speak in behalf of the friends of the great silent soldier, when I second the nomination of Chester A. Arthur, of New York.

Mr. LYNCH, of Mississippi. I desire to say, sir, that when we came to this Convention it was the intention of the delegates from Mississippi and a number of the other Southern States, as well as the Northern States, to present, for the consideration of this Convention, the name of Mississippi's distinguished son and able Senator, B. K. Bruce. Recognizing the fact, as we do, that hearty harmony and hearty unity are essential to success, instead of asking this Convention to do themselves honor in placing this gentleman upon the ticket, it is the wish of that gentleman and his friends that we heartily, cheerfully and willingly concur in all that has been said in behalf of New York's choice.

It has been said, Mr. President, and I regret that the assertion cannot be truthfully denied, that the South, in the coming election, will be solidly Democratic. Nevertheless, we feel that it is the duty of the Republican party of the Nation to make the cause of the Southern Republicans the cause of the National party. Feeling as we do, although the man who is the choice of a majority of Southern Republicans was not the choice of this Convention, yet we will go home with loyal hearts and unmistakable determination to do

all in our power to bring success to our party and its nominee. We hope that New York's choice will be ratified by this Convention, as we are determined to ratify the ticket in November.

**Mr. HARRIS**, of Maryland. On behalf of a delegation that proposes to cast its solid vote for the distinguished gentleman from New York, who has now been placed in nomination for the Vice-Presidency, and, at the request of many gentlemen around me, I desire, with great heartiness, to second that nomination. I do not need, sir, in addition to what we all know of the character and career of that gentleman, to hear more than I have heard from members upon this floor of his peculiar fitness, both politically and personally, for that high office. I only wish, sir, that, while saying that Maryland will give to him her solid vote for the nomination, I also could say that the Republican party of Maryland would give, in November, both to him and the distinguished gentleman from Ohio, who will be with him on the ticket, a solid Republican vote, or a vote of a majority of the State. Unfortunately, sir, I am not able to say that yet; but we shall go to our homes in Maryland, confronted as we are to-day by a powerful Democratic majority, with our hearts inspired with the highest courage and full of most brilliant hope. We shall go there, sir, knowing that we will be able to fight an aggressive and a successful canvass—and success with us means the beginning of a revolution in that State. Therefore, we Republicans of Maryland extend to this Convention our heartiest thanks that they give us in the distinguished nominations made and to be made, the best opportunity of beginning a great revolution in that State, which, we trust, not long hence will place it in the hands of the Republican party of the Union. I second, sir, for another reason, this nomination with pleasure. Many of us of Maryland, in this delegation, have voted throughout the sessions of this Convention against a gentleman with whom, for many reasons, we would have been happy to be in personal conference; but our convictions of the necessities of the occasion have governed us throughout our respective votes, and I am now glad to have our delegation concur in the choice of the gentlemen who have not, in other respects, succeeded in all their wishes. I therefore second very heartily the nomination of Mr. Arthur.

**Mr. FILLEY**, of Missouri. *Mr. President:* The delegation from Missouri desire me to say to the Convention that they think it is most fitting for this Convention at this time to second the nomination and carry through this Convention by acclamation the name of Hon. Chester A. Arthur, of New York, and the delegation authorize me to say that Missouri will give her thirty votes to him.

#### NOMINATION OF EDMUND J. DAVIS.

On the call of the State of Texas.

**Mr. CHAMBERS**, of Texas. *Mr. President, and Gentlemen of the Convention:* The State of Texas presents as her candidate for the Vice-Presidency ex-Gov. Edmund J. Davis. There are times in the history of a people and in the history of individuals that try men's souls. In 1861, when a political frenzy swept over the country from the Potomac to the Rio Grande, overturning State governments, overturning the government of the State of Texas and removing from office the hero of San Jacinto, Gen. Davis, whose name is presented from Texas, was a Judge of one of the courts of the State. He was born in Florida. At early manhood he went to Texas. By his talents and ability he was soon elevated to the Judiciary, and when this revolution came upon the country Gov. Davis, defying the ordinance of secession, refusing to recognize the revolution, fled from his country, his home, his family, all, to join the Union armies of the Nation. As long as that banner floated he fought under it. As long as the Union cause de-



manded the services of her sons, whether Northern or Southern, he stood by the side of that cause, led his comrades to victory under the commission of General in the Union army, and never sheathed that sword until the Union was restored, freedom given to all, and Grant made immortal. When the war ended he returned to his home. In 1869 he was president of the convention that gave to Texas her only Republican constitution—the only constitution that gave universal freedom to all its people. In 1869 he was elected the Governor of that State. Under his administration peace was restored, prosperity increased, railroads were built, free public schools established, the laws vindicated; the people from all parts of the United States came to Texas, and the result was that a degree of prosperity, of happiness, of protection existed during his administration, which the people of that State have never enjoyed since reconstruction, I regret to say. A few years hence the voice of Texas in the councils of the country, as well as in your National Convention, will be second upon the list—second in numbers, second in political importance. She now has enough people to send sixteen members to Congress after the next census. In the course of a few years more she will have upon the floor of that body as many members of Congress as the largest of the States. Texas represents in extent a country extending from the eastern limits of Ohio to the shores of the State of Maine. She has a territory almost equal to the territory of all the States that seceded from the Union. Gentlemen of the Convention, it is true that Texas cannot promise you any electoral votes. But do you not remember how, four years ago, it required not only all the strength that the Republican party of the Northern States could bring to the polls, but it required the votes of three States of the South to enable you to elect the present President of the United States? Can you get along without the vote of the South? Are you willing to go into the next Presidential contest without the assistance of the South? Do you not know that you must not only carry every State that you carried North at the last election, but you must carry some more Northern States that you did not carry then, if you leave the South to herself? And what State North can you depend upon? What States North are you sure of, beyond those which you carried at the last Presidential election? Why not meet us half-way?

Why not show that you have brotherhood for a fellow-people? Why not recognize us as a part of this Government, as a part of this Union, and say, "Come, and we will give you one part of this Government?"

[Here the hammer fell.]

Mr. HICKS, of Florida. Having discharged our duty and offered our candidate, after consultation with other States which are in harmony with us, and yielding, as we deem it our duty and high privilege to do, to the great States of New York, Illinois and Ohio—for, sir, we belong to that "old guard"—and with the consent of those who have seconded the nomination, I now withdraw the name of Judge Settle and substitute therefor the name of Chester A. Arthur, of New York.

Mr. CESSNA, of Pennsylvania. I do not rise to make a speech on this occasion, but simply to say that once more Pennsylvania votes as a unit. We second the name of the gentleman from New York as the nominee for the Vice-Presidency.

Mr. HARRIS, of North Carolina. As one who seconded the nomination of Hon. Thomas Settle, I know that I act in accord with the wishes, and holding the success of the Republican party paramount to all other considerations, I now beg to concur in the withdrawal of his name as a candidate

for the Vice-Presidency in favor of General Arthur, of New York. One word and I have done. All I want to say is that we of North Carolina shall give the ticket 15,000 majority, and that, being "tar-heels," we shall stick. [Laughter.]

Mr. WHITE, of Kentucky. I want to say one word. The State of Kentucky believed that General U. S. Grant was the strongest man in the Republican party, and we have done all we could to secure his nomination. But sir, this Convention has seen fit to select another man, and we give to him our most hearty support. Now, Kentucky says that in this matter of a Vice-President she is a unit in favor of the gentleman proposed by the great State of New York.

Mr. MCCARTHY, of New York. As I discover a disposition here for peace and harmony, and good-will, I withdraw the second I gave for Mr. Washburne, and move the unanimous vote of this body in favor of Chester A. Arthur, of New York.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. There must be a full call of the roll of States on this nomination, under the rules, and the motion of the gentleman is therefore not in order.

Mr. CUNY, of Texas. *Mr. President:* I intended to rise for the purpose of seconding the nomination of Governor Davis, of Texas, for the Vice-Presidency, but inasmuch as I see a disposition on the part of gentlemen on the floor of this Convention to withdraw the names of the various candidates now before the Convention, Texas desires to say that while she feels confident that there has been no name presented to this Convention more worthy of the confidence of the Republican party of this country than that of the eminent statesman, our fellow-citizen, ex-Governor Davis, I now, at the request of the delegates from Texas, withdraw the name of Governor Davis.

The PRESIDENT OF THE CONVENTION. The Chair thinks it worth while, as he supposes the Convention is desirous of saving time, to make known to gentlemen, that, under the rules, it is in order to move a suspension of the rules and make any nomination which shall be embraced in that motion, and by a two-thirds vote it would be carried.

Mr. BUCKNER, of Missouri. *Mr. President:* I move to suspend the rule, and that the nomination of Chester A. Arthur, of New York, be made by acclamation.

The PRESIDENT. That motion is in order. It is moved by the gentleman from Missouri that the rule be suspended and Chester A. Arthur be nominated for Vice-President by acclamation.

Mr. CAMPBELL, of West Virginia. I rise to a point of order. The States have not all been called on the subject of Vice-Presidential nominations.

The motion to suspend the rule was not agreed to.

The PRESIDENT. The motion was in order to suspend the rule, but it was lost. The Secretary will proceed with the roll.

On the call of the State of West Virginia.

Mr. CAMPBELL, of West Virginia. *Mr. President:* The State convention of West Virginia, which met in the city of Wheeling on the twelfth of May, and commissioned its delegation to represent the party of that State in this Convention, directed us to present to this Convention the name of a distinguished citizen of that State. It had been my intention, Mr. President, to do so, but I know that, in the language of our distinguished Chief Magistrate, he who serves his country best serves his party best. Therefore, sir, I withhold the name of that distinguished citizen—a man known throughout every square mile of our territory, whose name is “familiar as a household word,” who was a gallant soldier in the war, who was known for his high bravery in the field, who has been tendered high office under the Government of the United States, but has declined to accept it—the name of General Goff, of West Virginia. And in conformity with the wishes of this delegation, and, I know, in conformity with the wishes of General Goff himself, I rise, sir, on behalf of the delegation from West Virginia, to second the nomination of Elihu B. Washburne. This gentleman of whom I have spoken, whose name we had expected to present, is the idol of all our hearts in West Virginia. He is our Henry Clay. But, sir, we are willing to forego the pleasure which we would have as a matter of State pride in presenting his name here, and to urge the name of Mr. Washburne, because the people thought it would strengthen us, not only in West Virginia, but, what is far more important, in the great States of the North. Mr. President, let us not do any rash thing in this Convention. We have passed a series of resolutions, and one of them points directly at the maintenance of civil-service reform. Let us not stultify ourselves before the country. In the language of the distinguished man whom we have nominated this day for the Presidency, we must remember that the people will pass upon these nominations in the calm of their firesides at home. And speaking of that other distinguished man, Elihu B. Washburne, who has such a glorious record as member of Congress and as our Minister in a foreign land, and towards whom the hearts of a million adopted citizens of this country turn, as they do not turn towards any other man, from what I have seen and heard, not only in this city, but elsewhere, I am satisfied that his name is good for 100,000 German-Democratic votes. Therefore, Mr. President, desiring above all things the success of the Republican party in this critical period of its history, and in behalf of the delegates from the State of West Virginia, I most cordially second the nomination of Elihu B. Washburne, and hope it will be the pleasure of this Convention to nominate him. [Demonstrations of applause in the galleries.]

At the conclusion of the roll-call.

Mr. CARTER, of Virginia. The State of Virginia having been called while my attention was directed to some other matters, it gives me pleasure to say that the delegation from Virginia will, with entire unanimity, endorse the nomination of the distinguished gentleman from New York.

Mr. DORSEY, of Arkansas. There are some delegates here who desire to get through with their business this afternoon, in order to leave to-night. If the galleries shall continue, as they have for the last week, to interfere with the proper discharge of our duties, I shall move to have the galleries cleared. I now move that if there is any further disorder in the galleries they be cleared.

The PRESIDENT. The motion is in order.

The motion was agreed to.

The PRESIDENT. What is now the pleasure of the Convention?

Mr. MCBETH, of Missouri. I move that we proceed to take a ballot for Vice-President, by a call of States.

The motion was agreed to.

The roll of States was then called and resulted:

Total number of votes cast 751. [Necessary to a choice, 376.]

Of which—

Chester A. Arthur, of New York, received 468; Elihu B. Washburne, of Illinois, 193; Marshall Jewell, of Connecticut, 44; Horace Maynard, of Tennessee, 30; Blanche K. Bruce, of Mississippi, 8; James L. Alcorn, of Mississippi, 4; Edmund J. Davis, of Texas, 2; Thomas Settle, of Florida, 1; Stewart L. Woodford, of New York, 1—as follows:

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	NO. OF DEL.	ARTHUR	WASHBURN	JEWELL	WOODFORD	MAYNARD	SETTLE	BRUCE	DAVIS	ALCORN
Alabama	20	18		2						
Arkansas	12	12								
California	12		12							
Colorado	6	6								
Connecticut	12			12						
Delaware	6	6								
Florida	20	8								
Georgia	22									
Illinois	42	24	18							
Indiana	30	5	11	5	1	4	1	2		
Iowa	22		22							
Kansas	10	10								
Kentucky	24	24								
Louisiana	16	10						4	2	
Maine	14			14						
Maryland	16	16								
Massachusetts	26	2	22	1						
Michigan	26	6	14					1		
Minnesota	10	8	2							
Mississippi	16	11		1						4
Missouri	30	30								
Nebraska	6		6							
Nevada	6		6							
New Hampshire	10	3	3	4						
New Jersey	18	3	14	1						
New York	70	69	1							
North Carolina	20	20								
Ohio	44	42	2							
Oregon	6	6								
Pennsylvania	58	47	11							
Rhode Island	8		8							
South Carolina	14	14								
Tennessee	24					24				
Texas	16	9	6							
Vermont	10	4	6			1				
Virginia	23	19	2	1						
West Virginia	10	1	9							
Wisconsin	20	2	16			1		1		
Arizona	2			2						
Dakota	2									
District of Columbia	2	1	1							
Idaho	2									
Montana	2	1	1							
New Mexico	2									
Utah	2									
Washington	2	1		1						
Wyoming	2	2								
Totals	756	468	193	44	1	30	1	8	2	4

The PRESIDING OFFICER. [Mr. Frye, of Maine, in the Chair.] The Hon. Chester A. Arthur is nominated as a candidate for Vice-President, and the question now before the Convention is, shall that nomination be made unanimous?

Mr. MCBETH, of Missouri. I move that the nomination be made unanimous.

Mr. HAYMOND, of California. The nomination is one that will be eminently satisfactory to the country, and as the delegation from California have had another choice, it is but right and proper for California to second the motion to make that nomination unanimous.

It was unanimously agreed to.

Mr. KILPATRICK, of New Jersey. *Mr. President and Gentlemen of this Convention:* I move you that a vote of thanks be tendered by this Convention to the distinguished gentleman from Massachusetts who has so impartially and so ably presided over the deliberations of this Convention.

Mr. CAMPBELL, of West Virginia. I was about to rise for the purpose of making the same motion.

Mr. BICKHAM, of Ohio. I present a resolution as an amendment to the gentleman's motion, and hand it up to the Secretary to be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

*"Resolved, That this Convention tenders its grateful thanks to its very able President and its accomplished Secretaries and courteous officers generally, for the happy and satisfactory discharge of their onerous and responsible duties, and that we also thank the citizens of Chicago for their courteous and generous hospitality."*

Mr. KILPATRICK. I accept the amendment.

The motion as amended was agreed to.

Mr. CONGER, of Michigan...*Mr. President:* I offer the following resolution, and ask the Secretary to read it.

The Secretary read as follows:

*"Resolved, That a committee, consisting of one delegate from each State, of which the President of this Convention shall be chairman, be appointed to notify the Hon. James A. Garfield, of Ohio, of his unanimous nomination by this Convention as the candidate of the Republican party for the office of President of these United States; and also to notify the Hon. Chester A. Arthur, of New York, of his unanimous nomination as its candidate for Vice-Presidents."*

The resolution was adopted.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair desires to call the attention of the Convention to the fact that no mode is prescribed in the resolution itself for the appointment of the committee.

Several DELEGATES. By the Chair.

Mr. CONGER, of Michigan. I move that it be left to each delegation to appoint its member on the call of the roll.

The motion was not agreed to.

Mr. MCBETH, of Missouri. I move that the committee be appointed by the Chair.

The motion was agreed to.

The PRESIDENT. The Chair will take leave to follow the precedent of the last National Convention and select the committee this evening, at his room, after the adjournment, if no objection is made. He will take measures to have public notice given at all the hotels of the names of the committee. Is there any other business before the Convention?

Mr. MCBETH. I move that this Convention do now adjourn.

The CHAIR. The gentleman from Missouri moves that the Convention now adjourn. Before putting the motion, the Chair desires to express to the Convention his grateful sense of the patience and forbearance with which it has sustained him in the discharge of his duty.

The motion was agreed to.

So the Convention, at seven o'clock and twenty-five minutes, p. m., adjourned *sine die*.

#### COMMITTEE OF NOTIFICATION.

Upon the adjournment of the Convention, the President appointed the following named gentlemen as the Committee charged with the duty of notifying Gen. Garfield and Gen. Arthur of their respective nominations:

GEORGE F. HOAR, Massachusetts, *Chairman*.

Alabama.....	Willard Warner.
Arkansas.....	M. W. Gibbs.
California.....	Creed Haymond.
Colorado.....	John L. Routt.
Connecticut.....	H. B. Bigelow.
Delaware.....	James R. Lofland.
Florida.....	Sherman Conant.
Georgia.....	J. F. Long.
Illinois.....	John A. Logan.
Indiana.....	Ben. Harrison.
Iowa.....	Robert M. Haynes.
Kansas.....	P. B. Plumb.
Kentucky.....	John D. White.
Louisiana.....	William Pitt Kellogg.
Maine.....	Eugene Hale.
Maryland.....	J. A. J. Creswell.
Massachusetts.....	W. S. B. Hopkins.
Michigan.....	Omar D. Conger.
Minnesota.....	A. C. Wedge.
Mississippi.....	George C. McKee.
Missouri.....	Robert T. Vanhorn.
Nebraska.....	Lorenzo Crounse.
Nevada.....	M. D. Foley.
New Hampshire.....	Benjamin F. Prescott.
New Jersey.....	Judson Kilpatrick.
New York.....	William H. Robertson.
North Carolina.....	Stewart Ellison.
Ohio.....	Charles Foster.
Oregon.....	John H. Mitchell.
Pennsylvania.....	John Cessna.

Rhode Island.....John P. Sanborn.  
 South Carolina.....R. B. Elliott.  
 Tennessee.....A. M. Hughes, Jr.  
 Texas.....E. J. Davis.  
 Vermont.....Frederick Billings.  
 Virginia.....Joseph Jorgenson.  
 West Virginia.....A. W. Campbell.  
 Wisconsin.....Philetus Sawyer.

CHARLES W. CLISBEE, Michigan, *Secretary*.

At eleven o'clock, p. m., the Committee assembled in the Club Room of the Grand Pacific Hotel, and appointed Messrs. O. D. Conger, of Michigan, and A. C. Wedge, of Minnesota, a sub-committee, to conduct Gen. Garfield and Gen. Arthur to the room. Upon the appearance of the latter gentlemen, the Chairman of the Committee of Notification, Mr. Hoar, of Massachusetts, addressed Gen. Garfield as follows:

*General Garfield:* The gentlemen present are a committee, appointed by the National Republican Convention, representatives of every State in the Union, who have been directed to convey to you the formal ceremonial notice of your nomination as Republican candidate for the office of President of the United States. It is known to you that the Convention which has made its nomination assembled divided in opinion and in counsel, in regard to their candidate. It cannot be known to you with what unanimity of pleasure all parties in that Convention have received the result which it has reached. You represent not only the distinctive principles and opinions of the Republican party, you represent also its unity; and in the name of every State in the Union, represented on this committee, I convey to you the assurance of the cordial support of the Republican party of these States in the coming election.

To which General Garfield replied as follows:

*Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen:* I assure you that the information you have officially given to me brings the sense of a very grave responsibility, and especially so in view of the fact that I was a member of your body—a fact that could not have existed with propriety had I the slightest expectation that my name would be connected with the nomination for the office. I have felt, with you, great solicitude concerning the situation of our party during the struggle; but, believing that you are correct in assuring me that substantial unity has been reached in the conclusion, it gives me a gratification far greater than any personal pleasure your announcement can bring. I accept the trust committed to my hands. As to the work of our party, as to the character of the campaign to be entered upon, I will take an early occasion to reply more fully than I can properly do to-night. I thank you for the assurances of confidence and esteem and unity which you have presented to me, and shall hope we shall see our future as promising as are the indications to-night.

The Chairman then addressed Gen. Arthur as follows:

*Gen. Arthur:* I am, as the organ of a committee of Republicans from every State in the Union, created by the National Republican Convention which closed its labors here to-day, directed to ask your acceptance of the nomination for the office of Vice-President of the United States. The Convention, in making this nomination, have desired to testify their regard for the great State of which you have been so long a well-known and honored citizen, and their regard for the opinions and wishes of a portion of the Convention whose earnest preferences for the office of President has been disappointed. They are confident that no division of opinion can create permanent estrangement where the interests of the great Republican party are concerned.

To which Gen. Arthur replied:

I am deeply sensible, Mr. Chairman, of the honor conferred upon me. I accept the nomination, and shall endeavor, if elected, to discharge its duties faithfully and conscientiously, and to the best of my ability. I will reply more formally at some future time.

The following is the formal letter of acceptance written by Gen. Garfield to the President of the Convention:

MENTOR, OHIO, July 10th, 1880.

DEAR SIR: On the evening of the 8th of June last I had the honor to receive from you, in the presence of the committee of which you were chairman, the official announcement that the Republican National Convention at Chicago had that day nominated me as their candidate for President of the United States. I accept the nomination, with gratitude for the confidence it implies, and with a deep sense of the responsibilities it imposes. I cordially indorse the principles set forth in the platform adopted by the Convention. On nearly all the subjects of which it treats, my opinions are on record among the published proceedings of Congress. I venture, however, to make special mention of some of the principal topics which are likely to become subjects of discussion.

Without reviewing the controversies which have been settled during the last twenty years, and with no purpose or wish to revive the passions of the late war, it should be said that while the Republicans fully recognize and will strenuously defend all the rights retained by the people, and all the rights reserved to the States, they reject the pernicious doctrine of State supremacy which so long crippled the functions of the National Government, and, at one time, brought the Union very near to destruction. They insist that the United States is a nation, with ample power of self-preservation; that its Constitution and the laws made in pursuance thereof are the supreme law of the land; that the right of the Nation to determine the method by which its own Legislature shall be created cannot be surrendered without abdicating one of the fundamental powers of government; that the national laws relating to the election of representatives in Congress shall neither be violated nor evaded; that every elector shall be permitted, freely and without intimidation, to cast his lawful ballot at such election, and have it honestly counted, and that the potency of his vote shall not be destroyed by the fraudulent vote of any other person. The best thoughts and energies of our people should be directed to those great questions of national well-being in which all have a common interest. Such efforts will soonest restore to perfect peace those who were lately in arms against each other; for justice and good-will will out-last passion. But it is certain that the wounds of the war cannot be completely healed, and the spirit of brotherhood cannot fully pervade the whole country, until every citizen, rich or poor, white or black, is secure in the free and equal enjoyment of every civil and political right guaranteed by the Constitution and the laws. Wherever the enjoyment of these rights is not assured, discontent will prevail, immigration will cease, and the social and industrial forces will continue to be disturbed by the migration of laborers and the consequent diminution of prosperity. The National Government should exercise all its constitutional authority to put an end to these evils; for all the people and all the States are members of one body, and no member can suffer without injury to all.

The most serious evils which now afflict the South arise from the fact that there is not such freedom and toleration of political opinion and action



that the minority party can exercise an effective and wholesome restraint upon the party in power. Without such restraint, party rule becomes tyrannical and corrupt. The prosperity which is made possible in the South by its great advantages of soil and climate will never be realized until every voter can freely and safely support any party he pleases.

Next in importance to freedom and justice, is popular education, without which neither justice nor freedom can be permanently maintained. Its interests are intrusted to the States, and to the voluntary action of the people. Whatever help the Nation can justly afford should be generously given to aid the States in supporting common schools; but it would be unjust to our people and dangerous to our institutions to apply any portion of the revenues of the Nation or of the States to the support of sectarian schools. The separation of the Church and the State in everything relating to taxation should be absolute.

On the subject of national finances my views have been so frequently and fully expressed that little is needed in the way of additional statement. The public debt is now so well secured, and the rate of annual interest has been so reduced by refunding, that rigid economy in expenditures and the faithful application of our surplus revenues to the payment of the principal of the debt will gradually but certainly free the people from its burdens, and close with honor the financial chapter of the war.

At the same time, the Government can provide for all its ordinary expenditures, and discharge its sacred obligations to the soldiers of the Union, and to the widows and orphans of those who fell in its defense. The resumption of specie payments, which the Republican party so courageously and successfully accomplished, has removed from the field of controversy many questions that long and seriously disturbed the credit of the Government and the business of the country. Our paper currency is now as national as the flag, and resumption has not only made it everywhere equal to coin, but has brought into use our store of gold and silver. The circulating medium is more abundant than ever before; and we need only to maintain the equality of all our dollars to insure to labor and capital a measure of value from the use of which no one can suffer loss. The great prosperity which the country is now enjoying should not be endangered by any violent changes or doubtful financial experiments.

In reference to our customs laws, a policy should be pursued which will bring revenue to the Treasury, and will enable the labor and capital employed in our great industries to compete fairly in our own markets with the labor and capital of foreign producers. We legislate for the people of the United States, not for the whole world: and it is our glory that the American laborer is more intelligent and better paid than his foreign competitor. Our country cannot be independent unless its people, with their abundant natural resources, possess the requisite skill, at any time, to clothe, arm and equip themselves for war, and in time of peace to produce all the necessary implements of labor. It was the manifest intention of the founders of the Government to provide for the common defense, not by standing armies alone, but by raising among the people a greater army of artisans, whose intelligence and skill should powerfully contribute to the safety and glory of the Nation.

Fortunately for the interests of commerce, there is no longer any formidable opposition to appropriations for the improvement of our harbors and great navigable rivers provided that the expenditures for that purpose are strictly limited to works of national importance. The Mississippi river, with its great tributaries, is of such vital importance to so many millions of people that the safety of its navigation requires exceptional consideration. In order to secure to the Nation the control of all its waters, President Jefferson negotiated the purchase of a vast territory, extending from the Gulf of Mexico to the Pacific ocean. The wisdom of Congress should be invoked to

devise some plan by which that great river shall cease to be a terror to those who dwell upon its banks, and by which its shipping may safely carry the industrial products of 25,000,000 of people. The interests of agriculture, which is the basis of all our material prosperity, and in which seven-twelfths of our population are engaged, as well as the interests of manufactures and commerce, demand that the facilities for cheap transportation shall be increased by the use of all our great water-courses.

The material interests of this country, the traditions of its settlement and the sentiment of our people have led the Government to offer the widest hospitality to emigrants who seek our shores for new and happier homes, willing to share the burdens as well as the benefits of our society, and intending that their posterity shall become an undistinguishable part of our population. The recent movement of the Chinese to our Pacific coast partakes but little of the qualities of such an immigration, either in its purposes or its result. It is too much like an importation, to be welcomed without restrictions; too much like an invasion, to be looked upon without solicitude. We cannot consent to allow any form of servile labor to be introduced among us under the guise of immigration. Recognizing the gravity of this subject, the present Administration, supported by Congress, has sent to China a commission of distinguished citizens for the purpose of securing such a modification of the existing treaty as will prevent the evils likely to arise from the present situation. It is confidently believed that these diplomatic negotiations will be successful without the loss of commercial intercourse between the two powers, which promises a great increase of reciprocal trade and the enlargement of our markets. Should these efforts fail, it will be the duty of Congress to mitigate the evils already felt and prevent their increase by such restrictions as, without violence or injustice, will place upon a sure foundation the peace of our communities and the freedom and dignity of labor.

The appointment of citizens to the various executive and judicial offices of the Government is, perhaps, the most difficult of all duties which the Constitution has imposed on the Executive. The Convention wisely demands that Congress shall co-operate with the Executive department in placing the civil service on a better basis. Experience has proved that, with our frequent changes of administration, no system of reform can be made effective and permanent without the aid of legislation. Appointments to the military and naval service are so regulated by law and custom as to leave but little ground for complaint. It may not be wise to make similar regulations by law for the civil service. But, without invading the authority or necessary discretion of the Executive, Congress should devise a method that will determine the tenure of office and greatly reduce the uncertainty which makes that service so uncertain and unsatisfactory. Without depriving any officer of his rights as a citizen, the Government should require him to discharge all his official duties with intelligence, efficiency and faithfulness. To select wisely from our vast population those who are best fitted for the many offices to be filled requires an acquaintance far beyond the range of any one man. The Executive should, therefore, seek and receive the information and assistance of those whose knowledge of the communities in which the duties are to be performed best qualifies them to aid in making the wisest choice.

The doctrines announced by the Chicago Convention are not the temporary devices of a party to attract votes and carry an election: they are deliberate convictions, resulting from a careful study of the spirit of our institutions, the events of our history, and the best impulses of our people. In my judgment, these principles should control the legislation and administration of the Government. In any event, they will guide my conduct until experience points out a better way.

If elected, it will be my purpose to enforce strict obedience to the Constitution and the laws, and to promote, as best I may, the interest and honor of the whole country, relying for support upon the wisdom of Congress, the intelligence and patriotism of the people, and the favor of God.

With great respect, I am very truly yours,

J. A. GARFIELD.

To the HON. GEORGE F. HOAR,

*Chairman of the Committee.*

Gen. Arthur's letter of acceptance is as follows:

NEW YORK, July 15, 1880.

DEAR SIR: I accept the position assigned me by the great party whose action you announce. This acceptance implies approval of the principles declared by the Convention, but recent usage permits me to add some expression of my own views.

The right and duty to secure honesty and order in popular elections is a matter so vital that it must stand in front. The authority of the National Government to preserve from fraud and force elections at which its own officers are chosen is a chief point on which the two parties are plainly and intensely opposed. Acts of Congress for ten years have, in New York and elsewhere, done much to curb the violence and wrong to which the ballot and the count have been again and again subjected—sometimes despoiling great cities, sometimes stifling the voice of a whole State, often seating, not only in Congress but on the Bench and in Legislatures, numbers of men never chosen by the people. The Democratic party, since gaining possession of the two Houses of Congress, has made these just laws the object of bitter, ceaseless assault, and, despite all resistance, has hedged them with restrictions cunningly contrived to baffle and paralyze them. This aggressive majority boldly attempted to extort from the Executive his approval of various enactments destructive of these election laws, by revolutionary threats that a constitutional exercise of the veto power would be punished by withholding the appropriations necessary to carry on the Government. And these threats were actually carried out by refusing the needed appropriations, and by forcing an extra session of Congress, lasting for months and resulting in concessions to this usurping demand, which are likely, in many States, to subject the majority to the lawless will of a minority.

Ominous signs of public disapproval alone subdued this arrogant power into a sullen surrender for the time being of a part of its demands. The Republican party has strongly approved the stern refusal of its representatives to suffer the overthrow of statutes believed to be salutary and just. It has always insisted, and now insists, that the Government of the United States of America is empowered and in duty bound to effectually protect the elections denoted by the Constitution as National.

More than this, the Republican party holds, as a cardinal point in its creed, that the Government should, by every means known to the Constitution, protect all American citizens everywhere in the full enjoyment of their civil and political rights. As a great part of its work of reconstruction the Republican party gave the ballot to the emancipated slave as his right and defense. A large increase in the number of members of Congress and of the Electoral College from the former slaveholding States was the immediate result. The history of recent years abounds in evidence that in many ways and in many places—especially where their number has been great enough to endanger Democratic control—the very men by whose ele-

vation to citizenship this increase of representation was effected have been debarred and robbed of their voice and their vote. It is true that no State statute or constitution in so many words denies or abridges the exercise of their political rights, but the modes employed to bar their way are no less effectual. It is a suggestive and startling thought that the increased power derived from the enfranchisement of a race now denied its share in governing the country, wielded by those who lately sought the overthrow of the Government, is now the sole reliance to defeat the party which represented the sovereignty and nationality of the American people in the greatest crisis in our history. Republicans cherish none of the resentments which may have animated them during the actual conflict of arms. They long for a full and real reconciliation between the sections which were needlessly and lamentably at strife. They sincerely offer the hand of good-will, but they ask in return a pledge of good faith. They deeply feel that the party whose career is so illustrious in great and patriotic achievement, will not fulfill its destiny until peace and prosperity are established in all the land, nor until liberty of thought, conscience and action, and equality of opportunity, shall be not merely cold formalities of statute, but living birthrights, which the humble may confidently claim and the powerful dare not deny.

The resolution referring to the public service seems to me deserving of approval. Surely no man should be the incumbent of an office the duties of which he is, for any cause, unfit to perform, who is lacking in the ability, fidelity or integrity which a proper administration of such office demands. This sentiment would doubtless, meet with general acquiescence; but opinion has been widely divided upon the wisdom and practicability of the various reformatory schemes which have been suggested, and of certain proposed regulations governing appointments to public office. The efficiency of such regulations has been distrusted, mainly because they have seemed to exalt mere educational and abstract tests above general business capacity, and even special fitness for the particular work in hand. It seems to me that the rules which should be applied to the management of the public service may properly conform, in the main, to such as regulate the conduct of successful private business. Original appointments should be based upon ascertained fitness. The tenure of office should be stable. Positions of responsibility should, so far as practicable, be filled by the promotion of worthy and efficient officers. The investigation of all complaints and the punishment of all official misconduct should be prompt and thorough. These views, which I have long held, repeatedly declared and uniformly applied when called upon to act, I find embodied in the resolution, which, of course, I approve. I will add that, by the acceptance of public office, whether high or low, one does not, in my judgment, escape any of his responsibilities as a citizen or lose or impair any of his rights as a citizen, and that he should enjoy absolute liberty to think, and speak, and act in political matters according to his own will and conscience, provided only that he honorably, faithfully and fully discharges all his official duties.

The resumption of specie payments—one of the fruits of Republican policy—has brought the return of abundant prosperity and the settlement of many distracting questions. The restoration of sound money, the large reduction of our public debt and of the burden of interest, the high advancement of the public credit—all attest the ability and courage of the Republican party to deal with such financial problems as may hereafter demand solution. Our paper currency is now as good as gold, and silver is performing its legitimate function for the purpose of change. The principles which should govern the relations of these elements of the currency are simple and clear. There must be no deteriorated coin, no depreciated paper. And every dollar, whether of metal or paper, should stand the test of the world's fixed standard.

The value of popular education can hardly be overstated. Although its interests must, of necessity, be chiefly confided to voluntary effort and the individual action of the several States they should be encouraged, so far as the Constitution permits, by the generous co-operation of the National Government. The interests of the whole country demand that the advantages of our common school system should be brought within the reach of every citizen, and that no revenues of the Nation or of the States should be devoted to the support of sectarian schools.

Such changes should be made in the present tariff and system of taxation as will relieve any overburdened industry or class, and enable our manufacturers and artisans to compete successfully with those of other lands.

The Government should aid works of internal improvement national in their character, and should promote the development of our water-courses and harbors wherever the general interests of commerce require.

Four years ago, as now, the Nation stood at the threshold of a Presidential election, and the Republican party, in soliciting a continuance of its ascendancy, founded its hope of success not upon its promises but upon its history. Its subsequent course has been such as to strengthen the claims which it then made to the confidence and support of the country. On the other hand, considerations more urgent than have ever before existed forbid the accession of its opponents to power. Their success, if success attends them, must chiefly come from the united support of that section which sought the forcible disruption of the Union, and which, according to all the teachings of our past history, will demand ascendancy in the councils of the party to whose triumph it will have made by far the largest contribution.

There is the gravest reason for apprehension that exorbitant claims upon the public treasury, by no means limited to the hundreds of millions already covered by bills introduced in Congress within the past four years, would be successfully urged if the Democratic party should succeed in supplementing its present control of the National Legislature by electing the Executive also.

There is danger in intrusting the control of the whole law-making power of the Government to a party which has in almost every Southern State repudiated obligations quite as sacred as those to which the faith of the Nation now stands pledged.

I do not doubt that success awaits the Republican party, and that its triumph will assure a just, economical and patriotic administration.

I am, respectfully, your obedient servant,

C. A. ARTHUR.

To the HON. GEORGE F. HOAR,

*President of the Republican National Convention.*



**APPENDIX.**

**ROLL OF DELEGATES AND ALTERNATES**

**TO THE**

**Republican National Convention,**

**HELD AT**

**CHICAGO, ILLINOIS,**

**JUNE 2, 1880.**

**With Post Office Address of Each.**

# NAMES AND POST OFFICE ADDRESS OF DELEGATES AND ALTERNATES TO THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION OF 1880.

## ALABAMA.

### DELEGATES.

#### AT LARGE.

George Turner.....Montgomery  
Ben. S. Turner.....Selma  
J. A. Thomasson.....Huntsville  
George M. Braxdall.....Talladega

### ALTERNATES.

George H. Patrick.....Montgomery  
George M. Duskln.....Greensborough  
J. C. Blevins.....Selma  
J. V. McDuffie.....Haynesville

#### DISTRICTS.

1—James Gillette.....Mobile  
Allen Alexander.....do  
2—Paul Strobach.....Montgomery  
George W. Washington.....do  
3—Isaac Heyman.....Opelika  
William Youngblood.....Union Springs  
4—William J. Stevens.....Selma  
James T. Rapier.....Montgomery  
5—L. E. Parsons, Jr.....Rockford  
H. C. Bryan.....Wetumpka  
6—W. S. Bird.....Eutaw  
N. W. Trimble.....Gainesville  
7—William H. Smith.....Wedowee  
Willard Warner.....Tecumseh  
8—J. M. Hinds.....Decatur  
A. W. McCullough.....Huntsville

Moses Bracey.....Gainsville  
W. L. Matthews.....Dayton  
A. W. Johnson.....Evergreen  
Percy Morris.....Montgomery Hill  
John B. Shaw.....Eufaula  
Benj. Y. Martin.....Seals Station  
.....  
John B. Simpson.....Prattville  
E. B. McColley.....Lafayette  
Elisha Williams.....Tuscaloosa  
Lloyd Leftwich.....Eutaw  
R. S. Hefflin.....Wedowee  
Isaac Frank.....Jacksonville  
D. S. Brandon.....Huntsville  
T. J. Lake.....Athens

## ARKANSAS.

#### AT LARGE.

S. W. Dorsey.....Little Rock  
Powell Clayton.....do  
M. W. Gibbs.....do  
H. B. Robinson.....Helena  
O. P. Snyder.....Pine Bluff  
J. H. Johnson.....Augusta  
O. A. Hadley.....Little Rock  
Jacob Trieber.....Helena  
Ferdinand Havis.....Pine Bluff  
S. H. Holland.....Lake Village  
James K. Barnes.....El Dorado  
Jullus A. Barnes.....Fort Smith

J. T. Penn.....Harrison  
J. P. Jones.....Watson's  
W. D. Merriwether.....Monticello  
N. W. Moore.....Springfield  
Morris Holmes.....Hampton  
Harris Arbaugh.....  
Jerome Lewis.....Little Rock  
W. H. Nelson.....Hot Springs  
S. J. Hollingsworth.....Pine Bluff  
H. F. Best.....Texarkana  
V. P. Caffrey.....Dardanelle  
O. M. Spellman.....Swan Lake

## CALIFORNIA.

#### AT LARGE.

J. C. Willmerding.....San Francisco  
E. A. Davis.....Yuba  
Socrates Huff.....Alameda  
John Mansfield.....Los Angeles

C. Mason Kinne.....San Francisco  
John V. Scott.....Shasta  
J. E. Johns.....Amador  
Will M. Smith.....San Diego

#### DISTRICTS.

1—Sam'l Mosgrove.....San Francisco  
John A. Benson.....Alameda  
2—Creed Haymond.....Sacramento  
J. K. Doak.....San Joaquin  
3—H. T. Fairbanks.....Snoma  
Joseph Russ.....Humboldt  
4—D. S. Payne.....Santa Clara  
F. M. Pixley.....Los Angeles

Geo. A. Fisher.....San Francisco  
F. J. French.....San Francisco  
James Foster.....Contra Costa  
John H. Roberts.....Alameda  
F. A. Leach.....Solano  
S. G. Hilborn.....Solano  
Charles Sherman.....Kern  
J. P. Stearns.....Santa Barbara



COLORADO.

DELEGATES.

John L. Routt.....Denver  
Lafayette Head.....Conejos  
Amos Steck.....Denver  
Geo. T. Clark.....Leadville  
John A. Ellet.....Boulder  
M. N. Magone.....Canon City

ALTERNATES.

E. L. Campbell.....Leadville  
E. P. Kent.....Ouray  
Wolf Londoner.....Denver  
A. P. Curry.....Leadville  
J. T. Blake.....Cleora  
J. D. Hall.....Silver Cliff

CONNECTICUT.

AT LARGE.

Henry C. Robinson.....Hartford  
John M. Douglas.....Middletown  
Augustus Brandegee.....New London  
Samuel Fessenden.....Stamford

Martin L. Bennett.....Hartford  
George M. Harmon.....New Haven  
Robert Colt.....New London  
Frederick Miles.....Salisbury

DISTRICTS.

1—Andrew S. Upson.....Farmington  
William M. Corbin.....Union  
2—Hobart B. Bigelow.....New Haven  
William C. Hough.....Essex  
3—Daniel Chadwick.....Lyme  
Jeremiah Olney.....Thompson  
4—Edgar S. Tweedy.....Danbury  
N. Taylor Baldwin.....Plymouth

S. P. Newell.....Bristol  
E. A. Converse.....Stafford  
H. Lynde Harrison.....Gulford  
A. M. Wright.....Essex  
Stiles T. Stanton.....Stonington  
Alexander Warner.....Pomfret  
A. H. Ryington.....Norwalk  
A. P. Bradstreet.....Thomaston

DELAWARE.

Christian Febiger.....Wilmington  
Levi G. Clarke.....St. George's  
Nathaniel B. Smithers.....Dover  
James R. Lofland.....Milford  
Benjamin Burton.....Georgetown  
Albert Curry.....Greenwood

S. V. B. Carty.....St. George's  
Samuel Silver.....Wilmington  
George P. Fisher.....Dover  
Lemuel Johnson.....Leipsic  
Jacob Moore.....Georgetown  
Abel S. Small.....Lincoln

FLORIDA.

AT LARGE.

W. W. Hicks.....Arcadia  
V. J. Shipman.....Lawtey  
Sherman Conant.....Jacksonville  
Joseph E. Lee.....do  
Reuben S. Smith.....Marianna  
F. C. Humphries.....Pensacola  
E. I. Alexander.....Madison  
James Dean.....Welborn

Roy P. Moody.....Jacksonville  
D. M. Papy.....St. Augustine  
H. H. Delany.....Fernandina  
N. K. Sawyer.....Jacksonville  
W. N. Potter.....Milton  
Mark T. White.....Pensacola  
H. W. Chandler.....Ocala  
W. H. Gleasen.....Miami

GEORGIA.

AT LARGE.

E. C. Wade.....Savannah  
W. A. Pledger.....Athens  
Edwin Belcher.....Augusta  
J. F. Long.....Macon

R. R. Wright.....Cuthbert  
Harrison Harris.....Madison  
W. H. Smyth.....Atlanta  
C. O. Fisher.....Griffin

DISTRICTS.

1—Louis B. Toomer.....Savannah  
Floyd Snelson.....No. 3, A. & G. R. R.  
2—B. F. Brinberry.....Cuthbert  
John Few.....Thomasville  
3—Jack Brown.....Washington  
Elbert Head.....Americus  
4—R. D. Locke.....Columbus  
J. C. Bealle.....Hamilton  
5—A. E. Buck.....Atlanta  
H. A. Rucker.....do  
6—W. W. Brown.....Macon  
James B. Deveaux.....do

Thomas Butler.....St. Marys  
S. H. Morse.....Savannah  
S. M. Griffin.....Quitman  
H. R. Stewart.....Bainbridge  
W. D. King.....Hawkinsville  
S. S. Smalls.....McVie  
A. W. Port.....Newnan  
H. M. Dougherty.....Hamilton  
E. M. Brown.....Griffin  
George E. Holmes.....Decatur  
P. O. Holt.....Macon  
Peter O'Neil.....Milledgeville

## OFFICIAL PROCEEDINGS OF THE

GEORGIA—*Cont.*

## DELEGATES.

## DISTRICTS.

## ALTERNATES.

7—A. M. Middlebrooks.....	Cartersville	H. S. Ober .....	Rome
W. B. Higginbotham.....	Rome	J. C. Upshaw.....	do
8—C. H. Prince.....	Augusta	W. F. Holden.....	Crawfordsville
Judson W. Lyons.....	do	John Heard.....	Greensboro
9—S. A. Darnelle.....	Atlanta	A. W. Watson.....	Athens
Madison Davis .....	Athens	John A. Stewart.....	Morganton

## ILLINOIS.

## AT LARGE.

John A. Logan.....	Chicago	Wm. McAdam .....	Chester
Emory A. Storrs.....	do	Ross Graham .....	Carmi
Green B. Raum.....	Golconda	Solomon Degan .....	Ottawa
David T. Littler.....	Springfield	C. C. Campbell.....	Grant Park

## DISTRICTS.

1—William J. Campbell.....	Chicago	Arthur Dixon .....	Chicago
Eldridge G. Keith.....	do	Louis Hutt .....	do
2—A. M. Wright.....	do	John Baumgarten .....	do
R. S. Tuthill.....	do	Chas. W. Woodman.....	do
2—Washington Hesling .....	do	George Strukman .....	do
Elliot Anthony .....	do	John A. Mason.....	Elgin
4—C. W. Marsh.....	Sycamore	D. M. Marsh.....	Sandwich
Lot B. Smith.....	Harvard	A. C. Fassett.....	Prophetstown
5—Robert E. Logan.....	Morrison	J. H. Mosher.....	Byren
William H. Holcomb.....	Rochelle	S. J. Hume.....	Genella
6—James K. Edsall.....	Chicago	William Jackson .....	Rock Island
John P. Hand.....	Cambridge	Geo. M. Hollenbach.....	Millbrook
7—E. F. Bull.....	Ottawa	Francis Bowen .....	Sheridan
E. W. Willard.....	Wilmington	H. W. Snow.....	Sheldon
8—J. B. Wilson.....	Wellington	Ira C. Mosier.....	Kankakee
R. J. Hanna.....	Kankakee	C. Balance.....	Peoria
9—John A. Gray.....	Lewiston	John Lackey.....	Macomb
W. Selden Gale.....	Galesburg	William Venable.....	Aledo
10—Henry Tebbbs.....	Kirkwood	J. P. Graham.....	New Canton
John Fletcher .....	Carthage	M. D. Massie.....	Lyman F. Wheeler.....
11—O. B. Hamilton.....	Jerseyville	George N. Black.....	Springfield
Thos. G. Black.....	Clayton	Edward S. Greenleaf.....	Morgan
12—Geo. M. Brinkerhoff.....	Springfield	R. D. Smith.....	Pekin
Chas. M. Eames.....	Jacksonville	W. E. Gapen.....	Bloomington
13—F. Low.....	Havana	Albert Emerson.....	Monticello
E. D. Blinn.....	Lincoln	Thomas E. Bundy.....	Tuscola
14—John V. Harris.....	Champaign	J. W. Fisher.....	Lawrenceville
James W. Haworth.....	Decatur	Daniel L. Gold.....	Vandalia
15—Wm. H. Barlow.....	Effingham	E. M. Ashcroft.....	do
Alvin P. Green.....	Sullivan	R. T. Higgins.....	do
16—J. M. Truitt.....	Hillsboro	H. M. Kimball.....	Belleville
Louis Krueghoff.....	Belleville	C. W. Thomas.....	Cobden
17—William E. Klefner.....	Alton	E. O. Freeman.....	New Brunswick
E. Guelsch.....	Alton	James A. Viall.....	Albion
18—Chas. O. Pattier.....	Carbondale	Chas. Churchill.....	Fairfield
John M. Davis.....	Carbondale	Wm. H. Robinson.....	
19—C. W. Pavey.....	Mt. Vernon		
W. H. Williams.....	Benton		

## INDIANA.

## AT LARGE.

Benjamin H. Harrison.....	Indianapolis	Jesse J. Brown.....	New Albany
Daniel B. Kumler.....	Evansville	Thos. H. Nelson.....	Terre Haute
George W. Friedley.....	Bedford	Leonidas Sexton.....	Rushville
Byron W. Langdon.....	Lafayette	John Morris.....	Fort Wayne

## DISTRICTS.

1—Alexander Gilchrist.....	Evansville	E. F. Horn.....	Evansville
William M. Hoggatt.....	Boonville	Frank B. Posey.....	Petersburg
2—John B. Glover.....	Bedford	D. Pett .....	Shoals
Samuel J. Kerchival.....	Washington	W. G. Young.....	Hillham
3—W. A. Slemmons.....	Corydon	Lee St. Clair.....	Salem
Jonathan H. Friedley.....	Vienna	William H. Fogg.....	Jeffersonville

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## INDIANA—*Cont.*

### DELEGATES.

### ALTERNATES.

#### DISTRICTS.

4—James H. Crowler.....Madison  
Francis Adkinson.....Lawrenceburg  
5—David A. Beem.....Spencer  
Joseph B. Homan.....Danville  
6—Milton Peden.....Knights town  
Thomas M. Little.....Connersville  
7—Roscoe G. Hawkins.....Indianapolis  
James B. McFadden.....Shelbyville  
8—Wm. R. McKeen.....Terre Haute  
Enos H. Nabaker.....Covington  
9—Baltzer K. Higinbotham.....Frankfort  
George F. Chittenden.....Anderson  
10—Frank S. Bedell.....Crown Point  
John W. Welmer.....  
.....Bennett's Station  
11—Jacob J. Todd.....Bluffton  
J. Fred Nalle.....Kokomo  
12—William M. Clapp.....Albion  
Charles K. Baxter.....Waterloo  
13—Clement Studebaker.....South Bend  
Landon C. Pose.....La Porte

John B. Rebuck.....Versailles  
H. Husted.....Liberty  
J. J. Irwin.....Columbus  
G. M. Overstreet, Jr.....Franklyn  
Archibald M. Kennedy.....Rushville  
C. B. Walker.....Richmond  
George H. Chapman.....Indianapolis  
Nelson Bradley.....Greenfield  
George E. Hubbard.....Brazil  
Zimri Adkinson.....Williamsport  
John C. Farber.....Thorntown  
James L. Evans.....Noblesville  
M. L. Essick.....Rochester  
Charles Kablo.....Logansport

William A. Bonham.....Hartford City  
John M. Pettit.....Wabash  
Jacob Newman.....La Grange  
Samuel Beight.....Angola  
H. G. Thayer.....Plymouth  
James S. Asney.....Warsaw

## IOWA.

#### AT LARGE.

J. S. Clarkson.....Des Moines  
S. M. Clark.....Keokuk  
D. B. Henderson.....Dubuque  
George D. Perkins.....Sioux City

J. H. Powers.....New Hampton  
George A. Morse.....Corning  
J. C. Schrader.....Iowa City  
B. F. Elbert.....Albia

#### DISTRICTS.

1—H. A. Burrell.....Washington  
J. S. Hurley.....Wappello  
2—J. W. Thompson.....Davenport  
H. C. Carr.....Tipton  
3—J. F. Bassett.....McGregor  
P. F. Sturgis.....West Union  
4—H. L. Huff.....Eldorado  
L. S. Butler.....Northwood  
5—Frank J. Upton.....Cedar Rapids  
R. M. Haines.....Grinnell  
6—J. F. Greenlee.....Knoxville  
George D. Wooden.....Sigourney  
7—Edward R. McKee.....Indianola  
John S. Runnells.....Des Moines  
8—P. W. Llewellyn.....Clarinda  
J. M. Sharp.....Atlantic  
9—W. D. Lucas.....Ames  
B. H. Harkness.....Humboldt

J. G. Newbold.....Mt. Pleasant  
James Ellerick.....  
J. S. Stacey.....Anamosa  
E. S. Bailey.....Clinton  
D. W. Bruckart.....Independence  
H. L. Rann.....Manchester  
Aaron Kimball.....Cresco  
W. C. Hayward.....  
L. Clark.....Tama City  
B. F. Reno.....Marengo  
E. C. Haines.....  
J. P. Early.....Monroe  
G. W. Blake.....Chariton  
C. C. Goodale.....  
W. S. Strawn.....Red Oak  
A. Mallory.....Afton  
D. E. Snow.....  
George E. Roberts.....Fort Dodge

## KANSAS.

John A. Martin.....Atchinson  
Perry Hutchinson.....Marysville  
George H. Case.....Mankato  
Simon Matz.....Hays City  
Benj. F. Simpson.....Paola  
S. S. Benedict.....Guilford  
B. W. Perkins.....Oswego  
P. B. Plumb.....Emporia  
William Thompson.....Burilngame  
H. W. Walcott.....Garfield  
2—T. C. Sears.....Ottawa  
S. A. Day.....Fort Scott  
3—Thomas J. Anderson.....Topeka  
John M. Steele.....Wichita

N. A. Adams.....Manhattan  
W. B. Townsend.....Lansing  
W. H. Barnes.....Stockton  
Charles T. Johnson.....Oberlin  
L. K. Kirk.....Garnett  
W. J. Buchan.....Wyandotte  
E. A. Howard.....  
R. W. P. Muse.....Newton  
C. F. Daniels.....Sterling  
J. C. Long.....  
A. T. Sharpe.....  
S. W. Keplinger.....

## OFFICIAL PROCEEDINGS OF THE

## KENTUCKY.

## DELEGATES.

## ALTERNATES.

## AT LARGE.

Walter Evans.....	Louisville	H. C. Brennan.....	Lexington
Wm. O. Bradley.....	Lancaster	H. Fitzbutler.....	Louisville
John D. White.....	Manchester	George Denney, Jr.....	Lancaster
John H. Jackson.....	Lexington	Wm. Berkle.....	Lancaster

## DISTRICTS.

1—J. R. Puryear.....	Paducah	E. Farley.....	Paducah
J. H. Happy.....	Mayfield	E. W. Bagby.....	Paducah
2—A. H. Clark.....	Hopkinsville	J. F. Kimbly.....	Owensboro
E. C. Hubbard.....	Hartford	B. W. Little.....	Hopkinsville
3—W. G. Hunter.....	Berkesville	W. B. Craddock.....	Scottsville
George T. Blakey.....	Auburn	A. J. Bowles.....	Bowling Green
4—E. H. Hobson.....	Greensburg	R. L. Wintersmith.....	Elizabethtown
John W. Lewis.....	Springfield	J. L. Lafferty.....	Lebanon
5—Silas F. Miller.....	Louisville	J. Q. Adams.....	Louisville
James F. Buckner.....	Louisville	Alex. Morris.....	Louisville
6—J. E. Hamilton.....	Covington	E. E. Wood.....	Newport
James H. Barbour.....	Falmouth	J. J. Landram.....	Warsaw
7—R. P. Stoll.....	Lexington	James Thomas.....	Paris
William Brown.....	Nicholasville	George Stoll, Jr.....	Lexington
8—John K. Faulkner.....	Lancaster	James H. Caperton.....	Richmond
Logan McKee.....	Danville	Thomas H. Harden.....	Harrodsburg
9—A. E. Adams.....	Piketown	S. F. Johnson.....	Hazard
A. T. Wood.....	Mt. Sterling	Frank Fitch.....	London
10—W. W. Culberson.....	Ashland	Frank French.....	Owingsville
Morris C. Hutchins.....	Mayville	J. W. Zimmerman.....	Ashland

## LOUISIANA.

H. C. Warmoth.....	Lawrence	George T. Ruby.....	New Orleans
James Lewis.....	New Orleans	Charles H. Cripps.....	Delta
J. T. Ludeling.....	Monroe	Pierre Landry.....	Donaldsville
A. J. Dumont.....	Algiers	George L. Norton.....	New Orleans
W. P. Kellogg.....	New Orleans	Robert O. Herbert.....	Plaquemine
Don A. Pardee.....	do	Charles Gordon.....	do
Richard Simms.....	Convent P. O.	J. P. Coates.....	Pt. Coupee
A. S. Badger.....	New Orleans	A. Raford Blunt.....	Natchitoches
Samuel Wakefield.....	New Iberia	Morris Marks.....	Donaldsville
A. H. Leonard.....	Shreveport	J. A. Gla.....	Lake Providence
William Harper.....	do	B. H. Lanier.....	do
James S. Matthews.....	St. Joseph	Noah Neely.....	Vienna
W. L. McMillen.....	Lake Providence	J. W. Cook.....	Homer
David Young.....	Vidalia	E. Gantt.....	Opelousas
J. H. Burch.....	Baton Rouge	B. V. Baranco.....	Baton Rouge
Jack Wherten.....	New Orleans	J. D. Kennedy.....	New Orleans

## MAINE.

## AT LARGE.

Eugene Hale.....	Ellsworth	Orville D. Baker.....	Augusta
Joseph R. Bodwell.....	Hallowell	Fred'k Down.....	Portland
E. T. Gile.....	Auburn	Wm. H. Simpson.....	Belfast
Almon A. Strout.....	Portland	A. C. Hamlin.....	Bangor

## DISTRICTS.

1—W. W. Thomas, Jr.....	Portland	Wm. Osgood.....	North Yarmouth
Joseph R. Libby.....	Biddeford	Elisha H. Jewett.....	South Berwick
2—Wm. P. Frye.....	Lewiston	J. P. Swazey.....	Canton
J. W. Wakefield.....	Bath	Charles J. Talbot.....	East Wilton
3—Joseph H. Manley.....	Augusta	John T. Richards.....	Gardiner
S. S. Marble.....	Waldoborough	D. D. Stewart.....	St. Albans
4—Lewis Barker.....	Bangor	Charles Shaw.....	Dexter
Lewellyn Powers.....	Houlton	E. A. Thompson.....	Dover
5—L. G. Downes.....	Calais	L. A. Emery.....	Ellsworth
John S. Case.....	Rockland	John Pierce.....	Winterport

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## MARYLAND.

### DELEGATES.

#### AT LARGE.

James A. Gary.....Baltimore  
Lloyd Lowndes, Jr.....Cumberland  
J. Morrison Harris.....Baltimore  
Jacob Tome .....Port Deposit

### ALTERNATES.

George C. Maund.....Baltimore  
S. Parker Basley .....Towsontown  
William H. Perkins.....Chestertown  
James E. Briscoe.....Baltimore

#### DISTRICTS.

1—Charles T. Westcott...Chestertown  
Samuel Mallallen .....Millington  
2—John A. J. Creswell.....Elkton  
Jacob J. Weaver, Jr.....Uniontown  
3—D. Pinkey West.....Baltimore  
W. W. Johnson.....do  
4—William J. Hooper.....do  
H. J. Brown.....do  
5—J. Farran Crane.....Leonardtown  
John W. Belt.....Upper Marlboro  
6—Upton Buhrman.....Myersville  
Benjamin H. Miller.....Sandy Spring

C. F. Duer.....Crisfield  
Robert D. Bradley.....do  
H. C. Longnecker.....Towsontown  
George Mottler .....Frederick  
J. W. Locks.....Baltimore  
O. O. Deaver.....do  
A. Warfield Monroe.....do  
J. L. H. Smith.....do  
David E. Hopkins.....Lisbon  
James H. Logan.....Baltimore  
Francis Adams .....do  
John Swaldner .....do

## MASSACHUSETTS.

#### AT LARGE.

George F. Hoar.....Worcester  
Charles R. Codman.....Boston  
John E. Sanford.....Taunton  
Julius H. Seelye .....Amherst

Eben F. Stone.....Newburyport  
James M. Barker.....Pittsfield  
Charles Allen .....Newton  
Robert R. Bishop.....do

#### DISTRICTS.

1—Charles W. Clifford...New Bedford  
Azariah Eldridge .....Yarmouth  
2—William C. Lovering.....Taunton  
F. A. Hobart.....Braintree  
3—Phineas Pierce .....Boston  
Choate Burnham .....do  
4—Eustace C. Fitz.....Chelsea  
J. Otis Weatherbee.....Boston  
5—H. Cabot Lodge.....Nahant  
Daniel Russell .....Melrose  
6—Dudley Porter .....Haverhill  
N. A. Horton.....Salem  
7—George S. Boutwell.....Groton  
George A. Marden.....Lowell  
8—R. M. Morse, Jr.....Boston  
George W. Johnson.....Milford  
9—W. S. B. Hopkins.....Worcester  
William Knowlton .....Upton  
10—Alpheus Harding .....Athol  
Timothy Merrick .....Holyoke  
11—Wellington Smith.....Lee  
M. B. Whitney.....Westfield

Daniel E. Damon.....Fall River  
William S. Greene.....do  
George A. Adams.....Attleboro  
John J. Whipple.....Brockton  
Horace T. Rockwell.....Boston  
Arthur W. Tafts.....do  
Benjamin F. Campbell.....do  
John J. Smith.....do  
Edward D. Hayden.....Woburn  
Hartwell S. French.....Lynn  
E. H. Haskell.....Gloucester  
David Bremmer .....Boxford  
E. J. Sherman.....Lawrence  
George Stephens .....Lowell  
T. Lyman .....Brookline  
George W. Park.....Cambridge  
George W. Johnson.....Brookfield  
Frank A. Gaskell.....Worcester  
Ellsha Brainhall .....Clinton  
William B. Hale.....Northampton  
A. J. Waterman.....Pittsfield  
Charles S. Chapin.....Springfield

## MICHIGAN.

#### AT LARGE.

James F. Joy.....Detroit  
Omar D. Conger.....Port Huron  
Perry Hannah.....Traverse City  
E. C. Watkins.....Rockford

William A. Gavett.....Detroit  
J. K. Bols.....Hudson  
Wellington R. Burt.....East Saginaw  
V. P. Collier.....Battle Creek

#### DISTRICTS.

1—William G. Thompson.....Detroit  
D. O. Farrand.....do  
2—J. D. Ronan.....Monroe  
Louis R. Penfield.....Hillsdale  
3—C. D. Randall.....Coldwater  
Morgan Bates .....Jackson  
4—A. H. Morrison.....St. Joseph  
J. W. French.....Three Rivers  
5—George A. Farr.....Grand Haven  
A. B. Watson.....Grand Rapids

Walter H. Coots.....Detroit  
S. W. Walker, Jr.....do  
C. R. Miller.....Adrian  
A. J. Sawyer.....Ann Arbor  
D. R. Cook.....Hastings  
L. C. Taylor.....Charlotte  
Josiah Andrews .....Paw Paw  
S. T. Reed.....Cassopolis  
W. P. Williams.....Allegan  
David McLachlin.....Muskegon

## OFFICIAL PROCEEDINGS OF THE

## MICHIGAN—Cont.

## DELEGATES.

## DISTRICTS.

## ALTERNATES.

6—Charles Kipp.....	St. Johns	E. A. Mann.....	Howell
J. M. Adams.....	Flint	A. S. Nichols.....	Corunna
7—B. W. Huston.....	Vassar	J. C. Waterbury.....	Sand Lake
William Jenny.....	Mt. Clemens	J. B. Moore.....	La Barge
8—E. O. Avery.....	Alpena	Byron E. Warren.....	Bay City
Thomas N. Stevens.....	Stanton	John S. Estabrook.....	East Saginaw
9—J. H. Chandler.....	Houghton	S. M. Stephenson.....	Menominee
D. A. Blodgett.....	Hersey	M. P. Gale.....	Big Rapids

## MINNESOTA.

## AT LARGE.

D. Sinclair.....	Winona	O. V. Tousley.....	Minneapolis
A. O. Whipple.....	Northfield	D. H. Johnson.....	Austin
D. M. Sabin.....	Stillwater	G. D. Post.....	Lake City
Dorilus Morrison.....	Minneapolis	Daniel Fish.....	Delano

## DISTRICTS.

1—A. C. Wedge.....	Albert Lea	C. H. Smith.....	Windom
J. V. Daniels.....	Rochester	Lars O. Harrus.....	Preston
2—Marcus Johnson.....	Willmar	William Proender.....	New Ulm
George Bryant.....	Elgin	Lane K. Stone.....	Montevideo
3—E. F. Drake.....	St. Paul	D. B. Searles.....	St. Cloud
C. F. Kindred.....	Brainerd	H. D. Page.....	Fergus Falls

## MISSISSIPPI.

## AT LARGE.

Blanche K. Bruce.....	Rosedale	John R. Lynch.....	Natches
James Hill.....	Jackson	Thomas W. Hunt.....	Jackson
George M. Buchanan.....	Holly Springs	John S. Burton.....	Holly Springs
H. C. Carter.....	Vicksburg	Wesley Creighton.....	Vicksburg

## DISTRICTS.

1—W. H. Kennon.....	Columbus	James W. Lee.....	Aberdeen
George C. McKee.....	Tongaloo	W. H. Furniss.....	Hazlehurst
2—Henry C. Niles.....	Kosciusko	C. S. Jones.....	Kosciusko
Joshua R. Smith.....	Meridian	H. H. Truhart.....	Lexington
3—George W. Gayles.....	Stormville	A. P. Shattuck.....	Okolona
F. M. Libby.....	do	D. T. J. Matthews.....	Sardis
4—Samuel P. Hurst.....	Chapel Hill	J. P. Matthews.....	Hazlehurst
W. W. Bell.....	Pontotoc	Richard Griggs.....	Mayersville
5—Green C. Chandler.....	Corinth	Henry R. Smith.....	Canton
Charles W. Clarke.....	Greenville	William Noonan.....	Natches
6—R. H. Montgomery.....	Durant	W. W. Edwards.....	Vicksburg
Richard F. Beck.....	Vicksburg	H. C. Powers.....	Starkville

## MISSOURI.

## AT LARGE.

Chauncey I. Filley.....	St. Louis	Donald McLeod.....	St. Louis
Robert T. Vanhorn.....	Kansas City	William Walker.....	Lexington
Harrison E. Havens.....	Springfield	Charles G. Burton.....	Nevada
David Wagner.....	Canton	James K. Kidd.....	Kiddridge

## DISTRICTS.

1—Nicholas Berg.....	St. Louis	John Krauss.....	South St. Louis
John A. Weber.....	Farmington	C. A. Newcomb.....	Klimmswick
2—Thomas B. Rodgers.....	St. Louis	John S. Cavender.....	St. Louis
John W. Wheeler.....	do	Thomas C. Dutro.....	do
3—John Henry Pohlman.....	do	Wm. Wilhelm.....	do
T. G. Allen.....	Jennings	F. M. Lally.....	do
4—Wm. Ballentine.....	Commerce	John Bushing.....	Charleston
James Lindsay.....	Centreville	Byrd Duncan.....	Poplar Bluff
5—Hamilton E. Baker.....	Rolla	J. B. Riggs.....	Houston
Thaddeus A. Lowe.....	Union	Luman F. Parker.....	Rolla
6—Robert C. McBeth.....	Clinton	Charles H. Brown.....	Lamar
W. E. Maynard.....	Joplin	William Page.....	Butler
7—A. D. Jaynes.....	Sedalia	C. A. Thompson.....	Jefferson City
A. G. Hollenbeck.....	Buffalo	Robert Taubman.....	Lexington

MISSOURI—*Cont.*

DELEGATES.	DISTRICTS.	ALTERNATES.
8—Wm. J. Terrell.....Harrisonville	J. W. Jenkins.....Kansas City	
Luther Clay Slavens...Kansas City	John D. S. Cook.....do	
9—Sam'l C. McCluskey.....Maryville	M. M. Campbell.....Albany	
N. Fred. Essig.....Plattsburg	James T. Beach.....St. Joseph	
10—Thomas D. Neal.....Bethany	John P. Jones.....Keytesville	
George Hall.....Trenton	J. C. Kennedy.....Moberly	
11—Thomas J. Whiteman...Carrollton	George W. Castrop.....Westphalia	
Henry N. Cook.....Columbia	J. L. Jones.....Malta Bend	
12—H. M. Hiller.....Kahoka	Fletcher White.....Macon City	
James E. Adams.....Edina	A. L. Stewart.....La Grange	
13—Richard A. Buckner...St. Charles	C. W. Rush.....Warrenton	
Stuart Carkner.....Louisiana	Charles S. Waldon.....Bowling Green	

NEBRASKA.

AT LARGE.

James W. Dawes.....Crete	J. Jensen.....Geneoa
Lorenzo Crounse.....Fort Calhoun	J. J. Brown.....Omaha
J. L. Mitchell.....Nebraska City	Isaac Wildes.....Plattsmouth
William Gaslin, Jr.....Orleans	V. L. Bierbower.....Sidney
D. A. Lewis.....Albion	M. Malin.....Niobrara
N. R. Persinger.....Central City	L. A. Keens.....Fremont

NEVADA.

AT LARGE.

E. Strother.....Virginia City	J. R. Shaw.....Dayton
W. W. Bishop.....Eureka	J. W. McWilliams...Battle Mountain
C. C. Stevenson.....Gold Hill	J. B. Williamson.....Hamilton
T. D. Edwards.....Carson City	Benjamin Curler.....Belmont
J. J. Meigs.....Elko	S. S. Grass.....Winnemucca
M. D. Foley.....Eureka	W. J. Marsh.....Reno

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

AT LARGE.

William E. Chandler.....Concord	Benjamin A. Kimball.....Concord
David H. Buffum.....Great Falls	William E. Stevens.....do
Ruel Durkee.....Croydon	James A. Wood.....Acworth
Benjamin F. Prescott.....Epping	Augustus A. Woolson.....Lisbon

DISTRICTS.

1—Charles M. Murphy.....Dover	S. Girard Norcross.....Conway
Joel Eastman.....Conway	Orrin C. Moore.....Nashua
2—Charles Holman.....Nashua	Charles Williams.....Manchester
James G. Sturgis.....Manchester	David H. Goodell.....Antrim
3—Samuel W. Hale.....Keene	Edward Gustine.....Keene
Alson L. Brown.....Whitefield	Henry L. Tilton.....Littleton

NEW JERSEY.

AT LARGE.

Judson Kilpatrick.....Deckertown	John I. Blair.....Blairtown
William J. Sewall.....Camden	Z. K. Pangborn.....Jersey City
George A. Halsey.....Newark	Garrett A. Hobart.....Paterson
Wm. Walter Phelps.....Tenafly	Chas. M. Theberath.....Newark

DISTRICTS.

1—C. H. Sinnickson.....Salem	W. Harrison Livermore.....Woodbury
Samuel Hopkins.....Woodbury	I. T. Nichols.....Bridgeton
2—John S. Irick.....Vincentown	Wm. H. Skirm.....Trenton
John S. Schultze.....Manchester	J. G. Gardner.....Atlantic City
3—John F. Babcock...New Brunswick	John C. Rose.....Linden
Chillon Robbins.....Freehold	Washington Lithgow.....Plainfield
4—Nathaniel W. Voorhees.....Clinton	Peter Cramer.....New Hampton
W. A. Stiles.....Deckertown	J. G. Schenck.....Neshanic
5—Henry L. Butler.....Paterson	R. B. Terhune.....Hackensack
A. A. Vance.....Morristown	J. Seward Wills.....Stanhope
6—Edmund L. Joy.....Newark	H. J. Yates.....Newark
A. P. Condit.....East Orange	W. Riker, Jr.....Irvington
7—James Gopsill.....Jersey City	Aaron S. Baldwin.....Weehawken
B. W. Throckmorton....do	W. Taylor.....Jersey City

## OFFICIAL PROCEEDINGS OF THE

## NEW YORK.

## DELEGATES.

## ALTERNATES.

## AT LARGE.

Roscoe Conkling .....	Utica	Lewis Lawrence .....	Utica
Jacob W. Hoysradt .....	Hudson	Alonzo B. Cornell .....	New York
Chester A. Arthur .....	do	Stewart L. Woodford .....	Brooklyn
James D. Warren .....	Buffalo	John N. Knapp .....	Auburn

## DISTRICTS.

1—John Birdsall .....	Glen Cove	George Wallace .....	Freeport
Simeon S. Hawkins .....	Jamesport	William Nicoll .....	Islip
2—James Jourdan .....	Brooklyn	Andrew J. Perry .....	Brooklyn
Amos F. Learned .....	do	David S. Arnett .....	do
3—Frederick A. Schroeder .....	do	George F. Elliott .....	do
Albert Daggett .....	do	August H. Goetting .....	do
4—Jacob Worth .....	Brooklyn	Frank C. Lang .....	Brooklyn
Benjamin F. Tracy .....	do	James L. Jensen .....	do
5—Edward Pierrepont .....	New York	Mathew Stewart .....	New York
Edward W. Stoughton .....	do	John H. Brady .....	do
6—Charles E. Cornell .....	do	John Simpson .....	do
DeWitt C. Wheeler .....	do	Chester H. Southworth .....	do
7—Jacob M. Patterson, jr. ....	do	John Harris Brady .....	do
John J. O'Brien .....	do	Joseph C. Pinckney .....	do
8—John D. Lawson .....	do	John W. Jacobus .....	do
Charles Blackie .....	do	H. Howard Cargill .....	do
9—Joel W. Mason .....	do	Charles A. Flammer .....	do
Stephen B. French .....	do	Charles F. Bruder .....	do
10—Levi P. Morton .....	do	Charles H. Hall .....	do
Bernard Biglin .....	do	Edward S. Goss .....	do
11—Thomas Murphy .....	do	James M. Varnum .....	do
Jacob Hess .....	do	William R. Spooner .....	do
12—William H. Robertson .....	Katonah	J. Thomas Stearns .....	Tremont
James W. Husted .....	Peekskill	James C. Cooley .....	Westchester
13—Louis F. Payn .....	Chatham Village	James N. Townsend .....	Hudson
John B. Dutcher .....	Pawling	Ezra White .....	Poughkeepsie
14—Moses D. Stivers .....	Middletown	James W. Taylor .....	Newburgh
Blake G. Wales .....	Pike Pond	Dwight B. Baker .....	Suffern
15—George H. Sharpe .....	Kingston	William R. Sheffield .....	Saugerties
Rufus H. King .....	Catskill	Benjamin M. Handy .....	Schoharie
16—Henry R. Pierson .....	Albany	John F. Smyth .....	Albany
Charles P. Easton .....	do	Addison A. Keyes .....	do
17—John M. Francis .....	Troy	William F. Taylor .....	Berlin
Isaac V. Baker, Jr. ....	Comstock	A. Dallas Wait .....	Port Edward
18—William W. Rockwell .....	Glens Falls	Shepard P. Bowen .....	Plattsburgh
Oliver Abell, Jr. ....	Elizabethtown	Frederick A. Johnson .....	Glens Falls
19—Wells S. Dickinson .....	Bangor	Erasmus D. Brooks .....	Potsdam
Henry R. James .....	Ogdensburg	Daniel Peck .....	Gouverneur
20—Webster Wagner .....	Palatine Bridge	Daniel P. McQueen .....	Schenectady
George West .....	Ballston	George W. Fay .....	Gloversville
21—Felix Jacobs, Jr. ....	Delhi	Alonzo D. Harrington .....	Oxford
David Wilber .....	Milford	Novatus M. Blish .....	Hobart
22—John P. Douglass .....	Theresa	Luther H. Bailey .....	Antwerp
Sidney Sylvester .....	Martinsburgh	Clinton L. Merriam .....	Locust Grove
23—Arthur B. Johnson .....	Utica	Jonathan A. Hill .....	Forestport
William H. Comstock .....	do	Edward H. Shelley .....	Rome
24—George M. Case .....	Fulton	Nathan B. Smith .....	Pulaski
Charles L. Kennedy .....	Morrisville	Watson A. Stone .....	Onelda
25—Dennis McCarthy .....	Syracuse	J. C. Carmichael .....	Cortland
James J. Belden .....	do	Myron Bangs .....	Fayetteville
26—William B. Woodin .....	Auburn	Leander Fitts .....	Moravia
John B. Murray .....	Seneca Falls	Walter H. Allen .....	Waterloo
27—Francis O. Mason .....	Geneva	Cyrillo S. Lincoln .....	Naples
George N. Hicks .....	Penn Yan	Clark Smith .....	Dundee
28—Thomas C. Platt .....	Oswego	Francis M. Finch .....	Ithaca
Orlow W. Chapman .....	Binghamton	Benjamin W. Woodward .....	Watkins
29—Chester S. Cole .....	Corning	Wilber W. Capron .....	Wayland
Charles J. Langdon .....	Elmira	Eaton N. Frisbee .....	Elmira
30—Edward A. Frost .....	Rochester	Timothy H. Holden .....	Honeoye Falls
Henry A. Bruner .....	Albion	Adolph Nolte .....	Rochester
31—George G. Hoskins .....	Attica	Wolcott J. Humphrey .....	Warsaw
John E. Pound .....	Lockport	Ralph Stockwell .....	Wilson
32—Ray V. Pierce .....	Buffalo	Norris Morey .....	Buffalo
John Nice .....	Grand Island	H. G. Leland .....	Springville
33—Norman M. Allen .....	Dayton	John E. Dusenbury .....	Portville
Loren B. Sessions .....	Panama	Horatio G. Brooks .....	Dunkirk



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## NORTH CAROLINA.

### DELEGATES.

#### AT LARGE.

### ALTERNATES.

W. P. Canady.....Wilmington  
D. H. Starbuck.....Salem  
J. H. Harris.....Raleigh  
Rufus Barringer.....Charlotte

W. S. Pearson.....Morganton  
George W. Stanton.....Stantonsburg  
L. T. Christmas.....Warrenton  
A. M. Diffe.....Ashboro

#### DISTRICTS.

1—Samuel T. Canon.....Washington  
Palemon John.....Elizabeth City  
2—Israel B. Abbott.....Newberne  
Claybourn Faison.....  
3—George W. Price, jr.....Wilmington  
O. H. Blocker.....Fayetteville  
4—Isaac J. Young.....Raleigh  
Stewart Ellison.....do  
5—Thomas B. Keogh.....Greensboro  
J. W. Hardin.....Graham  
6—O. J. Spears.....Troy  
W. R. Myers.....Charlotte  
7—W. W. Rollins.....Marshall  
D. C. Pearson.....Morganton  
8—Thomas N. Cooper.....Cooper's Store  
John J. Mott.....Statesville

William Outlaw.....Windsor  
Miles Commander.....Elizabeth City  
A. McCabe.....Tarboro  
E. R. Page.....Kinston  
Wm. M. Black.....Cathage  
John S. Leary.....Fayetteville  
P. B. Hawkins.....Louisburg  
W. W. Arrington.....Hillardston  
Joseph A. Hoskins.....Summerfield  
L. S. Keith.....Lexington  
H. B. Kennedy.....Wadesboro  
John Holloway.....Lamberton  
A. J. Pinkham.....Winston  
D. L. Bringle.....Statesville

## OHIO.

#### AT LARGE.

Wm. Dennison.....Columbus  
James A. Garfield.....Mentor  
Charles Foster.....Fostoria  
Warner M. Bateman.....Cincinnati

Orrin B. Gould.....Portsmouth  
John F. Kumler.....Toledo  
James Bufort.....Springfield  
Amos Smith.....Cincinnati

#### DISTRICTS.

1—Benj. Butterworth.....Cincinnati  
Albert Schwill.....do  
2—Henry Kessler.....do  
Chas. Fleischmann.....do  
3—D. W. McClung.....Hamilton  
A. R. Creamer.....Washington, C. H.  
4—W. D. Bickham.....Dayton  
Frank G. Thompson.....Eaton  
5—Joseph Morris.....Lima  
J. W. Conklin.....Celina  
6—J. M. Ritchie.....Toledo  
W. W. Touvelle.....Wauseon  
7—Marcus Boggs.....Chillicothe  
Alphonso Hart.....Hillsboro  
8—C. D. Wright.....Troy  
J. F. Gowey.....Urbana  
9—W. C. Cooper.....Mt. Vernon  
Amos Glover.....Delaware  
10—I. F. Mack.....Sandusky  
D. M. Harkness.....Bellevue  
11—Wm. Nash.....Gallipolis  
Daniel Will.....McArthur  
12—F. C. Sessions.....Columbus  
John Groce.....Circleville  
13—A. W. Train.....Zanesville  
James Buckingham.....Newark  
14—H. C. Hedges.....Mansfield  
S. Hunt.....Upper Sandusky  
15—R. M. Stimson.....Marletta  
John W. Doherty.....Woodfield  
16—J. S. Pearce.....Cadiz  
J. D. Taylor.....Cambridge  
17—J. H. Tripp.....Carrollton  
A. W. Jones.....Youngstown  
18—W. H. Williams.....Medina  
L. A. Sheldon.....La Grange  
19—Evan Morris.....Gerard  
J. C. Beatty.....Ravenna  
20—S. T. Everett.....Cleveland  
James Barnett.....do

Abe Mayer.....Cincinnati  
Samuel Bailly, Jr.....do  
Sam'l Trost.....do  
John Birnbum.....do  
Geo. R. Sage.....Lebanon  
J. M. McGrew.....Wilmington  
Emanuel Schultze.....Kenia  
John Devor.....Greenville  
Lewis S. Gordon.....Antwerp  
E. B. Walker.....Ottawa  
Earl W. Merry.....Bowling Green  
R. D. Dole.....Bryan  
Henry Cullings.....West Union  
J. H. Higby.....Piketon  
J. N. Beech.....London  
Hannibal G. Hamlin.....Springfield  
L. M. Strong.....Kenton  
Hylas Sabin.....Richwood  
C. C. Park.....Tiffin  
Mahlon Chance.....Fremont  
Frank D. Baird.....Logan  
Joseph Fischer.....Ironton  
H. C. Drinkle.....Lancaster  
Samuel Whiley.....Junction City  
T. H. Ricketts.....Newark  
H. C. Vanvorhes.....Zanesville  
T. M. Beer.....Ashland  
T. B. Cunningham.....Holmes  
Chas. L. Kurtz.....Athens  
J. R. Foulk.....McConnellsville  
S. B. Campbell.....Cambridge  
James F. Sarratt.....Steubenville  
J. W. Gillespie.....Alliance  
H. R. Hill.....East Liverpool  
J. H. Faxon.....Elyria  
Jacob Frick.....Wooster  
Peter Hitchcock.....Chardon  
Geo. W. Clement.....Willoughby  
Wm. Kaufman.....Cleveland  
E. H. Eggleston.....do

## OFFICIAL PROCEEDINGS OF THE

## OREGON.

## DELEGATES.

## AT LARGE.

## ALTERNATES.

E. J. Northrup.....	Portland	.....
O. P. Tompkins.....	Harrisburg	.....
D. C. Ireland.....	Astoria	.....
George H. Williams.....	Portland	.....
H. W. Scott.....	Portland	.....
John H. Mitchell.....	Portland	.....

## PENNSYLVANIA.

## AT LARGE.

Matthew S. Quay.....	Philadelphia	David S. Elliott.....	Everett
James McManes.....	do	Samuel M. Jackson.....	Apollo
J. Hay Brown.....	Lancaster	Edward Scull.....	Somerset
Christopher L. Magee.....	Pittsburg	Henry Buch.....	Reading

## DISTRICTS.

1—William J. Pollock.....	Philadelphia	Richard S. Camplon.....	Philadelphia
William S. Douglass.....	do	Joseph W. Kerr.....	do
2—William R. Leeds.....	do	Edward M. Rowe.....	do
David H. Lane.....	do	William B. Ahern.....	do
3—William L. Smith.....	do	Thomas Smyth.....	do
David Monat.....	do	William H. Kern.....	do
4—Wm. Ellwood Rowan.....	do	David Wallace.....	do
Hamilton Disston.....	do	Thomas W. Gouth.....	do
5—Thomas I. Powers.....	do	George W. Bumm.....	do
Adam Albright.....	do	Jacob S. Serrill.....	Darby
6—Amos Gartside.....	Chester	H. H. Gilkyson.....	Phoenixville
Wm. B. Waddell.....	West Chester	Harvey Kratz.....	Hilltown
7—Caleb N. Taylor.....	Bristol	Mark H. Richards.....	Pottstown
.....	.....	George W. Harn.....	Birdsboro
8—Chester N. Farr.....	Reading	Richard McMichael.....	Reading
Samuel R. Deppen.....	Robsonia	Isaac W. Leidigh.....	Lancaster
9—A. I. Kauffman.....	Columbia	James Collins.....	Quarryville
W. K. Seltzer.....	Ephrata	William S. Major.....	Hellertown
10—Howard J. Reeder.....	Easton	U. S. Letzerberger.....	Allentown
Harrison Bortz.....	Allentown	S. Y. Thompson.....	Danville
11—.....	.....	William Lilly.....	Mauch Chaunk
W. A. M. Grier.....	Hazleton	Joseph Alexander, Jr.....	Carbondale
12—J. J. Albright.....	Scranton	Theodore Hart.....	Pittston
Alexander Farnham.....	Wilkesbarre	Levi C. Leib.....	Ashland
13—Samuel A. Losch.....	Schl. Haven	Wm. I. Whitehouse.....	Pottsville
Wm. S. Moorehead.....	Trackville	S. F. Barr.....	Harrisburg
14—J. Donald Cameron.....	Harrisburg	Samuel I. Packer.....	Sunbury
Charles H. Berguer.....	do	James P. Taylor.....	Montrose
15—O. D. Kinney.....	Towanda	F. C. Bunnell.....	Tunkhannock
C. C. Jadwin.....	Honesdale	E. G. Schieffelin.....	Stokendale
16—Wm. H. Armstrong.....	Williamsport	D. T. Huckle.....	Dushor
Thomas L. Kane.....	Kane	George T. Swank.....	Johnstown
17—John Cessna.....	Bedford	D. T. Caldwell.....	Tyrone
David Over.....	Hollidaysbury	John W. Mattern.....	Huntingdon
18—Joseph G. Isenberg.....	Huntingdon	Wm. C. Pomeroy.....	Port Royal
B. F. Wagenseller.....	Sellingsgrove	John H. Ulrich.....	Mechanicsburg
19—James Hersch.....	Gettysburg	C. G. Beales.....	Gettysburg
John Hays.....	Carlisle	J. B. McAnally.....	Clearfield
20—James A. Beaver.....	Bellefonte	John I. Rankin.....	Bellefonte
M. L. Brosius.....	Lewistown	H. I. Brunot.....	Greensburg
21—George Huff.....	Greensburg	I. B. Morris.....	Waynesburg
S. M. Bailey.....	Unionstown	A. L. Pearson.....	Pittsburg
22—W. C. Moreland.....	Pittsburg	William Hill.....	Mansfield Valley
James A. McDevitt.....	do	John Wegraw.....	Allegheny City
23—William B. Rodgers.....	Allegheny City	C. B. Shea.....	do
James H. Lindsay.....	do	Henry C. Fry.....	Rochester
24—I. R. Harrah.....	Beaver	James F. Scott.....	Pulaski
John McKinley.....	New Castle	A. Wilson Taylor.....	Indiana
25—Joseph Buffington.....	Kittawning	J. B. Agrew.....	Tionesta
James E. Long.....	Brookville	George W. Fleiger.....	Butler
26—Thomas Robinson.....	Butler	H. L. Richmond, Jr.....	Meadville
John I. Gordon.....	Mercer	N. W. Russell.....	Belle Valley
27—C. M. Reed.....	Erie	C. M. Shortt.....	Sugar Grove
Harrison Allen.....	Warren		

\*C. G. Jackson, of Berwick, delegate, deceased, April, 1880.

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## RHODE ISLAND.

### DELEGATES.

John P. Sanborn.....Newport  
Charles H. Handy.....Warren  
Thomas W. Chase.....East Greenwich  
David L. Aldrich.....Hopkinton  
Isaac M. Potter.....Providence  
Almon K. Goodwin.....Pawtucket  
William A. Pierce.....Olneyville  
Horace A. Jenckes.....Woonsocket

### ALTERNATES.

Andrew H. Manchester.....Tiverton  
Charles A. Greene.....Bristol  
William M. Spink.....Warwick  
James M. Cross.....Westerly  
Harvey E. Wellman.....Providence  
Stafford W. Rasee.....do  
John H. Barden.....Scituate  
James O. Inman.....Burrillville

## SOUTH CAROLINA.

### AT LARGE.

E. W. M. Mackey.....Charleston  
E. M. Brayton.....Columbia  
R. B. Elliott.....do  
Samuel Lee.....Sumter

T. E. Miller.....Beaufort  
H. Kennedy.....Newberry C. H.  
C. C. McCoy.....Chester  
D. A. Straker.....Orangeburg C. H.

### DISTRICTS.

1—D. M. McCall.....Bennettsville  
W. A. Hayne.....Marion C. H.  
2—W. N. Taft.....Charleston  
C. C. Bowen.....do  
3—W. M. Fine.....Columbia  
C. M. Wilder.....do  
4—Samuel T. Pioneer.....Spartanburg  
Wilson Cook.....Greenville  
5—W. J. Whipper.....Beaufort  
W. F. Meyers.....Waterloo

H. S. Shrewsbury.....Cheraw  
W. H. Birnie.....Charleston  
E. A. Webster.....Orangeburg  
Harry Noah.....Columbia  
D. R. Phifer.....Newberry  
R. M. Wallace.....Charleston  
J. H. Rainey.....Georgetown  
L. Cain.....Edgefield C. H.  
Fred Nix, Jr.....Blackville

## TENNESSEE.

### AT LARGE.

L. C. Houck.....Knoxville  
Horace H. Harrison.....Nashville  
Jacob M. Thornburgh.....Knoxville  
David Nunn.....Brownsville

G. W. Levere.....Knoxville  
J. H. Burrus.....Nashville  
Edwin M. Henry.....Greenville  
A. A. Freeman.....Washington, D. C.

### DISTRICTS.

1—R. R. Butler.....Taylorville  
Jesse L. Rogers.....Tazewell  
2—E. J. Sanford.....Knoxville  
J. M. Cordell.....Huntsville  
3—W. S. Tipton.....Cleveland  
W. T. Cate.....Chattanooga  
4—H. L. W. Cheatham.....Springfield  
J. S. Smith.....Lebanon  
5—W. H. Wisener.....Shelbyville  
W. Y. Elliott.....Murfreesboro  
6—S. O. W. Brandon.....Clarksville  
W. H. Young.....Nashville  
7—A. M. Hughes, Sr.....Columbia  
B. A. J. Nixon.....Pulaski  
8—T. G. Muse.....Jackson  
E. G. Ridgeley.....Huntington  
9—R. W. Hall.....Trenton  
Hunt Somerville.....Mason  
10—Fred R. Hunt.....Memphis  
Larkin Williams.....Somerville

W. P. Brownlow.....Jonesboro  
J. W. Brown.....Rogersville  
J. C. Davis.....New Market  
J. M. Greer.....Maryville  
W. B. Hill.....Sparta  
W. A. Henderson.....Chattanooga  
John Pruett.....Gallatia  
J. H. Harding.....Springfield  
Calvin Pickett.....Shelbyville  
J. N. Ridley.....Murfreesboro  
S. Rexinger.....Clarksville  
T. A. Sykes.....Nashville  
B. Frierson.....Columbia  
H. H. Thompson.....Pulaski  
H. R. Hinkle.....Lexington  
J. T. Robinson.....Huntington  
H. Ryan.....Brownsville  
S. J. Haynes.....do  
T. A. Hamilton.....Memphis  
Frank Lamont.....do

## TEXAS.

### AT LARGE.

E. J. Davis.....Austin  
Webster Flanagan.....Henderson  
A. B. Norton.....Dallas  
W. H. Holland.....Austin

Ed. Degener.....San Antonio  
William Umbdenstock.....Marshall  
Richard Allen.....Houston  
H. C. Manning.....Canton

### DISTRICTS.

1—George N. Dilley.....Palestine  
William Chambers.....Wallisville  
2—A. G. Malloy.....Jefferson  
William H. Hakes.....Texana

L. W. Cooper.....Crockett  
L. M. Sublett.....Beaumont  
Alexander Lane.....Marshall  
Andrew Sands.....Clarksville

## TEXAS—Cont.

## DELEGATES.

## DISTRICTS.

## ALTERNATES.

3—C. C. Binkley.....	Sherman	A. R. Collins.....	Sherman
D. A. Robinson.....	Denton	J. P. Alexander.....	Fort Worth
4—J. G. Tracey.....	Houston	L. H. McKay.....	Richmond
W. R. Chase.....	Waco	George T. Haswell.....	Bryan
5—N. W. Cuney.....	Galveston	Robert Zapp.....	Round Top
R. H. Marvin.....	Brenham	J. C. Cain.....	Chapel Hill
6—A. Siemering.....	San Antonio	Ridge Paschal.....	Laredo
E. H. Terrill.....	do	P. G. Temple.....	Fredericksburg

## VERMONT.

## AT LARGE.

John Gregory Smith.....	St. Albans	George W. Hendee.....	Morrisville
Frederick Billings.....	Woodstock	William Rounds.....	Chester
John W. Stewart.....	Middlebury	George W. Grandy.....	Vergennes
George W. Hooker.....	Brattleboro	John C. Stearns.....	Bradford

## DISTRICTS.

1—L. Bart. Cross.....	Montpelier	E. J. Ormsbee.....	Brandon
John G. McCullough.....	North Bennington	Henry F. Lothrop.....	Pittsford
2—G. G. Benedict.....	Burlington	J. H. Simpson.....	Craftsbury
C. S. Page.....	Hyde Park	C. W. King.....	Lunenburg
3—John B. Mead.....	Randolph	E. E. Goddard.....	Ely
Henry C. Belden.....	St. Johnsbury	A. E. Rankin.....	St. Johnsbury

## VIRGINIA.

## AT LARGE.

Peter J. Carter.....	Cherry Stone	John T. Desendorf.....	Norfolk
J. W. Poindexter.....	Louisa C. H.	Samuel M. Yost.....	Staunton
D. Sheffey Lewis.....	Harrisonville	J. H. Rives.....	Lynchburg
Joseph Jorgensen.....	Petersburg	B. W. Hoxey.....	Richmond

## DISTRICTS.

1—John W. Woltz.....	Fredericksburg	E. W. Massey.....	Old Point
L. R. Stewart.....	Norfolk	M. E. G. Fitch.....	City Point
2—George E. Bowden.....	Yorktown	E. D. Bland.....	Old Point
Robert Norton.....	do	J. B. Jones.....	do
3—O. H. Russell.....	Richmond	E. N. Kane.....	Burkeville
Josiah Crump.....	Danville	R. F. Robinson.....	Petersburg
4—W. L. Fernald.....	Petersburg	M. R. De Mortie.....	Halifax C. H.
James D. Brady.....	Danville	J. H. Hill.....	Danville
5—Wm. H. Pleasants.....	Liberty	Dr. G. K. Gray.....	Lexington
H. Clay Harris.....	Staunton	James Wood.....	Charlottesville
6—J. F. Wilson.....	Harrisonburgh	R. E. Freeman.....	Staunton
W. R. Watkins.....	Richmond	Albert Bennett.....	Newbern
7—F. F. Ware.....	Lincoln P. O., Loudoun Co.	S. M. Yost.....	Big Lick
John Donovan.....	Newton	G. W. Fisher.....	do
8—Lunsford L. Lewis.....	Salem	Joseph Waters.....	do
William Brown.....	do	Rivan Bundy.....	Berryville
9—W. O. Austin.....	do	C. B. Smith.....	do
C. C. Tompkins.....	do	John H. Davis.....	do

## WEST VIRGINIA.

## AT LARGE.

A. W. Campbell.....	Wheeling	C. P. Keyes.....	Kanawha C. H.
W. J. Burley.....	Moundsville	C. H. Shattuck.....	Parkersburg
S. P. McCormick.....	Grafton	W. H. H. Flick.....	Martinsburg
John H. Riley.....	Ripley	A. G. Tebbetts.....	Union

## DISTRICTS.

1—C. D. Hubbard.....	Wheeling	James Archer.....	Clarksburg
A. C. Moore.....	Keyser	C. J. Goff.....	Kingwood
2—J. T. Hoke.....	Morgantown	J. C. McGrew.....	Fairmont
J. M. Hagans.....	do	S. W. Hall.....	do
3—J. W. Davis.....	do	Amos Dye.....	do
John H. Rossler.....	do	John S. Cunningham.....	do

WISCONSIN.

DELEGATES.		AT LARGE.		ALTERNATES.	
J. B. Cassoday.....	Janesville	R. H. Baker.....	Racine	DeWitt C. Davis.....	Milwaukee
Edward Sanderson .....	Milwaukee	George B. Pratt.....	Menasha	Paul Lackmund .....	Baraboo
Thomas B. Scott.....	Grand Rapids				
G. Van Steenwyk.....	La Crosse				
DISTRICTS.					
1—J. V. Quarles.....	Kenosha	E. S. Stone.....	Oconomowoc		
Charles Palmetier .....	Geneva	T. M. Nichol.....	Racine		
2—A. J. Turner.....	Portage City	D. E. Welch.....	Baraboo		
George E. Bryant.....	Madison	W. D. Hoard.....	Fort Atkinson		
3—Wm. E. Carter.....	Platteville	A. C. Dodge.....	Meeme		
Norman L. James Richland Center		J. W. Rewey.....	Mifflin		
4—E. M. Rogers.....	Hartford	S. S. Barrey.....	West Bend		
F. C. Winkler.....	Milwaukee	John Ruger.....	Milwaukee		
5—W. H. Hemschmeyer.....	Manitowoc	W. T. Rambusch.....	Juneau		
J. C. Wedge.....	Fond du Lac	D. D. Trelevan.....	Fond du Lac		
6—Philetus Sawyer .....	Oshkosh	H. S. Sacket.....	Berlin		
Levi Howland.....	Green Bay	B. T. Rogers.....	Appleton		
7—J. M. Rusk.....	Viroqua	M. A. Thayer.....	Sparta		
F. L. Gilson.....	Ellsworth	J. W. DeGroff.....	Alma		
8—S. W. Hunt.....	Menomonee	C. S. Kelsey.....	Montello		
Isaac Stephenson.....	Marinette	A. J. Haywood.....			

TERRITORIES.

ARIZONA.

A. P. K. Safford.....	Tucson	Richard C. McCormick	New York City
Levi Rashford .....	Prescott	William A. Vosburg.....	Phoenix

DAKOTA.

Porter Warner .....	Deadwood	Frank Velts.....	Grand Forks
C. T. McCoy.....	Bon Homme	Alexander Hughes.....	Elk Point

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

John F. Cook.....	Washington	Charles B. Purvis.....	Washington
Almon M. Clapp.....	do	Sayles J. Bowen.....	do

IDAHO.

George L. Shoup.....			
J. W. Brown.....			

MONTANA.

Henry N. Blake.....	Virginia City	J. G. Sanders.....	Jefferson
R. E. Fisk.....	Helena	L. Rotwitt.....	Canon Creek

NEW MEXICO.

William Breeden.....	Las Cruces		
William L. Rynerson.....	Santa Fe		

UTAH.

C. W. Bennett.....	Salt Lake City	E. P. Ferry.....	Park City
E. A. Thomas.....	Ogden	C. W. Emerson.....	Provo

WASHINGTON.

Thomas T. Minor.....	Washington	George H. Steward.....	Vancouver
Thomas H. Brents.....	do	James A. Perkins.....	Colfax

WYOMING.

M. C. Brown.....	Laramie	A. C. Lathrop.....	Bryan
W. A. Carter.....	Fort Bridger	W. L. Ash.....	Rawlins



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